A HISTORY OF HINDU CIVILISATION DURING BRITISH RULE

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TO

PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER, K. M.,

WHO HAS NOBLY DEVOTED HIS LIFE

TO THE ELUCIDATION OF THE

ANCIENT LITERATURE AND HISTORY OF MY COUNTRY,

AND HAS AWAKENED IN MY COUNTRYMEN

A LIVING INTEREST IN THEIR PAST,

I GRATEFULLY DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.



PREFACE.



THE idea of writing a History of Hindu Civilisation first occurred to me sixteen years ago, when I submitted to the Oriental Congress a short essay on Aryan Civilisation in India, which earned a prize awarded by the Italian Government. The execution of the work, however, has had to be postponed from year to year for various reasons which it is needless to mention. Even now, the work is published with considerable diffidence, as, on many points, the information which I have been able to collect is meagre and unsatisfactory. I venture to hope, however, that the present publication will create interest in the subject, and thus lead eventually to a more exhaustive treatment of it.

Of the friends to whom I am indebted for this attempt, I desire, in the first place, to mention the name of Mr. R. C. Dutt, C. I. E., who has helped me very materially by his advice and suggestions. I have also to gratefully acknowledge my obligations to Mr. G. C. Bose, M. A., M. R. A. C., for the chapter on Agriculture; to Mr. T. N. Mukharji, F. L. S., for the chapter on Art-industries; and to Mr. J. C. Dutt for his kind and sympathetic help.

36, Park Street,
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August, 1894.

P. N. BOSE.



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INTRODUCTION.

Religion, not a sure criterion of civilisation.

We propose to treat our subject under five heads—Religious Condition, Socio-Religious Condition, Social Condition, Industrial Condition, and Intellectual Condition.* As a test of civilisation, the last is the most important, and we propose to devote to it the third and fourth volumes of this work. With regard to religious condition, which forms the subject of the first Book, there is not the same accordance in the standard of religious progress as there is in that of intellectual progress. The Hindus judge of the intellectual productions of the

* Moral condition is also of the highest importance. As much of it as is capable of historical treatment will be dealt with in this Introduction and in Books II and III.

Christians by very nearly the same standard as that which the Christians apply to the intellectual productions of the Hindus. Knowledge is the common property of all peoples. There is no such thing as Christian Mathematics, Hindu Mathematics, or Mahomedan Mathematics. There is also considerable uniformity in the standard of individual morality among all civilised nations. It is otherwise with religion. The Christian, the Mahomedan, and the Hindu, each would consider his religion to be the truest, each would consider his ideal of spiritual culture to be the best; and there is no standard by which their conflicting claims could be settled. Christianity is the religion of the most advanced nations of the modern age. Yet, from one point of view, Mahomedanism may be said to be superior to Christianity; for it inculcates a purer form of monotheism. Idolatry is now held in abhorrence; it is supposed to have a demoralising and enervating effect. Yet most of the civilised nations of antiquity were idolators. The Indo Aryans of the Vedic times were not image-worshippers; their descendants of the time of Kálidása and Varáhamihira were. The change would hardly be called progress. Yet the post-Vedic Hindus were more advanced than the Vedic Hindus in literature, science, arts and manufactures. Protestantism, is said to be

superior to Roman Catholicism. Yet, the conversion of good and intelligent Protestants to Roman Catholicism is not quite a rare occurrence. Christianity is considered superior to Buddhism, at least by Christians. Yet there are sensible Christians who profess preference for, if not actual adherence to, Buddhism.*

There *is* a plane of contact, however, where the really good and wise of nearly all religions meet. But the world knows but little of such men.† Ordinary history

* It was asserted sometime ago, that thirty thousand Parisians professed Buddhism. Buddha as a saintly prince is the chief character of a new French play, *Iseyl*. The following extracts are from a recent issue of a London newspaper:

"The Buddhist priest, Horiou-Joki, who attended the Chicago Congress, is now at work in the Musee Guimet. * * * The compassionate doctrines of the Far East find many admirers in the French capital, who belong to the cream of intellectual society. * * * M. de Rosny, Professor at the School of Oriental Languages, is perhaps the most prominent apostle of the cult.

* * * * *

Many of M. de Rosny's disciples go to church, taking with them, in lieu of a missal, books bound similarly in black morocco, filled with meditations on that suppressed egoism and exalted altruism which Buddha taught."

† Even the founders of religions and sects, who have a place in history, are not always spiritually the best men. In the East, from the time of Jesus to the present day, the founder of a religion has often been "obliged to choose between these two alternatives—either to renounce his mission, or to become a thaumaturgus." ("Life of Jesus," by E. Renan, People's Edition, London, p. 189). As Huxley has well put it.—"The practice of that which is ethically best, what we call goodness or virtue, involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place

usually records and emblazons deeds which it were better for humanity to forget, and holds up as heroes men whom it were better for humanity to disown. We know but little of men who rise superior to the mere animal conditions of life, who have attained a high stage of spiritual culture. If we could know them, their comparative number and influence would have afforded us good data for ascertaining the spiritual progress of a people—no matter what their *form* of religion might be. But, from the conditions of spiritual progress such a thing is impossible.

Influence of religion upon intellectual progress, and *vice versa*.

But although religion can not be regarded as a sure criterion of civilisation, it should not be ignored in a history of civilisation. Religion *does* influence progress, though it is extremely difficult to ascertain the extent of that influence. The difficulty is so great indeed, that there are writers who have denied to religion any influence at all, except

of ruthless self-assertion, it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside, or treading down, all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many men as possible to survive It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of existence." ("Evolution and Ethics," p. 33.)

in a very small way.* It is, for instance, by no means easy to tell, how far the propagation of Protestant principles can be attributed to the intellectual progress of Europe since the Reformation, and to what extent this progress itself is indebted to Protestantism; how far the development of Vedantism in the later Vedic period, was due to the remarkable intellectual progress of the Indo-Aryans of that age, and to what extent this progress was aided by Vedantism. The fact is, the factors of civilisation—religious, socio-religious, social, moral, industrial, and intellectual—act and react upon one another. The intellectual progress of a people has always a tendency to act upon their religion. When the Indo-Aryans of the later Vedic period advanced so far as to doubt the efficacy of sacrificial rites, their religion underwent an important change in the supersession of the doctrine of ceremonial observances by that of *Jnána* (knowledge of the Supreme Soul).

Causes which modify the influence of intellectual upon religious progress.

The influence of intellectual upon religious progress is, however, sometimes restricted, or even nearly neutralised, by various causes, of which the protective spirit,

* Says Buckle: "Looking at things upon a large scale, the religion of mankind is the effect of their improvement, not the cause of it."—"History of Civilisation in England," Vol. I. Chapter V.

either of a Government or of an influential class in a community, is the principal. A State religion is not easily changed, however incompatible it may be with the intellectual advancement of the people professing it. Roman Catholicism long remained the national religion of the French after the acceptance of Protestantism by peoples intellectually inferior to them, like the Swedes, and the Swiss; because Roman Catholicism was the State religion of France. The influence of intellectual progress may also be narrowed by its artificial restriction within a particular class like that of the Bráhmans. By monopolising all knowledge, they made the enlightenment which knowledge always brings with it almost their sole heritage. The great advance which they made intellectually towards the close of the Vedic period benefited the non-Bráhman castes but little. In later times, Samkarácháryа, the great Bráhman reformer of the eighth century, purposely preached pantheism for his caste and idolatry for the other castes, because these were not sufficiently advanced for the reception of a philosophic creed. Through centuries of decay and degeneration during the Mahomedan period, while the lower-caste Hindus, who were kept away from their Sástras, passed through gross forms of idol-worship, and still grosser forms of guru-worship,

the cultured Bráhmans generally remained Vedantists. But for caste which confined intellectual progress to the Bráhmans the history of Hinduism would have been different from what it has been.

What we have just said shows, that a high form of religion cannot make proper progress among a people who are not intellectually prepared for it. History furnishes us with numerous illustrations of the truth of this proposition. Buddhism as preached by Sákyasimha, and Christianity as preached by Christ, were two of the sublimest and most intellectual religions, that the world has ever seen. But Buddhism and Christianity as adopted by the mass of the people are systems of superstition as different from the Buddhism of Gautama and the Christianity of Christ, as the Hinduism of the Puránas and Tantras is different from that of the Upanishads.

Influence of religion upon Hindu civilisation.

From what we have said above, it is clear that the religion of a people is to a great extent conditioned by their intellectual state. History also shows that religion to some extent, influences social, moral, and intellectual progress. The nature and limiting conditions of this influence will be discussed hereafter. We need only observe here that as

the religion of an individual, would not be a sure indication of his intellectual development, so the religion professed by a nation would not be a sure criterion of the progress achieved by it. Nevertheless religion as a factor of progress must be taken into account in a history of the civilisation of any people, especially of a people like the Hindus, with whom the end and aim of life has ever been spiritual progress. To the Hindu, the world is illusory.* He has sought to subordinate the animal to the spiritual wants of life. He has sought happiness by self-denial rather than by self-indulgence, by curtailing the wants of life, rather than by increasing them, by suppressing desires, rather than by gratifying them, by lowering the standard of material comfort rather than by raising it. The average European cannot conceive that a people who according to his ideas, are imperfectly clad, who dwell in huts, and live upon cereals and herbs, and who support large families on what he would

* "So far as we can judge, a large class of people in India, not only the priestly class, but the nobility also, not only men but women also, never looked upon their life on earth as something real. What was real to them was the invisible, the life to come. What formed the theme of their conversations, what formed the subject of their meditations, was the real that alone lent some kind of reality to this unreal phenomenal world." (MaxMuller "Theosophy or Psychological Religion," p. 68).

probably spend on drinks alone for himself,—that such a people could ever have been civilised. *

The progress as well as the backwardness of the Hindu, his virtues as well as vices, all that is good and all that is bad in him and in his society, are in a great measure attributable to this sovereignty of religion over him The entire literature of the Vedic period,

* Mr. Adam gives the following interesting description of the Pundits (quoted in F. W. Thomas' "History and Prospects of British Education in India,' p. 8):

"I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple in their manners, and though seldom, if ever, offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest classes of English and Scottish peasantry; living constantly half-naked and realising in this respect the descriptions of savage life; inhabiting huts which, if we connect moral consequences with physical causes, might be supposed to have the effect of stunting the growth of their minds, or in which only the most contracted minds might be supposed to have room to dwell—and yet several of these men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is probably the most philosophical language in existence; not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and applications of their national laws and literature and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy. They are, in general, shrewd, discriminating and mild in their demeanour. The modesty of their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior, but is equally shown to each other. I have observed some of the worthiest speak with unaffected humility of their own pretensions to learning, with admiration of the learning of a stranger and countryman who was present, with high respect of the learning of a townsman who happened to be absent, and with just praise of the learning of another townsman after he had retired, although in his presence they were silent respecting his attainments."

and the greater portion of the literature of subsequent periods are of a religious character. Hindu philosophy, in comparison with which, in the words of Schlegel, "even the loftiest philosophy of the Europeans" appears "like a feeble Promethean spark in the full flood of heavenly glory of the noonday sun faltering and feeble and ever ready to be extinguished," had for its object the discovery of the path of salvation. Hindu grammar and Hindu mathematics which early attained a high degree of excellence, had their origin in religious needs. But, as on the one hand the Hindu mind soared to the highest flights, and grasped, some of the grandest principles ever discovered in ancient or modern times, in mental or physical science, so, on the other hand, it was imbued with superstitions which to us at least seem puerile and meaningless. Not a few of the works of the Hindus, even of the brightest periods of their civilisation, are strange compounds of the sublime and the ridiculous. Varáha Mihira was a great astronomer of the 6th century. His Brihat Samhitá is certainly a great work. But any one reading it is inclined to say of the Hindus as Alberuni said, * "I can only compare their mathematics and astronomical literature, as far as I know it, to

* Alberuni's "India," translated by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I. p. 25.

a mixture of pearl shells and sour dates, or of pearls and dung or of costly crystals and common pebbles."

Illustrations of the influence of religion upon the Hindumind: Yogis ;

From the time of the Upanishads, the aim of the Hindu has been to know the One by calm meditation undisturbed by mundane thoughts, or, in later times to be lost in ecstatic love for Him. To the practical European, a Rámkrishna* spending his whole life in meditation and dovotional exercises in calm retirement, or a Chaitanya dancing in the streets in frenzied love for his Deity, may appear as, at best, a visionary enthusiast. These "dreamers," however, have a philosophy of their own, which would make out the practical European engaged in a perpetual struggle for the betterment of his fortune as a hunter after shadows. The extent of the influence still exercised by such "dreamers" is not known. They rarely, if ever, appear in newspapers; what they do is done in silence and secrecy. We were surprised to find last year, that the Gonds† of an extensive tract in the Rewah State (Central

* *Vide* Book I. Ch. IV.

† The Gonds are an aboriginal tribe who, like most aboriginal tribes, are fond of intoxicating .

India) had given up drinking; and on enquiry we found out the reason to be the *fiat* of a Yogi who had visited the State the year before. His order had gone forth from village to village, and the Gonds without question had become total abstainers. No crusade against intemperance could have produced such a wonderful and widespread result. There are no doubt charlatans among the Yogis who live upon the credulity of ignorant people. But there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that there are also genuine men among them, men who devote their lives to spiritual culture in a manner inconceivable to the European.

employment of wealth on religious purposes;

There are, many other indications of the dominant influence of religion upon the Hindu mind. From the earliest times till very recently the chief use which a well-to-do Hindu, be he king or subject, has made of his wealth is in building temples and guest-houses, digging wells, tanks, and similar works for the public benefit. Among the ruins of Hindu cities, temples are often the only, and certainly always the most prominent features; we scarcely ever meet with the remains of palaces or other secular buildings. The major portion, if not all of the savings of the Hindu are spent upon religious purposes. No doubt, most of these purposes are what we would call supersti-

tious. But there is scarcely a religion professed by any considerable section of mankind which is altogether free from superstition The question is only one of degree. Any how, we may condemn the superstition, but we must reverence the spiritual temperament, the temperament which places the spiritual above the animal man.

recent religious movements;

Even now after nearly a century of contact with an essentially material civilisation like the Western, the inherited spirituality of the Hindu is manifested in the recent reaction in favour of what may be called rationalistic Hinduism and other religious movements. We find educated men sitting at the feet of comparatively illiterate devotees or singing the praises of Hari in the Streets of Calcutta and other towns.

sanctity, not, wealth, honoured by the Hindus;

"I was very soon attracted," says J. Routledge, "by the fact that while wealth nearly always is the chief means of distinguishing man from man in England, it has no such exclusive power in India. There are few sights more pitiable than the devotee. His whole life is to outside beholders one of misery. But what is he honoured for? Not wealth; for he is often wretchedly poor. He is honoured for his presumed piety, for his

devotion to the Creator. He has subdued the flesh with its affections and lusts, has brought the body into subjection to the spirit ; has risen above time, and lives in eternity."* The fact that men of special sanctity are still raised to the rank of Avatáras [incarnations], not only by ignorant and credulous masses, but also by men who have received the light of Western education shews the influence† which religion still exercises over the Hindu.

Hindu religious life never quite dormant.

The religious life of the Hindus has never been quite dormant. There has been decay since the Mahomedan conquest, but not death; there has been an increase of feebleness, but not prostration. Few if any of the Bráhmanas, let alone the other twice-born castes, now go through the four stages of life prescribed in the Manusamhitá and other works of antiquity. The doctrine of Bhakti (Faith) now rules the Hindu to the almost utter exclusion of the higher and more intellectual doctrine of Jnána (knowledge of the Supreme Soul).

But, the Mahomedan period was not quite the period of darkness and degeneration which it is usually repre-

* Routledge's "English Rule and Native Opinion in India," 1878, p. 275.

† Amongst other indications of this influence may be mentioned the immense success of plays like *Chaitanya Charit* and *Prahlád Charit* which deal with religious subjects.

sented to have been: the age which produced Rámánanda, Kabir, Nának and Chaitanya can not well be considered as such. They all protested against caste, and preached the equality of all men. They exerted all their strength to pull down the artificial barriers which Hinduism had set up between man and man, and to a certain extent, succeeded in doing so. Their success is not to be measured by the number of followers they have left behind, though that number is large. They must have indirectly influenced the lives of many who still continued to follow the banner of orthodox Hinduism.

Caste qualification dispensed with in the case of men of special sanctity.

The Hindu scarcely recognises any heroes but those of religion; and amongst them he dispenses with caste-qualifications. It is note-worthy, that the non Bráhman castes have supplied more heroes than the Bráhmans. The most widely worshipped Avatáras, Ráma and Krishna were Kshatriyas. The great sages Vyása and Válmikí were of much lower origin.* The great majority of the minor Avatáras of mediæval India were non-Bráhmans. The only Bráhman Avatáras of note were Parasuráma, Samkaráchárya, and Chaitanya.

* Vyása was the illegitimate son of a Bráhman and a Dásakanyá. Tradition represents Válmikí to have been a Koli, one of the lowest of aboriginal tribes.

His spiritual temperament has been the blessing as well as the curse of the Hindu. If his spirituality has made him bear the ills of life with fortitude and equanimity, it has also contributed to intensify those evils. It is partly owing to his spirituality that he is happy even in starvation; it is also partly owing to his devotion to religion, to his scrupulous regard for its injunctions in social matters that he has brought this state of chronic starvation upon himself. If for centuries his country has been depleted by foreigners, if to-day he is a helpless spectator of the ruin of the arts and manufactures of his country, it is, as we shall presently see, not a little owing to the sway of religion over him in matters which should not be governed by religion at all.

Domination of religion, a cause of mixed good:

Public spirit or patriotism as, we understand it, never existed amongst the Hindus; and the caste system is, at least partly, responsible for its non-existence. Organised resistance was offered to the early incursions of the Mahomedans, but only by the fighting castes. There was a great display of what may be called patriotism by them. On memorable occasions even their women melted down their ornaments to support a patriotic war. No disgrace rankled deeper in their breasts than

absence of patriotism partly dues to caste, a socio-religious institution.

the disgrace of a defeat in battle. Rather than surrender, they often perished sword in hand. They were patriotic; but they were patriotic more for the honour of their race and their class than from a love of their countrymen generally. There was scarcely any bond of sympathy between them and the teeming millions who composed the lower castes. The mass of the people considered the maintenance of the Government the business of the Rájputs with which they had no concern. As soon as the King and his army were defeated, there was an end of all opposition. India was well-populated at the time of the Mahomedan occupation. Had the Hindus been permeated by a sense of nationality and of patriotism, it would have been impossible for the Mahomedans to establish their empire in India. The Rájputs resisted, and resisted with all their might, but they never got the co-operation of the mass of the people, nor did they expect it. The want of a centralised government did less harm to the Hindus than this want of a national feeling. The absence of centralisation was, in one respect, a hindrance to Mahomedan progress. The whole country had to be conquered in detail. The defeat of Prithvirája, of Delhi, meant only the subjugation of his territory. There were many other states, the chiefs of which of-

fered resistance, like Prithvirája. Thus the advance of the invader was contested at every step. But owing to the absence of a national feeling, as soon as the military classes gave in, all resistance was at an end.

Interference with religion, the most important *casus belli* with Hindus.

So long as their religion was not encroached upon the mass of the Hindus did not much care who governed them. The only determined national opposition to the Mahomedan rule was during the reign of the bigoted Aurangzeb who persecuted the Hindus. He reimposed the Jezia, a capitation tax on the Hindus, demolished their temples, and forbade them to ride in palanquins without premission. They were called upon to pay heavier duties than the Mahomedans. And the opposition which these measures evoked shook the foundations of the empire, which had been built up by the enlightened and tolerant policy of his predecessors. The Hindus all round Delhi assembled in vast numbers to pray for the recall of the Jezia. But the Emperor would not pay heed to their complaints *

* One day when he went to public prayer at the great mosque on the sabbath, a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief. All kinds of shopkeepers from the Urdubázár, and mechanics and workmen left off work and pressed into the way. "The infidel inhabitants of the city and the country round," says the orthodox Khafi Khan, "made great

The only occasion when the Hindus offered serious opposition to the English rule was when the British Government was supposed to endanger their religion. The greased cartridges were undoubtedly the immediate cause of the Sepoy war in 1857. There was no doubt widespread discontent caused by the annexation policy of Dalhousie. But political causes alone would never have been sufficient to excite the Hindu Sepoys as they were excited in 1857. The English are not disliked ; nor can they be said to be liked. They keep the people at a distance, * and the people consider them unapproachable. The best of them are generally looked upon with wonder, somewhat like machines in good order which work with unerring

opposition to the payment of the *Jezia*. There was not a district where the people, with the help of Faujdars, did not make disturbances and resistance." Sir H. M. Elliot's "History of India" Vol. VII. pp. 296,310.

* The Anglo-Saxon nations "are habitually singularly narrow, unappreciative, and unsympathetic. The great source of their national virtue is the sense of duty, the power of pursuing a course which they believe to be right." (Lecky, "History of European Morals," Introduction p. 153).

"The English are unable to enter into the heart of these vast multitudes [the Indians], so gentle, so weak, so ready to open and to give themselves, if only one could speak with them." (Sir C. W. Dilke "Problems of Great Britain," Lond. 1890, Vol. II. p. 124).

precision. * The secret of the English Rule lies not so much in its military strength, † or in the benefits it is supposed to confer, but in the caste-system, in the general indifference of the people to any thing which is not connected with their religion, and in their peace ful disposition fostered by a spiritual civilisation.

* There are a few who excite warmer feelings:—"In my official capacity," says Dr. Bradshaw "I have visited almost every spot in the Madras Presidency in which Sir Thomas Munro lived or encamped, and can speak from personal knowledge of the impression that great administrator has left on the face of the country, the system on which it is governed, and on the hearts of the people. From Salem the Rev. W. Robinson, writing to me, says: "Munro's name is held in the greatest reverence in this district, and the highest compliment they can pay a civilian is to compare him to Munro. I have talked to old natives who cherish his memory as that of their greatest benefactor. In the Ceded Districts boys are still named after him "Munrolappa." In the Cuddapah district wandering mendicants sing ballads to his praise. At Gooty a Brahman schoolmaster recently informed me that Sir Thomas Munro is styled Mandava Rishi. Mandava Rishi being no other than Munro deified. In the recent season of scarcity, 1891-92, at a meeting held at Gooty with the object of petitioning Government for a reduction of the land assessment, near the end of the proceedings an old ryot stood up and merely said in Telugu: Oh for Munro Sahib back again!" ("Life of Sir Thomas Munro," "Rulers of India" Series Introduction p. 7).

† The following extract is from the newspaper report of a lecture delivered by Lieut. General A. Phelps at a meeting of the East Indian Association in London on February 27, 1894:—

"The crude idea of military newcomers that India has been conquered by the sword and must be held by the sword, is dispelled when the young officer realises how dependent Anglo-Indian troops are on natives for transport, supply, ambulance, and all the wants of exotic foreigners, and learns, that native co-operation has played a

religion hitherto the only common bond among Hindus.

But men belonging to all castes from the highest to the lowest, receiving the same education, enjoying the same privileges, and suffering under the same disabilities, are forming a powerful class, the strength of which is daily increasing. Improved means of communication have removed the physical barriers; and English education has removed the social and intellectual barriers which formerly stood in the way of a national unity; and a united India, under present conditions, is no longer a Utopian dream. Such a movement, as the National Congress, would have been an impossibility in any pre-British period. Congresses have ere now been held in India in which representatives from its remotest

great part in the conquest of India, and is essential to the maintenance of British rule. The civlilian notion that a heartfelt appreciation of Western arts, law, order and ethics, is the cause of the acceptance of British dominion, is equally crude to those who realise the steadfast clinging to and preference for their own customs and laws which markedly characterised our Indian fellow subjects. Laws framed on Western ideas have made but a feeble impression; and unwilling acquiescence, without a hearty absorption of principles, cannot furnish the cement to bind alien ideas into a coherent or effective public opinion. Neither does the missionary idea—the notion that the natives are eager to adopt what appears to them the tangle of familiar, yet strange, doctrines which Padre Sahebs of various sects press on their acceptance—explain the situation. Yet in view of the enormous numbers of the natives in the vast peninsula and its dependencies, Anglo-India could not stem the tide if even a minority of the natives wished it away."

parts met. But they sat to deliberate upon religious matters. It is the common bond of religion that has hitherto bound the Hindus together as a nation. Political bond is the recent creation of British influence.

On a survey of the principal religions of the world, we find, that the influence of religion upon civilisation is salutary in proportion to its liberality with regard to the social, the intellectual, and the religious life of its followers. The protective spirit in religion, as in Government, is prejudicial to progress. Christianity has always been liberal in social matters. It has always preached the equality of man; it has never set up artificial barriers between man and man, at least in Christendom. In this respect it has always been favourable to the social evolution of Europe. But for many centuries, Roman Catholicism pursued a policy of systematic persecution for religious and intellectual heresy; and so far as it did so, it hindered progress.

The protective policy of religion injurious to progress:

"Llorente, who had free access to the archives of the Spanish Inquisition, assures us that by that tribunal alone more than 31,000 persons were burnt, and more than

illustrations from the history of Christianity; the Inquisition

290,000 condemned to punishments less severe than death. The number of those who were put to death for their religion in the Netherlands alone, in the reign of Charles V., has been estimated by a very high authority at 50,000 and at least half as many perished under his son. And when to these memorable instances we add the innumerable less conspicuous executions that took place, from the victims of Charlemagne to the free-thinkers of the seventeenth century, when we recollect that after the mission of Dominic the area of the persecution comprised nearly the whole of Christendom, and that its triumph was in some districts so complete as to destroy every memorial of the contest, the most callous nature must recoil with horror from the spectacle. For these atrocities were not perpetrated in the brief paroxysms of a reign of terror, or by the hands of obscure sectaries, but were inflicted by a triumphant Church, with every circumstance of solemnity and deliberation. Nor did the victims perish by a rapid and painless death, but by one which was carefully selected as among the most polignant that man can suffer. They were usually burnt alive. They were burnt alive not unfrequently by a slow fire. They were burnt alive after their constancy had been tried by the most ex-

cruciating agonies that minds fertile in torture could devise." *

Persecution of Galileo, and of Bruno.

In 1632 Galileo published his work entitled "The system of the World," its object being the vindication of the Copernican doctrine. He was summoned before the Inquisition at Rome, "accused of having asserted that the earth moves round the sun. He was declared to have brought upon himself the penalties of heresy. On his knees, with his hand on the Bible, he was compelled to abjure and curse the doctrine of the movement of the earth. What a spectacle! This venerable man, the most illustrious of his age, forced by the threat of death to deny facts which his judges as well as himself knew to be true! He was then committed to prison, treated with remorseless severity during the remaining ten years of his life, and was denied burial in consecrated ground." *

Bruno came to the conclusion that the pantheistic views of Averroes were not far from the truth, "that there is an Intellect which animates the universe, and

* "History of the Rise and Influence of the spirit of Rationalism in Europe." By W. E. H. Lecky Vol. II (1882), p. 32

* Draper, "Conflict between Religion and Science" (International Scientific Series) pp. 171-172

of this Intellect the visible world is only an emanation or manifestation originated and sustained by force derived from it, and were that force withdrawn, all things would disappear. This ever-present, all-pervading Intellect is God, who lives in all things, even such as seem not to live ; that everything is ready to become organized, to burst into life. God is therefore, 'the one Sole Cause of things,' 'the All in All.' * * * * On the demand of the spiritual authorities, Bruno was removed from Venice to Rome, and confined in the prison of the Inquisition, accused not only of being a heretic but also a heresiarch, who had written things unseemly concerning religion; the special charge against him being that he had taught the plurality of worlds, a doctrine repugnant to the whole tenor of Scripture and inimical to revealed religion, especially as regards the plan of salvation. After an imprisonment of two years he was brought before his judge, declared guilty of the acts alleged, excommunicated, and, on his nobly refusing to recant, was delivered over to the secular authorities to be punished 'as mercifully as possible, and without the shedding of his blood,' the horrible formula for burning a prisoner at the stake. Knowing well that though his tormentors might destroy his body, his thoughts would still live among men, he said to his judges,

"Perhaps it is with greater fear that you pass the sentence upon me than I receive it." The sentence was carried into effect, and he was burnt at Rome, February 16th, A.D. 1600." *

The Reformation diminished the protective spirit of Christianity, and thus favoured progress.

The Reformation by rejecting tradition and establishing the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures laid the foundation of intellectual progress in modern Europe. It is true the leaders of the Reformation, Luther and Melanchthon, were strongly against science. The reformers, no less than the Catholics, believed that there was no science but what was in strict accordance with Genesis. According to Luther, Aristotle is "truly a devil, a horrid calumniator, a wicked sycophant, a prince of darkness, a real Apollyon, a beast, a most horrid imposter on mankind, one in whom there is scarcely any philosophy, a public and professed liar, a goat, a complete epicure, this twice execrable Aristotle." Calvin was influenced by the principles of the Inquisition when he caused Servetus to be burnt. But, Protestantism by establishing the maxim of the individual liberty of Scripture-interpretation diminished the protective spirit of Christianity

* Draper, *op. cit.* pp. 179-180.

in intellectual matters, and so, on the whole, favoured the progress of Natural Science which is the intellectual basis of the modern civilisation of the West.

Liberality of Hinduism in purely religious and intellectual matters favourable to progress.

Hinduism has never been guided by the protective spirit in purely religious and intellectual matters. By its tolerant policy in such matters it has helped progress. It has never been wedded to such dogmatic views about man and nature as to make any departure therefrom punishable as heresy. The most antagonistic creeds have existed in India, from the remotest times, without scarcely ever giving rise to persecution worth the name. Views were fearlessly expressed long before the Christian era, respecting the nature of the microcosm and the nature of the macrocosm, for the like of which in Christian Europe, and in comparatively recent times, thousands of the Averroists were mercilessly burnt and imprisoned, Bruno was made a martyr, and Galileo died an ignominious death. There is scarcely any form of faith from monotheism and pantheism to idolatry and fetishism, that Hinduism does not comprise. There is still a good deal of misconception about that religion. All Hindus are generally

considered by Europeans to be gross idolators and fetishists. The fact is, however, that the cultivated among them, including even those that have not received the light of English education, are in reality generally monotheists and pantheists.

But whatever their religious belief, the attitude of the Hindus towards other religions is one of philosophic toleration. "The Brahmans who compiled," says H. H. Wilson, "a code of Hindu law, by command of Warren Hastings preface their performance by affirming the equal merit of every form of religious worship. Contrarieties of belief, and diversities of religion, they say, are in fact part of the scheme of Providence; for as a painter gives beauty to a picture by a variety of colours, or as a gardener embellishes his garden with flowers of every hue, so God appointed to every tribe its own faith, and every sect its own religion, that man might glorify him in diverse modes, all having the same end, and being equally acceptable in his sight. To the same effect it is stated by Dr. Mill in his preface to the Khrista Sangíta, or sacred history of Christ, in Sanskrit verse, that he had witnessed the eager reception of the work by devotees from every part of India, even in the temple of Kálí, near Calcutta, and that it was read and chaunted by

them, with a full knowledge of its anti-idolatrous tendency."*

*"Essays and Lectures on the Religion of the Hindus" (1862) Vol. II., p. 82. Mr. James Routledge, describes in the following terms the religious attitude of the late Kristo Das Pal: "He met the missionaries on a principle as simple as that on which he met the Government. He claimed for them the utmost freedom. He demanded from them that they should use no undue influences; that they should not coerce, and should not buy converts. Grant him these conditions, and the devoted Jesuit and the devoted Presbyterian were alike his friend. Deny him these conditions, and he had for the man who bought converts the most resolute, the most unflinching and the most redoubtable opposition...... Every body had justice and fair play from this noble Hindu.............. His own faith he allowed no man two interfere with. He was a Hindu of Hindus. To say that he worshipped images would be absurd. No intelligent and educated Hindu does that, at any rate in these times. That he worshipped God, I know, though what idea exactly he associated with the term, I do not know, and I shall not lament much if I never do." "Kristodas Pal—A study," by N. Ghose, p. 161. The following is one among numerous citations which could be made from the works of travellers to illustrate the tolerant attitude of the Hindus towards foreign religions: "The people [of Calicut] are infidels; consequently he [Abdul Rizak, ambassador from the Court of Persia about the middle of the fifteenth century] considers himself in an enemy's country, as the Mahomedans consider every one who has not received the Koran. Yet he admits that they meet with perfect toleration, and even favour, have two mosques, and are allowed to pray in public. Goods may be landed and may remain exposed in the markets, without the least danger, and on being sold, pay only a fortieth of the value"—Murray's "Discoveries and Travels in Asia" Vol. II. p. 20. The Hindu sages of ancient as well as modern times remind one of Gibbon's observations about the philosophers of antiquity: "In their writings and conversation, the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason; but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and custom. Viewing with a smile of pity and indulgence, the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented the temples of the gods; and sometimes condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they

One of the most important causes of the stability of Hinduism is this toleration which implies adaptability to its environment. Mahomedanism made but few converts except among the Hinduised aborigines of Eastern Bengal. Nor has Christianity been more successful than Mahomedanism. The Indian converts to Christianity form a comparatively insignificant fraction of the total population; and they mostly belong to the lower ranks of society. Not many educated Hindus now embrace Christianity. The fact is, to quench his spiritual thirst the Hindu has no need to search for springs outside his religion. *

Interference of Hinduism in social matters injurious to progress:

But Hinduism has been as intolerant of social heresy as it has been tolerant of intellectual or religious heresy. The protective spirit of Hinduism in social matters has been as injurious to progress as the absence of that spirit in religious and intellectual

concealed the sentiments of an athiest under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a temper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective modes of faith or of worship. It was indifferent to them what shape the folly of the multitude might choose to assume." "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" Vol. I. Ch. II.

* According to the last Census, out of a total population of 287,223,431, there are 2,036,590 Christians of Indian and African descent in the whole empire (including Burma.)

matters has been favourable to it. In the second Book of our history we shall dwell upon the efforts of the advanced Hindus to free themselves from the despotic sway of their religion in social matters. There are two classes of such reformers, whom we shall call Neo-Hindus. They both agree in the necessity of social reforms, and differ only in the fact of the policy of one, the larger class being characterised by great caution. *

* The position of the Neo-Hindus of the cautious type was defined by the Hon. Justice M. G. Ranade at a meeting of the Sixth National Social Conference: "The process of growth is always slow, where it has to be a sure growth. The best natures naturally want to shorten this long process in their desire to achieve the work of a century in a decade. This temptation has to be resisted, and in this respect the teachings of the evolution doctrine have great force, because they teach that growth is structural and organic, and must take slow effect in all parts of the organism, and can not neglect any, and favour the rest. There are those amongst us who think that, in this connection, the work of the reformer is confined only to a brave resolve to break with the past, and do what our individual reason suggests as proper and fit. The power of long-formed habits add tendencies is however ignored in this view of the matter. "The true reformer has not to write upon a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half-written sentence. He has to produce the ideal out of the actual, and by the help of the actual." We have one continuous stream of life flowing past us, and "we must accept as valid the acts which were noted in the past and on the principles of the past," and seek to turn the stream with a gentle bend here, and a gentle bend there, to fructify the land; we can not afford to dam it altogether, or force it into a new channel. It is this circumstance which constitutes the moral interest of the struggle, and the advice so frequently given—that we have only to shake our bonds free and they will fall off themselves,—is one which matured and larger

The individual as well as the social life of the Hindu is regulated by religion. From his birth to his death he cannot eat, drink, wake, sleep, or even stir out from his house without consulting his religion. In the struggle for existence with the Western nations, he is sorely handicapped by his marriage and caste-customs which are prescribed by his religious works (the Sástras). His birth is for a religious purpose, the offering of oblations to the manes. His entire existence may be said, without exaggeration to be a round of religious duties. In the olden days, the higher castes, especially the Bráhmans, were required to devote the latter portion of their lives solely to religious exercises. The standard of purity set before the Bráhmans was indeed very high; from adolescence to death, his was a life of study, discipline, and devotion. It should in justice to the Bráhman be observed, that he has to some extent maintained this standard through centuries of political, social and religious vicissitudes. Until now the Bráhman has seldom engaged in military or money-making occupations. There have been Kshatriya

experience seldom supports. We cannot break with the past altogether; with our past we should not break altogether, for it is a rich inheritance, and we have no reason to be ashamed of it." (Report of the Sixth National Social Conference." Appendix, pp. 20-21).

Kings, Súdra Kings, and aboriginal Kings but seldom any Bráhman Kings.

Hedged in by minute rules and restrictions, the various classes forming the Hindu community, have had but little room for expansion and progress. The result has been stagnation. A high-caste Hindu may not eat food cooked by a member of a lower caste. His diet and drink are restricted and regulated. He must not cross the sea. The Bráhmans alone can read the sacred books. An infinity of such rules has hampered the intellectual, commercial, and industrial progress of the Hindus. The wonder is not that they have advanced so little within the last eight centuries, but that they have stood their ground so well as they have done.

stagnation the result of such interference;

Hinduism governs Hindu society through the caste-system. It has been in existence for nearly three thousand years. After sometime, its iniquity must have been felt by many a cultured and broad-minded Hindu. This is sufficiently shown by many passages in the religious works of the Hindus in which it is enjoined that it is not birth but good work and spiritual development, that give one a a right to the title of Bràhman. Hindu reformers from the time of Gautama Buddha to the present day have

Caste;

attacked caste from within, and Mahomedans and Christians have attacked it from without. Still it is there, such is the solidarity it attained at an early period of Hindu history.

its good, and its evil.

The most divergent views have been entertained with regard to the influence of caste on Hindu progress. While some have extolled it to the skies, others have condemned it as "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions." The truth lies midway. It is true, that in the earliest stages, there was progress in spite of it. It is even possible, that it then aided progress by a specialisation of the social functions. But, after the Hindu society had attained a certain stage of progress, all the good that caste did was to keep it at that stage, to prevent Hindu society from going to pieces. Caste has held together the heterogeneous elements, of which Hindu society is composed, but by keeping them permanently distinct, it has probably prevented that fusion which, in other countries, as in England, has produced more or less homogeneous nations.* Caste has prevented the

* We say "probably," because of the ethnic difference in the constituent elements of the Hindu society—a difference which did not exist in the case of the people of England.

Hindus from sinking ; but it has also prevented them from rising.

The Bráhmans have handed down the learning and wisdom of their ancestors from generation to generation. The surviving representatives of the Kshatriyas are still found to possess to some extent the martial qualities of their forefathers. The artisan classes have for many centuries maintained their skill and workmanship. But progress is always relative, and stagnation in social movement really means retrogression. While other societies have moved forward in the path of progress, Hindu society, by remaining stationary, has been left behind ; and this stationariness is largely due to the institution of caste.* Caste has preserved order, but has, at the same time, hindered progress. Except two or three commentators, the Bráhmans have not during the last seven centuries, produced a single writer of note in any department of human knowledge. They have forgotten the principles of the mathematical and medical sciences in which their ancestors had acquired such distinction ; and these sciences have been reduced to mere arts by which ignorant astrologers and indigent

* The other important cause of this stationariness, as will be shewn hereafter, was the Mahomedan conquest.

physicians earn a living. When a century ago, Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, offered ample stipends to any Hindu astronomer who could name in Sanskrit all the constellations which he would point out, and to any Hindu physician who could bring him all the plants mentioned in Sanskirt books, he was assured that no Pandit in India even pretended to possess the knowledge which he required. Monopoly is unfavourable to intellectual, as it is to all other progress. Learning or wisdom, like industrial or commercial enterprise, cannot long be kept up as the exculsive heritage of a limited class. The Kshatriyas bravely resisted the invasions of the Mahomedans, but without the co-operation of the other classes of the Hindu community they could not long resist successfully ; and caste rendered such co-operation an impossibility.* The artisans and traders

* Auguste Comte, who has forcibly pointed out some of the good points of caste, observes: "Notwithstanding all these qualities, the theocratic system (caste) could not but be hostile to progress, through its excessive stability, which stiffened into an obstinate immoveableness when new expansions required a change of social classification. The supreme class appropriated all its immense resource of every kind to the preservation of its almost absolute dominion after it had lost by long enjoyment of power, the chief stimulous to its own progression." ("The Positive Philosophy," translated by Harriet Martineau, Vol. II. p. 240).

have ever been without the aspiration or the education to rise high, kept down as they have been at a low level both socially and intellectually. However wealthy they might be, their social rank could never be improved; however necessary it might be, they were not allowed to receive any but an elementary education. Illiterate and unaspiring, they have been content to occupy the position assigned them in the Hindu society and to follow their hereditary occupations as far as possible, but have not kept pace with modern progress, and have never exhibited enterprise and inventive powers such as characterise the modern civilisation of the West.

"The idolators of India" observes the French traveller, Tavernier, "are so numerous that for one Mahomedan there are five or six Gentiles. It is astonishing to see how this enormous multitude of men has allowed itself to be subjected by so small a number of persons, and has bent readily under the yoke of the Mahomedan princes. But the astonishment ceases when one considers that these idolators have no union among themselves, and that superstition has introduced so strange a diversity of opinions and customs, that they never agree with one another." (Travels in India, By Jean Baptiste Tavernier. Vol. II. London, 1889, p. 181.)

Hindu Social progress in pre-M[illegible] period,

The history of caste and of other socio-religious institutions which will be given in the second Book, will show, that they have changed considerably since the

early Vedic period, * and that they have attained their present relative unpliability at a comparatively recent period. As may be expected from what we have said already, the domination of Hinduism over Hindu society became more and more stringent with the decay and degeneration of Hindu civilisation during the later Puránic or the Mahomedan period.† During the progressive period of Hindu civilisation, Hindu society changed, and changed greatly, so as to keep pace with progress. The principles which governed the social

* The caste-system has attained its present comparative rigidity after going through many changes. Sufficient evidence will be adduced in the Second Book of our history to show, that it was primarily of ethnic origin. Nowhere in the oldest authoritative works which treat of caste, do we meet with such castes as those of weavers, blacksmiths, silversmiths, barbers, &c. Had the caste-system been propounded by one or more legislators to secure division of labour, as was supposed by writers like James Mill, those are the very castes which should have first made their appearance. Cloths made of cotton and other materials are not only frequently mentioned in such works as the Manusamhitá, but there are allusions to rich and expensive garments even in the ancient hymns of the Rigveda. From the constant mention of gems and of ornaments made of the precious metals, we may infer, that they were in no small demand. It is thus evident that these and smilar arts and manufactures were long practised by certain classes of the Hindu community without their forming distinct castes.

† The periods into which we have for the sake of convenience divided Hindu history are:

(1) Vedic [B. C. 1500-500]; (2) Buddhist-Hindu [B. C. 500 to A. D. 700]; (3) Puránic (A. D. 700 to 1800); (4) Recent.

progress of the Hindus, however, differed considerably from those which underlie the social progress of modern Europe. The difference is, indeed so striking, that not a few social reformers at the present day—Hindu as well as non-Hindu—who are imbued with Western ideas, and who take Western society as their model, ascribe the origin of such un-Western, and therefore, according to them, retrogressive customs, as the seclusion of women, their early marriage, and the non-marriage of widows, to Hindu degeneracy.

on lines different from those on which Western society has advanced.

There are reasons to conclude that such customs were absent in the Vedic period, especially in the earlier portion of it. Indo-Aryan society then presented many points of resemblance with the Aryan society of modern Europe. Ladies then enjoyed considerable amount of freedom. They were not married early they often chose their own husbands they did not lead a secluded life; they danced and sang learned women took part in philosophical disputations in public assemblies; widows if they chose, could marry again. But, this freedom appears to have been coexistent with a laxity of sexual morals unknown in later times.*

Freedom in the earlier Vedic period,

* There was similar laxity among several other peoples of antiquity.

One of the Rigvedic Rishis solemnly prays to Pushan to protect him on his journey and provide him with a supply of fair damsels.* Vyása, than whose name there is none more venerable in Sanskrit literature, and many of the heroes of the Mahábhárata † are represented as not having been born in wedlock. The traditions regarding them, and such legends as those of Dírghatamas and his mother Mamatá‡ and of Svetaketu, son of Uddánaka,

accompanied by lax morals.

and his mother,§ when divested of their poetical and supernatural elements, testify to a looseness of sexual morals quite unknown in later times. The memory of a time when the Indo-Aryans were not particularly restrained by principles of sexual morality such as began to prevail in the Hindu society from the later Vedic period, and such as now prevail in all civilised societies, is abundantly preserved in the Mahábhárata. ‖ The following extracts from the

* R. V. IX. 67, 10.

† Dhritaráshtra, Pándu, Yudhishthira, Bhíma, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva, Karna, Drona &c. Some god or other was the father of every one of these warriors. And it is possible to suppose that they were represented as god-descended to increase their importance. But, in that case, Krishna, the greatest of the heroes of antiquity, should have been represented as god-descended also.

‡ Mahábhárata, A'diparva. Ch. 104.

§ Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Ch. 122.

‖ Pándu gravely teaches his wife, Kuntí, that wives may do as they like except at certain times!—Mahábhárata, A'diparva, Ch. 122.

Harivamsa describing a seaside picnic given by Krishna hardly require any comment :

"Having thus issued his orders to the sea, he [Krishna] commenced to play with Arjuna, while Satyabhámá, incited by a wink of Krishna, began to throw water on Nárada. Then Balaráma, tottering with drink, with great glee fell into the water, and beckoning the charming daughter of Revata by his side, took her by the hand. The sons of Krishna and the leading Bhaimas, who belonged to the party of Ráma, joyous and bent on pleasure, unmindful of their dresses and ornaments, and excited by drink, followed him to the sea. The Bhaimas belonging to the party of Krishna headed by Nishatha, and Ulmuka, arrayed in many-coloured garments and rich jewels and bedecked with garlands of *párijáta* flowers, with bodies painted with sandal-wood paste and unguents, excited by wine, and carrying aquatic musical instruments in their hands, began to sing songs appropriate for the occasion. By order of Krishna, hundreds of courtesans, led by the heavenly Apsarases played various pleasing tunes on water and other instruments. * * * Krishna and Nárada, with all those who were on their side, began to pelt water on Bala and his party ; and they in their turn did the same on the party of Krishna. The wives of Bala and Krishna, excited by libations of *arrack* [a strong spirituous liquor] followed their example, and squirted water in great glee with syringes in their hands. Some of the Bhaima ladies, over-weighted by the load both of love and wine, with crimson eyes and masculine garbs, entertained themselves before the other ladies, squirting water." *

* Harivamsa quoted in Rájendra Lál Mitra's "Indo-Aryans" (1881), Vol. I. pp. 439-440. Harivamsa was written long after the time of Krishna ; and there can be no doubt, that the poet in the description cited above has given full play to his imagination. It must be presumed, however, that he depicts the manners and customs of the time he describes with some approach to faithfulness. The Rása Lílá appears to have preserved the memory of such manners to the present day.

Bacchanalian scenes like these produced a violent revulsion of feeling towards the close of the Vedic period. A puritanic movement then set in. It is worthy of note, that this movement was synchronous with the promulgation of Vedantism, which is unquestionably a very sublime and philosophical form of religion. The moral reformation was accompanied not by religious reformation only but also by intellectual advancement of a high order; for, it was about the time of Gautama, at the close of the Vedic period or shortly after, that Hindu philosophy made the greatest progress.

Puritanic movement in the later Vedic period;

The puritanic movement was of a very comprehensive nature. Reformers are usually extremists; and the reformers we are speaking of were no exception to this rule. Intoxicating drinks were interdicted. Gautama said: "The householder who delights in the law should not indulge in intoxicating drinks, should not cause others to drink, should not sanction the acts of those who drink, knowing that it results in insanity." Lawgivers like Manu placed the drinking of spirituous liquors in the category of the most heinous sins, and prescribed the most awful penances for them. Dancing and singing, which were associated with drinking, fell into disre-

its comprehensive character.

pute. Meat-eating was greatly discouraged. "Meat can never be obtained" says an old Sútrakára "without injuring living beings, and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss." Gambling which, like drinking, was a fruitful source of crime and misery in the earlier Vedic period was anathematised. Manu enjoined corporal punishment for gambling and betting. Attempts were made to put ladies under restraints to which they had been utter strangers. "In childhood" says Manu "a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent."

Origin of early marriage &c.

A high standard of chastity was established. It was partly for the maintenance of this standard, and partly on grounds of social expediency, that the males among the Dvijas (the higher or "twice-born" castes) were subjected to a rigorous course of discipline; that early marriage was prescribed for females; and that widow-marriage was discouraged. These restrictions originated at a time of great intellectual and religious ferment and were accompanied by others which are looked upon as reforms in all civilised societies; and the position of some social reformers at the present day, that they came

into existence at a time of degeneration is historically untenable. Indeed, the fact of the absence of such restrictions among the lower classes, coupled with that of the increase in their rigorousness with social status, clearly indicate the way in which they originated.

Origin of restrictions upon food and drink.

Restrictions upon food and drink were also the result of the earnest movement of reformation to which we have just referred. The bill of fare of the earlier Vedic period was a very comprehensive one; it included beef and other articles forbidden at the present day. Its gradual contraction, as regards animal food, was not solely due to the sublime tenderness for animal life so eloquently preached by Gautama, but also to economic, hygienic, and æsthetic considerations. An agricultural people like the Indo-Aryans could not have been long in being deeply impressed with the immense usefulness of the cow. They must also have soon found out the unsuitability of beef as an article of food in a hot climate like that of India. That hygienic and æsthetic considerations must have weighed with the Aryan law-givers in their interdiction of domestic pigs and domestic fowls is proved by the fact that the flesh of wild pigs and of wild fowls is permitted.

The Indo-Aryan refomers instead of leaving their reforms to the chance of adoption on their own merit endeavoured to enforce them by investing them with the authority of religious ordinances. They did not rest contented with demonstrating the evils of drinking intoxicants, but prescribed the severest punishments for those who were guilty of it. In all societies the liberty of the individual is to some extent curtailed for the good of the community. But the restrictions imposed by the Hindu reformers of the time we are speaking of exceeded the bounds within which they should always be limited. Whatever rules they thought would conduce to the good of their society were formulated by them in a way which made their violation a sacrilege. Thus commenced that relation of Hindu religion to Hindu society, which instead of being that of friends or brothers, or that of sovereigns of equal authority, gradually became, especially in later times of degeneration, a relation of almost absolute despotism. So long as Hindu civilisation was progressive, so long as the proportion of the thoughtful to the unthinking, and of the educated to the uneducated, was a respectable one, so long as the influence of Bráhmans was kept down by that of

Increased stringency of socio-religious rules owing to the decay of Hindu civilisation in the Puránic period.

Srámans, so long this relation was not productive of any evil consequences of a serious nature. Notwithstanding, for instance, the protests of sages, like Manu, against widow-marriage, and notwithstanding their injunctions in favour of early marriage for girls, sufficient evidence will be adduced in our history to show, that the adult marriage of females, and the remarriage, at least, of virgin widows continued to take place till probably the commencement of the Mahomedan period.

But matters changed with the decay of Hindu civilisation which began about that time. Buddhism which had acted as a lever to Bráhmanic ascendency was stamped out of the country; Mahomedan invaders ruthlessly scoured and ravaged it from one end to the other * The Bráhmans lost the patronage of enlightened Hindu kings, and became more dependant than ever for their living on the gifts of the lower castes, with whom the

* Referring to Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud, Alberuni says: "God be merciful to both father and son! Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people." "Hindu Science has retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and has fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places." Alberuni's "India." Translated by E. C. Sachau Vol. I. p. 22.

superstitious part of Hinduism is always most popular. They had now to please the mob more than ever. The influence which had produced the sublime and the grand in Hindu works vanished; the influence which had produced the base and the ridiculous in them, gradually increased. * The number and influence of the wise and learned few gradually vanished, while the number and influence of the credulous and ignorant many remained, and increased, and throve. Increasing ignorance brought with it increasing superstition and all its concomitant evlis. The qualifications which according to the older Samhitás, like those of Manu and Vasishtha, entitle Bráhmans to veneration and gifts disappear from the later Samhitás, like those of Brihaspati and Vyása. "Bráhmans" says Vasishtha "who neither study nor teach the Veda, nor

* The following description by Gibbon of the Greeks previous to their subjugation by the Turks applies to the Hindus during the Mahomedan Period: "They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony. They read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation."

keep the sacred fires become equal to Súdras.......An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather, and a Bráhman ignorant of the Vedas, these three have nothing but the name of their kind." But later writers do not make any distinction between the learned and the ignorant among Bráhmans. They are all entitled to gifts; they are all sacred; they are all powerful. Outside the group of interested Bráhmans, there was now no one to dispute or even question their authority. They were now the sole interpreters of the Hindu Sástras; and it is no wonder that they interpreted in a way which conduced most to their interests. Whether they misquoted or misinterpreted, whether they were right or wrong, no one was in a position to judge. Whatever they now wrote or uttered was accepted as infallible truth. The practice of Sati (self-immolation of widows) of which there is scarcely any mention in the older Samhitás, became widely prevalent in the Puránic period; and the fact that the Sati's ornaments were the due of the Bráhman priests probably accounts for this prevalence at least to a great extent. It was to the interest of the Bráhman to encourage a practice which benefited him so substantially. The remarriage even of virgin widows which had been allowed by the older legislators was stopped. The res-

trictions of caste became more stringent than ever. It was to the interest of the Bráhman to multiply occasions for gifts to him, and to promote the despotism of religion over society. He was, however, not often guided by a sense of self-interest. The increasing ignorance of his class is more largely responsible for the increasing stringency of socio-religious rules. Hindu religion had, as we have seen, established its rule over Hindu society in pre-Puránic times. But while that society was progressive, while it possessed a respectable proportion of enlightened members, the rule could not become tyrannic. In the Puránic period, however increasing ignorance bred increasing superstition; and the government of religion became an almost unmitigated despotism.

Influence of physical causes upon civilisation.

There can be no doubt, that the physical features of a country have some causal connection with its progress, though the importance of this connection has sometimes been greatly exaggerated. The earliest civilisations sprang up in those parts of the globe where the physical causes, especially climate and soil, were most favourable; one of the reasons why the most advanced nations of modern Europe, the English, the French, and the Germans, were not civilised

till a late period in the history of man is to be found in the adverse nature of their physical environment. Their ancestors had to struggle against Nature in a way to which the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Hindus and Chinese were utter strangers. The struggle has left its impress on the character of the nations of North-Western Europe. Combative qualities have been highly developed in them. They are active, energetic, persevering, enterprising, and resolute. * These qualities

* The resoluteness is sometimes carried to a fault. A course of action once decided upon is resolutely persisted in, however palpable its iniquity may be. This feature becomes specially pronounced outside Europe, where the European appears to entertain a somewhat inordinate sense of the duty of maintaining his prestige and his vested interests.

"The necessity of not injuring" says Malcolm "the impression upon which the very foundation of our authority rests, obliges Government to carry through, at all hazards, every dispute and contest with the inhabitants of our own provinces, or those of any State which we protect. The measures of a local officer which occasion this necessity may be disapproved of; but our name and ascendancy must be supported, and victory must, on any terms, be obtained: for we cannot long exist if our strength be even doubted." (Malcolm's "Central India" 1823, Vol. II, pp. 267-268).

"There is nothing more common," says Lecky, "than for men who in private life are models of the most scrupulous integrity to justify or excuse the most flagrant acts of political dishonesty and violence. . Not unfrequently too by a curious moral paradox, political crimes are closely connected with national virtues. A people who are submissive, gentle and loyal, fall by reason of these very qualities under a despotic government, but this uncontrolled power has never failed to exercise a most pernicious influence on rulers, and their numerous acts of

again have greatly helped in the development of their civilisation of which industrialism may be said to be the distinguishing feature. Wealth being the indispensable condition of their progress, its acquisition engages large multitudes in endless industrial and commercial pursuits, and nature and man in all quarters of the globe have been made to minister to their ever-increasing wants. *

rapacity and aggression being attributed in history to the nation they represent, the national character is wholly misrepresented. ("History of European Morals," Introduction).

* Sometimes, however, in a way which is not quite consonant with usually accepted ethical principles. Matters do not appear to be different now from what they were when the following was written by Herbert Spencer in 1876:

"In China, India, Polynesia, Africa, the East Indian Archipelago, reasons—never wanting to the aggressor—are given for widening our empire: without force if it may be, and with force if needful. After annexing the Fiji Islands, voluntarily ceded only because there was no practicable alternative, there comes now the proposal to take possession of Samoa. Accepting in exchange a territory subject to a treaty, we ignore the treaty and make the assertion of it a ground for war with the Ashantees. In Sherbro our agreements with native chiefs having brought about universal disorder, we send a body of soldiers to suppress it, and presently will allege the necessity of extending our rule over a large area. So again in Perak. A resident sent to advise becomes a resident who dictates; appoints as sultan the most plastic candidate in place of one preferred by the chiefs; arouses resistance which becomes a plea for using force; finds usurpation of the government needful; has his proclamation torn down by a native; who is thereupon stabbed by the resident's servant; the resident is himself killed as a consequence; then (nothing being said of the murder of

Their national character, again, has greatly influenced their religious as well as intellectual progress. Their Christianity is no more like the Christianity as preached by Christ, than the Buddhism of the Thibetans is like the Buddhism as preached by Gautama. *

Indirect influence of physical causes upon religious and intellectual progress.

the native), the murder of the resident leads to outcries for vengeance, and a military expedition establishes British rule. Be it in the slaying of Karen tribes who resist surveyors of their territory, or be it in the demand made on the Chinese in pursuance of the doctrine that a British traveller, sacred wherever he may choose to intrude, shall have his death avenged on some one, we everywhere find pretexts for differences which lead to acquisitions. In the House of Commons and in the Press, the same spirit is shown. During the debate on the Suez-Canal purchase, our Prime Minister, referring to the possible annexation of Egypt, said that the English people, wishing the Empire to be maintained, "will not be alarmed even if it be increased;" and was cheered for so saying. And recently, urging that it is time to blot out Dahomey, the weekly organ of filibustering Christianity exclaims—"Let us take Whydah, and leave the savage to recover it."—"Principles of Sociology" (1876), Vol. I, pp. 602-3.

* The spirit of true Christianity does not appear to be well suited to the genius of Western civilisation. John Stuart Mill observes:

"To what an extent doctrines intrinsically fitted to make the deepest impression upon the mind may remain in it as dead beliefs, without being ever realized in the imagination, the feeling, or the understanding, is exemplified by the manner in which the majority of believers hold the doctrines of Christianity. By Christianity I here mean what is accounted such by all churches and sects—the maxims and precepts contained in the New Testament. These are considered sacred, and accepted as laws, by all professing Christians. Yet it is scarcely too much to say that not one Christian in a thousand guides or tests his individual conduct by reference to those laws. The standard to which he does refer it, is the custom of his nation, class or his religious

The intellectual advancement of modern Europe has chiefly been in the direction of Natural science, the prosecution of which is to no small extent, dependent upon habits of activity. Thus we see, how far-reaching is the influence of physical causes !

Influence of physical causes upon Hindu civilisation.

Just as the physical environment of the North-West of Europe has favoured the development of combativeness and activity,

profession. He has thus on the one hand, a collection of ethical maxims, which he believes to have been vouchsafed to him by infallible wisdom as rules for his government ; and on the other a set of every day judgments and practices, which go a certain length with some of those maxims, not so great a length with others, stand in direct opposition to some, and are, on the whole, a compromise between the Christian creed and the interests and suggestions of worldly life. To the first of these standards he gives his homage; to the other his real allegiance. All Christians believe that the blessed are the poor and humble, and those who are ill-used by the world; that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; that they should judge not, lest they be judged; that they should swear not at all: that they should love their neighbours as themselves; that if one take their cloak, they should give him their coat also; that they should take no thought for the morrow; that if they would be perfect they should sell all that they have and give it to the poor. They are not sincere when they say that they believe these things. They do believe them, as people believe what they have always heard lauded and never discussed. But in the sense of that living belief which regulates conduct, they believe these doctrines just up to the point to which it is usual to act upon them. * * * * Now we may be well assured that the case was not thus but far otherwise, with the early Christians." ("On Liberty". Ch. II.)

so the physical environment of India has favoured the development of peacefulness and quietism.* The Indo-Aryans, as they spread from the Punjab along the valley of the Ganges, must have found the struggle for existence a comparatively easy one. A fertile soil, with but little attention, yielded them abundant harvests. Edible fruits, roots, and herbs were plentiful in a wild state; so much so, that one, if he was so minded, could live upon them. The heat of the climate rendered much clothing unnecessary, if not actually unpleasant during the greater portion of the year. The shelter of a tree or of a rude hut was often quite sufficient, and sometimes highly pleasant, more so than the shelter of a brick or stonebuilt house. The animal wants of their nature being thus easily satisfied, the Hindus early began to devote their attention to spiritual culture, to the great problems of life and death. All nature conspired to make them thoughtful and imaginative. †

* Which, however, is sometimes identical with indolence.

† "If I were asked," says Professor Max Muller, "under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India." Again: "And in that study of the history of the human mind, in that study of ourselves, of our true selves, India occupies a place second to no other country."—"India what can it teach us," 1892, pp. 6, 14.

What was more pleasant than on a hot afternoon to sit under an umbrageous Banyan or Peepul tree and reflect or discuss? Microcosm was the study of the Hindu as macrocosm has been that of the modern European. Moral science was the intellectual basis of Hindu civilisation, as natural science is that of the modern civilisation of Europe. The path of salvation which has found most favour with the Hindus is absolute inaction and self-abnegation, the merging of the individual into the universal soul by profound meditation and ascetic discipline.

National character of the Hindus.

The same physical causes which have tended to make the Hindu thoughtful and imaginative have also tended to make him inactive. His virtues as well as vices are characterised by passivity. He would do his best to relieve such distress as presents itself at his house; but the most charitable Hindu would scarcely ever go out far to seek it out. He is a model of patience and peacefulness. When he persecutes, he persecutes indirectly and passively, rather than directly and actively. His worst form of persecution is excommunication, which means, that he will not eat, drink, or have any other social connection with the party excommunicated. The Hindus have far

less of the industrial and military qualities of European nations, but far more of the gentler qualities developed by a spiritual and quietist disposition,such as charity,hospitality sobriety, benevolence, forgiveness, and mercy.

The Greeks spoke of the ancient Hindus as "sober, moderate, peaceable; good soldiers; good farmers; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to a lawsuit and so honest as nither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements. Above all, it is said that no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth." *

James Forbes says in his "Oriental Memoirs":† "I sometimes frequented places where the natives had never seen an European, and were ignorant of every thing concerning us: there I beheld manners and customs simple as were those in the patriarchal age; there in the very style of Robecca and the damsels of Mesopotamia, the Hindoo villagers treated me with that artless hospitality so delightful in the poems of Homer, and other ancient records. On a sultry day, near a Zinore village, having rode faster than my attendants, while waiting their arrival under a tamarind tree, a young woman came to the well; I asked for a little water, but neither of us having a drinking vessel, she hastily left me, as I imagned, to bring an earthen cup for the purpose, as I should have polluted a vessel of metal: but as Jael when Sisera asked for water, "gave him milk, and brought forth butter in a lordly dish,"—Judges Ch. V. Ver. 25, so did this village damsel with more sincerity than Heber's wife, bring me a pot of milk, and a lump of butter on the delicate leaf of the banana, "the lordly dish" of the Hindoos. The former I gladly accepted; on my declining the latter she immediately made it up into two balls, and gave one to each of the oxen that drew my hackery. Butter is a luxury to these aminals, and enables them to bear additional fatigue."

* Elphinstone's History of India, Cowell's Edition 1874, p. 266.

† *Op cit.* Vol. II, 1813, pp 503-5

Warren Hastings spoke of the modern Hindus as "gentle, benevolent more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown them than prompted to vengeance for wrongs inflict ed, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people upon the face of the earth: they are faithful, and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority ....The precepts of their religion are wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society, its peace and good order"*

Bishop Heber spoke of them as "decidedly by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious and, when an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering," and as "constitutionally kind-hearted, industrious, sober, and peaceable." †

Sir Thomas Munro says: "In the higher branches of Science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good Government, and in an education, which by banishing prejudice—and superstition—opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy are among the signs which denote a civilised people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between England and India, I am convinced that England will gain by the import cargo."‡

MaxMuller thus writes: "during the last twenty years, however, I have had some excellent opportunities of watching a number of native scholars under circumstances where it is not difficult to detect a man's true character, I mean in literary work and, more particularly, in literary controversy. I have watched them carrying on such controversies both among themselves and with certain European scholars, and feel bound to say that,

* "History of British India" by Mill and Wilson, Vol. I, p. 372.

† "Narrative of a Journey through the upper Provinces of India," Vol. II, pp. 307, 270.

‡ "History of British India" by Mill and Wilson, Vol. I. p. 371.

with hardly one exception, they have displayed a far greater respect for truth, and a far more manly and generous spirit than we are accustomed to even in Europe and America. They have shown strength, but no rudeness; nay I know that nothing has surprised them so much as the coarse invective to which certain Sanskrit scholars have condescended, rudeness of speech being, according to their view of human nature, a safe sign not only of bad breeding, but of want of knowledge. When they were wrong, they have readily admitted their mistakes; when they were right, they have never sneered at their European adversaries. There have been, with few exceptions, no quibbling, no special pleading, no untruthfulness on their part, and certainly none of that low cunning of the scholar who writes down and publishes what he knows perfectly well to be false, and snaps his fingures at those who still value truth and self-respect more highly than victory or applause at any price. Here, too, we might possibly gain by the import cargo. Let me add that I have been repeatedly told by English merchants that commercial integrity stands higher in India than in any other country, and that a dishonoured bill is hardly known there." *

Influence of the doctrine of karma.

The tendency of the doctrine of *karma* † (the 'transmisgration of character") has been to promote contentment. The Hindu bears the "ills which flesh is heir to" with patience and

* "India, what can it teach us," Lecture II. It should be observed that just as the Europeans sometimes carry their combativeness to a fault, so the Hindus sometimes carry their peacefulness and forgiveness to a fault. They will yield when they should not, and often tamely and patiently suffer wrongs which Europeans will lose no time to resent. This is especially unfortunate as their rulers appreciate and respect fighting; and the justness of a cause is often measured by the sturdiness with which it is fought for.

† "Gautama held that after the death of any being, whether human or not there survived nothing at all but that being's Karma, the result, that is, of its mental and bodily actions. Every individual, whether

equanimity, because he believes them to be the result of transgressions in a previous life. He is reconciled to his fate, because he has brought himself to believe in its justice. If he finds, that other people have a larger share of the good things of the world than what they apparently deserve, he ascribes their good fortune to good works in some previous life. If he finds he has less than his deserts, he attributes his evil fortune to evil deeds in a former life.

Comparative absence of the military spirit among Hindus.

The Hindus have never been a fighting people. Their highest and most intellectual classes, the classes that led, and legislated, seldom took any part in warfare. In India, and outside India, the Hindus have exerted cosiderable influence; but the influence has generally been of a spiritual rather than of a physical nature, the influence of the mind upon the mind. They have more

human or divine, was the last inheritor and last result of the Karma of a long series of past individuals." (Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lectures, p. 92.)

"This fine body [the Súkshmasaríra], however, consists not only of the faculties of sensuous perception (indriyáni), of mind (manas), and of vital breath (mukhyapräna), but its character is likewise determined by former acts, by karman. In the Púrvamimámsá this continuity between acts and their consequences is called Apúrva, literally, that which did not exist before' but was brought about in this or in a former life." (Max Muller, "Theosophy, or Psychological Religion," p. 306.)

or less civilised large masses of people, such as the Dravidians and other aborigines, not by conquering or annexing their territories, but by settling amongst them and exerting the irresistible influence of intellectual and spiritual superiority.

From a very remote period, India has been divided into a number of small principalities. Megasthenes counted 118, and Hiouen Thsang, 76. The kings who were most powerful exacted submission from weaker

We have given above some of the distinctive traits in the national character of the Hindus; we need hardly say, there are black sheep among them as among other peoples. In this connection, however, the following observations by Major Evans Bell are very apposite:

"It will, however, be hardly necessary for me to quote contemporary and notorious cases of unveracity, and bribery, and cheating, in both high and low stations of our own countrymen both in England and in India, to show that as a nation we are not as yet justified in throwing the first stone ....We wash our dirty linen at home; but the foulest rags of India are carefully selected and ostentatiously displayed as the habitual costume of the most respectable class of natives."

"How indignant we are, how we vituperate the native character on discovering some petty pilfering or embezzlement on the part of our domestic servants. Surely, the lamentations of English house-keepers regarding the marvellous consumption of tallow candles, and the expansion of "kitchen stuff," the necessity of locking the tea-caddy, and keeping a key for the beer-barrel, must be pleasant jests; and the complaints of bachelors against lodging house-keepers for levying black mail on their coal and cold meat were never heard of before the performance of the farce of *Box and Cox*, and have no existence except in its scenes. Spoons never disappear mysteriously except in India."

"The English in India." pp. 116-117, 161.

princes; but such submission was in the majority of cases merely nominal. Even in the case of conquest, it is enjoined in the Manusamhitá, that "immediate security is to be assured to all by proclamation. The religion and laws of the country are to be respected, and as soon as time has been allowed for ascertaining that the conquered people are to be trusted, a prince of the royal family of the conquered country is to be placed on the throne, who should hold his kingdom as a dependency".*

The contact of the British and Hindu civilisations has affected the latter more than the former: reasons why.

Of the two civilisations which have been brought together in India, the British has been far less affected than the Hindu by the contact. The Hindus had greatly influenced the Mahomedans. The Mahomedans settled in the country, and as Orientals they had much in common with the Hindus. The bigoted among the Mahomedans might express contempt for the unbelievers, but they could not resist the influence of a civilisation, in many points superior to their own. They were gradually somewhat Hindu

* Manu. VII. 201-203.

ised. They admitted the Hindus to the highest civil and military dignities under them. There were Hindu generals, Hindu prime-ministers and Hindu governors of large provinces, serving under Mahomedan Kings and Emperors. The intercourse between the Hindus and the Mahomedans was facilitated by a common language, in which the Hindu element was very strong. Several Mahomedan Emperors took to Hindu customs so strongly as to interdict beef. One of them—the Great Akbar—went so far as to observe Hindu ceremonies, and practically abjure Islam. Several of the Emperors and princes of Delhi formed matrimonial alliances with Hindu chiefs. The Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan were the offspring of Hindu mothers.

But the case is otherwise with the British. They do not settle in India. They look upon India as a country where, whether as merchents or manufacturers or Government servants, their prime concern is to make money. This is especially the case now-a-days when improved steam communication enables them to have a run home even on three months' leave. Besides, not a few of them would deny to the Hindus the rank of a civilized nation, and would scarcely dream of mixing with threm on a footing of perfect equal-

ity * Yet, notwithstanding this studied distance, the Hindu contact has, to some extent, affected the English. But, the influence of the contact has been far greater on the Hindu than on the British; and our history will contain abundant illustrations of this influence. The reasons are obvious. The English civilisation is possessed of all the vitality of a young and progressive civilisation, and all the dignity and the prestige of being owned by a powerful people. English education is spreading far and wide in India. For one Englishman studying the literature and science of the Hindus, there are a

* This feeling characterised the civilised nations of antiquity, as it does those of the present day. What Alberuni said of the Hindus of his day applies *mutatis mutandis* to the latter: "They believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs * * * * According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, and no created beings besides them, have any knowledge or Science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar." (Alberuni's "India" Translated by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I. p. 22.) It is often asserted that the chief hindrance to Europeans mixing freely, and on terms of equality, with the Hindus is the *Zenana* system of the latter. But those who have done away with it and approximated most to English social conditions do not generally appear to have had that equal treatment which one might have expected from the frequency and authoritativeness of such assertions.

thousand Hindus, studying the literature and science of the English. The educated Hindus often know more of English literature than they do of Hindu literature, more of Shakespeare and Milton, of Bentham and Mill, than they do of Kálidása and Bhababhúti, of Kapila and Gautama. Many of them write in the English language better than they do in their own vernaculars. They imbibe more or less the spirit of the English civilisation, though, it may often be, imperceptibly and unconsciously.

One of the main objects of this history will be to trace the changes due to the influence of the Western contact on the religious, socio-religious, social, industrial, and intellectual condition of the Hindus. If we have not devoted a separate Book to the moral condition, it is not owing to its unimportance. It is, indeed, the most important factor of civilisation; and we shall give as much of the history of Hindu morals as is capable of historical treatment, especially in connection with the history of the socio-religious and of the social condition. We shall here briefly dwell upon two recent moral changes which it will not be convenient to specially notice hereafter. A harmonious combination of all that is good in the industrial character of the Eng-

lish with all that is good in the spiritual character of the Hindus, of the energy, perseverance, and enterprise of the English with the gentleness, simplicity and benevolence of the Hindu, would produce a most estimable type of humanity. Though such combination is rare, a decided approach to it is observable in the lives of several Hindu gentlemen within the last half century as, for instance, in the life of the late Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyáságar. *

Comparative absence of selfishness promoted by Hindu social organisation.

The tendency of a spiritual and non-industrial civilisation like that of the Hindus is to decrease the sense of self-interest, † and that of a material and industrial

* A Hindu of Hindus in many of the distinctive traits of his character, he had much of the good side of the Englishman in him. He was active, persevering, and resolute. He sought to remove the defects of the Hindu society with English energy. He acquired an immense fortune. He worked hard like an Englishman for it. But he spent it like a Hindu, not on his own comforts and luxuries or those of his family; but on charitable objects. Simple and self-sacrificing, he spent what he earned in relieving distress, in feeding, clothing and educating those that stood in need of food and clothes and education. His benevolence even involved him in debt. He was most catholic in his benevolence. Hindus and non-Hindus equally shared it. He would tend sick persons, suffering even from cholera and belonging to the lowest classes of society, with the care and tenderness of a father.

† The expression "self-interest" is here used in its usual narrow

civilisation like the Western is to increase it. The sense of self-interest is quite natural; man has it in common with other animals. But the object of progress should be to subordinate it to higher principles. Western civilisation has failed to secure this object. It has on the contrary, fostered a keen sense of self-interest, which may, without exaggeration be said, to be its motive impulse. In the Hindu, the sense of self-interest has been subdued to a remarkable, and according to Western ideas, to an undesirable extent. As head of the joint-family, he lives and earns not so much for himself and his own family (in the European sense) as for others more distantly or scarcely related to him.

It seems strange, that a society, in which the principal motive impulse to industry—the exclusive enjoyment of its fruits—is wanting, should have thrived for so many centuries. The ceremonial observances and entertainments of the Hindus are so ordered as to benefit all sections of the community. The Bráhman has no doubt precedence over the other castes and gets the lion's share of the gifts; and at the present day he

sense. There is no difference between altruism and an enlightened and broad sense of self-interest which identifies individual and national interests with the interests of humanity.

seldom fulfils the conditions which of yore entitled him to such gifts. But Bráhman, or Súdra, or even Mahomedan each has a prescriptive right in any entertainment that may take place in his neighbourhood. Whatever be the occasion, whether it be a wedding, or a Pújá, or a Sráddha, all ranks of the community from the highest to the lowest, from the richest to the poorest, have their share in it, almost as a matter of right. Guests come in by the hundred, and they have all to be attended to according to their social status. With regard to amusements they are also open to the public. The most popular form of amusement in Bengal is what is called *Yátrá*, or popular dramatic performances. The entire expense of the Yátrá is borne by the party in whose house it is held. Sometimes also it is got up by subscription. But, in either case, it is open to the public; there is no admission fee. In Hindu society the entertainers are not entertained. All their time and energies are exhausted in looking after their numerous and heterogeneous guests. The pleasure they derive is the pleasure of having done their duty towards the society in which they live. And one of the greatest hardships of excommunication, the worst social punishment which the Hindu dreads, is the deprivation of the pleasure of feeding others.

Selfishness is seen in its worst forms in the struggles for the acquisition of wealth. The caste-system, the joint-family system, and other causes have by minimising these struggles checked the growth of selfishness. No institution analogous to the work-house of England, and no law analogous to the Poor Law of England has ever been needed in India. Except during famines, private charity has always been sufficient to relieve local distress. The Hindus have always admitted foreigners into the heart of their country, and behaved towards them with an unsuspecting liberality which, in many cases, proved highly detrimental to their own interests. To any one acquainted with the history of India's connection with the European nations, many instances of the ill requital of Hindu kindness—which is sometimes construed as weakness or stupidity—will no doubt occur.

Increased sense of self-interest due to the contact of Western civilisation.

The influence of the Western contact is giving rise to an increased sense of self-interest in the Hindu society. Under existing conditions this is inevitable. It is however well, that we should clearly see and recognise the good points in the order of things which is passing away and try to retain them as far as possible. The educated community of the present day do not see the necessity of social and socio-religious entertainments

from which they cannot derive more unalloyed and direct pleasure than what satisfied their ancestors. The joint-family system has been seriously affected. It is incompatible with the increased sense of self-interest which has been fostered by English influence. In the new society, the poor have not that recognised position which they had in the old. Giving them alms is discountenanced by modern political economy, lest indiscriminate charity should encourage able bodied idleness. The occasional feasts to which they used to be treated by the oppulent are getting few and far between. The amusements to which they used to look forward of old are becoming obsolete.

Increased sense of individuality under Western influence.

Another important moral change due to Western contact, which is closely connected with the last, is an increased sense of individuality. The structure of the Hindu family, as well as of the Hindu society, has tended to suppress individuality. The senior member of a Hindu family is its head (kartá). There may be abler individuals among the juniors, but they must submit to the authority of the kartá. The Bráhmans are the highest class in Hindu society; they alone have the right of studying and interpreting the religious works

(Sástras); they alone have the right of cultivating their minds. * There may be gifted individuals among the other castes; but they are denied the opportunity of improving their natural parts. The tendency of the Hindu system has, on the whole, been to smother individuality, a tendency which has become greatly intensified with the decay of Hindu civilisation in the Puránic period.

The spread of English education, and the example of of English society have now brought the individual into greater prominence than before. He is beginning to feel, that his existence is not solely, or chiefly, for his family or his society. Whatever his caste may be, he can recieve the highest education which the country gives, and obtain the highest honours which the Government bestows upon his countrymen. An increased sense of freedom, which is produced by that of individuality, is at the root of many of the changes which we shall have to record in our history. It is this sense which has emboldened the Neo-Hindus to interpret the Sástras in the light of their reason, and to inaugurate important social reforms; and it is also this sense which is leading to important changes in Hindu literature and various other matters.

* As we shall see hereafter, matters were different in ancient times.

From a very ancient time, India has been noted for

Arts and manufactures in the Vedic period,

her arts and manufactures. The progress made in them in the earlier Vedic period, appears to have been by no means insignificant. In the Rigveda there is constant mention of axes, spears, knives and swords.* The Ribhus are spoken of as having shamed Tvashtri by the superiority of their skill in the working of wood and metal. The arts of boat-building, roap-making, and of working in leather are frequently alluded to.†

There are frequent references to coats of mail, as also to elegant and expensive garments. There are descriptions of divine palaces with thousand gates and thousand pillars, and of the jewellery of the deities, which though, no doubt, hyperbolical could not have been given by the Rishis unless they had seen something of the like.

During the period of the Manusamhitá, the progress

in the Buddhist-Hindu period.

of social evolution gave rise to a variety of arts and manufactures unknown to the early Aryan settlers. The Aryas of the time

* R. V. 1, 127, 3; VI, 3, 5; X, 53, 9; &c.
† R. V. I, 85, 5; I, 116, 3; VIII, 42, 3, &c

of the Manusamhitá used vessels made not only of copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin and lead but also of gold and silver. * Household utensils made of leather, cane, horn, shells and ivory were not uncommon. † From the frequent mention of gems and ornaments made of the precious metals, as well as from the tax levied upon them they seem to have been in no small demand.‡ Perfumes, honey, iron, indigo, lac, medical substances, wax, sugar, spices &c. formed some of the ordinary articles of trade. §

There are references not only to clothes made of cotton and jute, but also to silk and woollen manufactures.|| Carriages, waggons, and boats are mentioned among ordinary conveyances. Trade was chiefly inland. But from the law relating to bottomry in the Manusamhitá and other allusions to navigation, it is evident that it was not so confined.

The material condition of the people under the Moguls.

The material condition of the people under the Mogul Empire, must, on the whole have been one of ease and comfort.

* Manusamhita V. 112-114.

† Manusamhita V. 119, 121.

‡ Manusamhita VII. 130.

§ Manusamhita X. 86-89.

|| Manusamhita X. 87; V. 120 &c.

The following table gives the wages of some labourers during the reign of Akbar *

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Carpenters	0	2	$9\frac{3}{5}$	to	0	0	$9\frac{3}{5}$
Bricklayers	0	1	$4\frac{4}{5}$	to	0	1	$2\frac{2}{5}$
Bamboo-cutters	0	0	$9\frac{3}{5}$				
Thatchers	0	1	$2\frac{2}{5}$				
Water-carriers	0	1	$2\frac{2}{5}$	to	0	0	$9\frac{3}{5}$

The following are the average prices of some of the commonest articles of consumption during the same reign † :—

		Rs.	A.	P.			Rs.	A.	P.
Wheat	*per man* ...	0	4	$9\frac{3}{5}$	Ghee	*per man* ...	2	10	0
Lentils	,, ...	0	4	$9\frac{3}{5}$	Oil	,, ...	2	0	0
Barley	,, ...	0	3	$2\frac{2}{5}$	Milk	,, ...	0	10	0
Millet	,, ...	0	2	$4\frac{4}{5}$	Brown Sugar	,, ...	1	6	4
Sathi rice	,, ...	0	8	0	Salt	,, ...	0	6	$4\frac{4}{5}$
Zirhi rice	,, ...	1	0	0	Onions	,, ...	0	2	$4\frac{4}{5}$
Moth Dal	,, ...	0	4	$9\frac{3}{5}$	Turmeric	,, ...	0	4	0
Wheat flour (Coarse)	...	0	6	0	Silahati cloth, per yard	...	0	1	$7\frac{1}{5}$
Mung Dal	...	0	7	$2\frac{2}{5}$	Blankets, coarse per piece		0	4	0

The monthly dietetic requirements of a flour-eating average adult labourer would be :—

	Seers		Price in Akbar's time Rs.	A.	P.
Flour ...	25	... ...	0	3	9
Dal ...	5	... ...	0	0	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Ghee ...	1	... ...	0	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Salt ...	1	... ...	0	0	$2\frac{4}{5}$
		Total ...	0	5	$7\frac{4}{5}$

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 225.

† *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 62-63, 95-96.

Making allowance for condiments and other little things, an adult labourer could live comfortably during the reign of Akbar on six annas per month. Taking his family to consist of five members (himself, his wife, and three children), he alone being the earning member, we may take one rupee and four annas to cover his monthly expenses on account of food for the whole family. An average unskilled labourer, like a water-carrier, in Akbar's time would earn one rupee and fourteen annas per month. Thus he would have left a margin of ten annas to spend on clothing and luxuries,—a large amount considering the purchasing power of the rupee at the time.

Labourers.

The condition of the artisans must have been more prosperous than in any previous period. This prosperity was due partly to increased commerce with Europe, and partly to the taste for luxuries created by the Mahomedans. The doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama at the close of the 15th century, marks an epoch in the history of India. That event had a remarkable influence on the development of her foreign trade. Various costly gold, silk and woollen stuffs were introduced during the Mahomedan period. Satin velvet, brocaded velvet, and broad cloth from Persia and Europe, were amongst these.

Artisans.

Indian industries a century ago.

The indigenous velvets and satins however held their own against those imported from abroad. Besides raw produce, such as indigo, spices and sugar, India exported to Europe manufactured cotton and silk. These manufactures must have given employment to numerous artisans. The following are the component parts of the amount of sales by the East Indian Company in England, reduced to an annual average, in the seventeen years ending 1808-9 : *

Piece goods	£1,539.478
Organzine silk	£13.443
Pepper	£195.461
Saltpetere	£180,066
Spices	£112,596
Sugar, Indigo	£272.442
Coffee	£6,624

Muslins and calicoes used to be manufactured in various parts of India, especially in Bengal and the northern part of the coast of Coromandel. Dacca was the chief seat of the muslin manufacture. The Northern Circars and the neighbourhood of Masulipatam were the most distinguished for chintzes, calicoes and ginghams. The artisans engaged in the manufacture of cotton, silk, and wool were mostly, as their descendants still are, Hindus ; and the expansion of the European trade during

* H. Murray's 'Discoveries and Travels," Vol. II p. 375,

the Mogul rule must have greatly increased their prosperity. The historian of Firuz Shah speaks "of the happy state of the ryots, the goodness of their homes and furniture, and the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women. . . . . He says, amongst other things, that every ryot had a good bedstead and a neat garden."

European travellers on the material condition of the people under Moslem rule—Conti.

Nicolo di Conti who travelled about A.D. 1420, describes the banks of the Ganges as covered with cities and beautiful gardens. He ascended the Ganges till he came to what he calls a most famous and powerful city named Maurazia abounding in gold, silver and pearls. * Baber, who came to India in the beginning of the 16th century, speaks of it as a rich and noble country, abounding in gold and silver and is astonished at the swarming population, and the innumerable workmen in every trade and profession.

Manrique.

Sebastian Manrique who travelled about 1612, mentions the magnificent fabrics of cotton of Bengal exported to all the countries of the East. He describes Dacca, then the capital of Bengal, to be frequented by people of every nation

* Murray, *op. cit.* p. 12.

and to contain upwards of 200,000 souls. He travelled from Lahore to Multan through a country abounding in wheat, rice, vegetables, and cotton. The villages, he tells us, are numerous, and contain excellent inns. Tatta in Sind, where he stayed for a month, is described by him to be extremely rich. The country round is of exuberant abundance, particularly in wheat, rice, and cotton, in the manufacture of which at least two thousand looms are employed. Some silk is also produced, and also a beautiful species of leather, variegated with fringes and ornaments of silk. *

Mandeslo.

Mandeslo, a German, who travelled about 1638, found Broach to be a populous city, almost filled with weavers, who manufactured the finest cotton cloth in the province of Guzerat. On his way from Broach to Ahmedabad, he passed through Brodera, another large town of weavers and dyers. He was much struck with the splendour and beauty of Ahmedabad, the chief manufactures of which were those of silk and cotton. Cambay appeared to him a larger city than Surat, and carried on an extensive trade. He found Agra, then the capital of India, to be twice as large as Ispahan ; a man in one

* Murray. *op. cit.* p. 99 *et seq.*

day could not ride round the walls. The streets were handsome and spacious; some, of more than a quarter of a league, were vaulted above for the convenience of shopkeepers, who had their goods exposed there for sale.*

Bernier.

Bernier, who resided for some time in India about the middle of the 17th century, writes deprecatingly of the wealth of the people. He admits, however, "that India is like an abyss, in which all the gold and silver of the world are swallowed up and lost; such vast quantities are continually imported thither out of Europe, while none ever returns;" and "that vast quantities of the precious metals are employed not only in earrings, nose-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, and other ornaments, but in embroidering and embellishing the clothes alike of the Omrahs and of the meanest soldiers." †

One of the first effects of the contact of English industrialism under English rule was the ruin of the indigenous industries of India. The hand-made manufactures of India could not long compete with the machine-made manufactures of England. Among the

* Murray, *op, cit,* pp. 173 *et seq.*

† Murray. *op. cit.* p. 187.

Hindus, the artisan castes used to look after their industries; the weaving castes looked after the cotton manufactures; the potters took care of pottery; tanning was in charge of the *muchis* and *chámárs*; and so forth. The Hindu community was, in one sense, a very well-ordered one; unaffected by ambition, *contented with his lot, ignorant of every thing but his own calling—everybody was happy in his own sphere. He had plenty to eat, and had a large share of comforts also. The struggle for existence, and the restlessness and discontent, which are the inevitable consequences of such struggles, were then unknown. Each excelled in his own handicraft—the potter in pottery, the weaver in weaving, the dyer in dyeing; and he earned enough from his trade to make himself comfortable. But the good, old times have passed away. We may sigh for them, but they will never return. We must move with the times or perish. The progress of natural science in the western world has effected a revolution in industrial methods:

Causes of the ruin of Indian industries.

* Traders and artisans have always occupied a low position in the Hindu social system In the Manusmhitá such respectable people as oil-manufacturers are placed in the same category as publicans and brothel-keepers; and physicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, singers, tailors, black-smiths, and dyers are classed, as regards purity of food prepared by them, with perjurers, thieves, and adulteresses! Manu IV. 84, 2102—16.

The day of mere manual skill is gone by. This revolution took the Hindus by surprise; they were not prepared for it; they were not given the time to prepare themselves for it; and the result is that they are simply paralysed. The caste system had no doubt aided progress in the earlier stages of their civilisation; it has also served to maintain some kind of order for centuries since the decay of that civilisation. But caste did so at the sacrifice of progress—progress such as it is understood now in Europe and America. It was not to be expected that illiterate weavers, or illiterate dyers, or illiterate miners, would apply the scientific methods of modern industries to their professions. Not being able to do so, they have gone to the wall.

The absence of a protective tariff of any sort not only contributed to the ruin of indigenous industries, but also placed serious difficulties in the way of their revival. A high official of the Government of Bengal says: * "Another suggestion of even more practical character is that the Government of this country should afford assistance to indigenous industries by protection. We were told in a recent

* Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, Lecture on Technical Education at the Bethune Society (Calcutta).

official report, with an air of exultation, that India sets an example to the whole civilised world in the matter of free trade. But is it to the advantage of India itself that it should do so? This is a wide question. * * * Different authorities will have different opinions on it, but my brief analysis of the decay of Indian manufactures will have prepared you to expect my own personal conclusion, that the time is ripe for a careful consideration of current convictions on this subject." †

Effects of the extinction of indigenous industries;

The all but utter extinction of our industries has ruined our artisan classes. Down to the commencement of the present century we used to make enough clothes, not only to meet our own demands, but also to export a good portion of them. Our export trade then consisted mainly of manufactured cotton; now it consists mainly of raw produce. In the beginning of the present century

† Railways also appear to have contributed, to some extent, to the extinction of indigenous industries. They have added greatly to the comforts of travelling. They have helped to mitigate the horror of famines. But they have also partly helped to cause them. For, by carrying European wares cheaply into the interior they have been one of the contributory causes of the destruction of indigenous industries, which means increased pressure upon land.

India exported to England piece-goods worth more than a million and-a-half pounds ; in 1892 we imported over twenty eight millions worth of manufactured cotton. The profits of manufacture which a century ago remained in the country and enriched it, now swell the ever-increasing drain to Europe. The greater majority of the artisan classes who once formed large flourishing communities have been driven to earn their subsistence as agriculturists or labourers. *

increased pressure upon land ;

Large towns with urban populations have dwindled into inconsiderable villages. It has been estimated that nearly ninety per cent of our population is now dependent, directly or indirectly, upon agriculture. But, the extent of cultivable waste-land, in proportion to the population, is rather small. Consequently, as population has been increasing † and becoming more and more largely agricultural,

* Mr. Cotton, in the lecture from which we have quoted above says: "Not a year passes in which the commissioners and district officers do not bring to the notice of Government that the manufacturing classes from all parts of the country are becoming impoverished. ...... Agriculture is everywhere expanding at the expense of manufacturing industry."

† In many parts, the increase, as ascertained by the last census, has been small. The total increase in Bengal has been 7·3 per cent. "But," observes the Census Commissioner, "if we exclude that part of it due

the pressure upon land has been gradually increasing. The time is not far distant when it will fail to meet the enhanced demand upon it, unless its food-growing capacity increases. That with improved methods this capacity will, to some extent, increase, there can be no doubt. But the present prospect is not very cheering. The agricultural experiments which have been carried on by Government have not yet led to any large practical results. Dr. Voelcker, a renowned agriculturist, who was recently engaged by Government to report upon the possible directions in which our agriculture may be improved, says after carefully inspecting nearly every part of India*:—"I unhesitatingly dispose of the ideas which have been erroneously entertained, that the ryot's cultivation is primitive and backward, and say, that nearly all the attempts made in the past to teach him have failed, because he understands far better than his would-be teachers the particular circumstances under which he has to pursue his calling." With regard to deep ploughing, Dr. Voelcker says: "Though there may be instances where deep ploughing would be effectual, I believe that in the great majority of cases the native system of

to more accurate enumeration, it probably does not exceed 6 per cent, and may be less." (Census of India. Vol. III).

* Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. No. 5, 1891.

ploughing is the one best adapted to the conditions ; and that were a furrow-turning plough used, the result would be to lose a great deal of the precious moisture." So the out-look for our agricultural classes is not very bright. Large numbers of impoverished artisans have swelled their ranks, and struggle with them to earn a subsistence from land. Sir James Caird, who came to India as Famine Commissioner in 1878, says: "Three fourths of the cultivators have no capital. In a good year they have enough for their simple wants; in a year of abundance their banker has something to apply in reduction of their debt; in an unfavourable year they live very poorly, and partly by help of their credit; in a year of famine that is withdrawn, and they have no means left of employing labour, and the poorest of them and their labourers are equally destitute." * That the struggle for existence among them is being gradually intensified is indicated by many symptoms. It is the impression of many well-experienced men, that the masses of our people are deteriorating in physique, and that they do not get sufficient sustenance to resist the attacks of fever. No doubt, here and there, we have flourishing,

condition of the cultivators,

* "India, the land and the people." pp. 212-213.

well-to-do agricultural communities, as in Eastern Bengal. But over the greater portion of India—in North-Western Bengal, Behar, the North-Western Provinces, Madras, and Bombay—the agricultural classes are far from prosperous; indeed, they are already much depressed. One season of drought is enough to produce widespread distress. Our labouring classes have also been largely recruited from the artisan population. They, too, are very hard pressed. It is true, their wages have increased but not in the same ratio as the price of food-grains. Three centuries ago, in the time of Akbar, we learn from the *Ain i-Akbari*, that the wages of unskilled labourers, such as bamboo-cutters, &c. was $9\frac{3}{8}$ pies per day. But wheat then sold for about 5 annas per maund, and coarse rice for 8 annas per maund. Since then wages have increased three or even four-fold, but the prices for wheat and for coarse rice have increased sevenfold,* so that labourers in

of the labourers.

* The annual Resolution on the Administration Report of the Patna Division says: "Though the price of food-grains has, owing to the opening out of railways and roads and other causes, risen greatly in this Division in the past twenty years, there yet appears to be no corresponding rise in the wages of unskilled agricultural labour. The wage of a common cooley is said to be now as it was eighty years ago, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day."

"In Upper Hindusthan under Ala-ud-din (A. D. 1303-1315), the officially fixed rate of barley was a little under six pence per hundred-

the time of Akbar had the means to be nearly twice as comfortable as they are now. They must now go without not only the comforts which they then enjoyed, but, in many cases, without some of the bare necessaries of life also. Thus we find that our artisan classes have been well nigh ruined, and that the struggle for existence among the agricultural and the labouring classes has been gradually intensified to a very serious extent. The death-rate appears to have been increasing. In 1880, it was 20·98 per 1,000; in 1891, it was 28·891.* No doubt there is always the suspicion, that that the registration may not have been efficient, and that the figures may not

weight, and of peas four pence half penny a hundredweight. In the latter part of the century, under Firoz Shah (1351-1385), the price of barley remained exactly the same, viz, six pence per hundredweight [Mr. Thomar's Pathan Kings p. 283]. But no sooner did the tide of European trade set in, than the value of silver fell, and at the time of Akbar (A. D. 1556-1605), the price of barley rose to 9½*d* per hundredweight. The price of barley in the same localities is now, on an average, about three and six pence per hundredweight retail, or seven times what it was throughout the fourteenth century." Hunter's "Orissa." Vol. I (1872), p. 328.

* The following extract is made from the Parliamentary Blue-book exhibiting the moral and material condition of India during 1889-90 (pp. 46-47): "From all the chief diseases the deaths were more numerous than in 1888. Cholera gave rise to 471,017 deaths, being in the proportion of 2·15 per 1000 of population against 268, 847, or 1·39 in 1888.....Smallpox was more prevalent in 1889 than in the preceding year, and the deaths rose from 87, 914 or 0·40 per 100 to 125, 453, or 0·64.........To fevers were ascribed 3, 486, 448 deaths equal to 18·01 per 1000 of population as

be reliable. Still, so great an increase as 8 per thousand in 10 years can scarcely be due entirely to inefficient registration in previous years.

The condition of the middle class is no better than that of the mass of the people; probably it is worse. But few of them can enter the higher grades of the Government services.* Industrial or commercial occupations engage, as yet, but a small fraction of them. Old customs, like the joint-family system still continue to impose upon them very heavy pecuniary responsibilities. New customs have arisen which add seriously to their responsibilities; some of these customs may be good, but they add to encumbrances all the same. They have to work according to

The middle class.

compared with 3, 337·076 or 17·24 showing an increase in 1889 of 149, 362............The total number of deaths returned from bowel complaints amounted to 217,993 or 1·39 per thousand of population as compared with 246, 339, or 1·27 in 1889."

The following figures show the death-rate from 1880 to 1891: 1880, 20·98; 1881, 24·05; 1882, 23·93; 1883, 23·17; 1884, 26·44; 1885, 26·12; 1886, 25·34; 1887, 28·35; 1888, 25·74; 1889, 27·98; 1890, 29·99; 1891, 28·09.

* The following extract from the Proceedings of the House of Commons (1891) will show the nature of the appointments held by the people of India.

"In answer to Mr. MacNeill, Mr. Curzon said, the proportions of Europeans, Eurasians, and Indians in the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Services of India on March 31, 1886, at salaries varying from 50,000 and more rupees to 1,000 rs. were as follows:—salaries of 50,000

the exacting methods of Western civilisation; indeed, they are called upon to work like an Englishman, but without an Englishman's food, without an Englishman's habits, and without an Englishman's reward. The cost of living has increased, but not the means to meet the increased cost. Meat diet is too expensive for the majority of them; milk and various preparations of milk, which form the chief articles of nutrition[1] in Hindu diet, have become very dear. So our middle classes have to work harder than ever upon diet less nutritious than they were used to in days gone by. Without any scope for legitimate ambition in the Government services, or in commercial and industrial occupations, they swell the ranks of discontented clerks. No wonder they grow up weak in body, and weak in mind; no wonder that such fell diseases as diabetes, are counting victims among them by scores. Western education is still confined to an inconsiderable portion of our population. There is still a very wide field for it. But the

rupees and upwards, 26 Europeans, 1 native; 40,000 rs. to 50,000 rs., 47 Europeans, 3 natives; 30,000 rs. to 40,000 rs. 125 Europeans; 20,000 rs. to 30,000 rs., 346 Europeans, 3 Eurasians, 2 natives; 10,000 rs. to 20,000 rs., 951 Europeans, 12 Eurasians, 40 natives: 5,000 rs. to 10,000 rs., 2078 Europeans, 111 Eurasians, 446 natives; 2,500 rs to 5,000 rs., 1,334 Europeans, 1,647 Eurasians, 545 natives; 1,000 rs. to 2,500 rs., 2097 Europeans, 1,963 Eurasians, 6,915 natives."

struggle for existence among the educated classes is already beginning to be very keenly and very widely felt. Thus we find that there is scarcely a section of our population that may be said to be prosperous. Our artisans, our peasants, our labourers, our educated classes, all are sunk in poverty.* The outlook for them all is equally gloomy.

Industrial expansion the chief remedy for increasing distress.

The Government services can offer only a few drops of water among thirsty millions; can afford relief to a small fraction only of our distressed population. The only remedy that is likely to be of very wide application, that is likely to afford substantial relief to all classes of our people, is the development of our industries. It is industries alone that can relieve the distress of the mass of the people by lightening the pressure upon land; it is industries alone that can relieve the distress of our middle classes by affording them openings other than clerkships. The Government and the people are alike beginning to understand this; and in the fourth and fifth Books of our history we shall dwell upon the steps which have already been taken by the Hindus in this direction. Two associations were established in 1891,

* The average annual income of an Indian has been variously estimated at twenty to twenty seven rupees.

one in Bengal and the other in Bombay, with the special object of the promotion of Indian industries. The Industrial Association of Western India of which the head quarters are at Poona, has for its object the discussion of economic subjects relating to India and the encouragement of the growth of Indian industries. "The reorganization of credit, establishment of agencies for the production and distribution of native goods, encouragement of a spirit of individual and collective enterprize in the starting, conduct or maintenance of industries or industrial institutions are objects which fall within the sphere of work which the Association has taken upon itself. The means relied upon in securing these objects are the holding of Annual Conferences, the publication of a Quarterly Review, the affiliation of the Association with public bodies started with similar objects in this and in foreign countries; the holding of exhibitions or their promotion, the establishment of Commercial and Industrial Museums; and such other matters generally as are calculated to help the Association."

The objects of the Industrial Association of Bengal, of which the head quarters are in Calcutta, are stated to be :—(1) to adopt measures for the spread of Technical education; (2) to collect information about existing Indian arts and manufactures and watch over their

interests ; (3) to point out new openings for industrial enterprise ; and (4) to facilitate the establishment of new industries. These objects are at present carried out by holding public meetings at which papers bearing upon Indian Industries are read and popular lectures upon industrial subjects are delivered ; and by exhibiting articles of indigenous manufacture.

There is considerable room for the expansion of many industries. There is no reason why Indians should not be able to make at least the greater portion of the cotton articles they require. The iron industry also has a promising future before it. There are also various other industries, such as coal, petroleum, soap, match, paper, pottery, sugar-refining, dyeing and tanning, which are likely to afford scope for enterprise.

The principal means by which industrial development, under present conditions, may be effected are Technical Education and joint-stock organisation. The education which the Hindus have received hitherto have mainly been what may be called literary education. Many of them can speak the English language well, a few better even than many members of the House of Commons. They can turn out readable and entertaining novels and dramas, and able disquisitions on religion and philosophy ; but, they have been very slow to follow, especially

in the Bengal Presidency, the lead of the Europeans in the development of the resources of their country. The fact is, they have not had the necessary training. They see around them Europeans exploiting the mineral and other resources of their country, starting mills and factories, and they are bewildered. The chief good the mines, the mills, and the factories do them is in the direction of affording employment to labourers among the lower classes. They cannot well develop the resources of their country when they do not well know what those resources are ; they have not had the needful education. Ask our graduates where coal and petroleum are to be found in India ? Under what conditions can they be worked to profit ? How is iron smelted ? How can soap be manufactured from indigenous materials ?—Not one in a thousand will be able to give anything like a satisfactory answer. Many there are who will intelligently discuss abstruse questions of philosophy ; who will make apt quotations from Shakespeare, Milton, and a host of other poets ; who have mastered English history better than many Englishmen ; but few there are who know anything about the vast resources of their country, and how they can be utilised and developed. Technical education is indeed very badly needed in this country. The principle of co-operation is also of the

utmost importance in connection with industrial undertakings. No industry now-a-days is likely to be remunerative unless started on a large scale, which means large outlay. India is a very poor country. Still by joint stock organisation sufficient capital could be raised for the successful starting of many large industries. A very good beginning has already been made in this direction. The recent establishment of many manufacturing industries on joint-stock principles is a very hopeful sign. We have no doubt more companies will be gradually formed. It is possible, that in a few cases the success at the commencement may not quite come up to our expectations. But it is better far that it should be so,—nay, that we should even have a few failures—than that we should make no endeavour to march in the path of progress.

We shall, for the sake of convenience, group the non-Agricultural industries under two heads: *Art-Industries,* such as painting, engraving, modelling, etc., that is to say, industries which are carried on without the help of steam or machinery except of the simplest kind, and which have a remote, if any, connection with natural science; and *Mining* and *Manufacturing Industries,* which, as carried on now, are more or less dependent upon some branch or other of natural science. From what we have already said, it will be apparent

that it is the latter and not the art-industries that require to be specially developed. There is not much room for expansion in the petty industries, such as carpentry, tailoring, shoe-making, etc. It is not the making up of cloth, so much as the manufacture of cloth, on a large scale, that is more particularly wanted in this country. Few people are in a position to use made-up clothes at all, far less clothes of fine cut or nice fit, or boots and shoes of approved shape and fashionable make. Of furniture of any kind there is but little demand. Our wants in these directions are at best extremely limited; and they are, we think, well enough supplied at present. Whatever field there is for enterprise in them is being occupied, as is witnessed in Calcutta by the tailor's shops of Chitpore-road, and the cabinet-ware houses of Bow Bazar.

Indian art.

With regard to Indian Art, its fate is doomed. Any attempt to revive it, at least on a large scale, is destined to fail. A Society has been lately formed in England under very high auspices for the encouragement and preservation of Indian art. "It purposes to further these objects by encouraging the artisans in every province of the country to continue in the practice of their hereditary handicrafts, notwithstanding the pressure of the commercial competition

to which they are being subjected through the great development of trade between the West and the East, and the inducements that are often held out to them to copy unsuitable and incongruous Western designs." The Society also endeavours "to extend among European purchasers and patrons a taste for genuine Indian Art work," and does its "utmost to enlist the sympathy and support of the Hindu and Mohomedan princes of India in preserving the local Arts and decorative Handicrafts of their several states." It should be observed, however, that the demand for high-class Indian art is daily decreasing, and will continue to decrease as the price of labour rises. In these days of cheap imitations, genuine art-productions, requiring a vast amount of labour, are not likely to hold their own. Cheap cloth, cheap iron, cheap paper, cheap glass, cheap soap, in short, cheap necessaries of life, are what India particularly wants; and these will, therefore, command a large sale. It is the larger industries, involving scientific methods and appliances, such as cotton, iron, paper, &c., which are specially needed. With cheap labour and raw materials in abundance, there is every reason to expect, that such industries will be remunerative.



BOOK I.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF HINDUISM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH RULE.

Division into periods: Vedic, Buddhist-Hindu, Puránic, and Recent Hindu.

THE history of Hinduism, like geology—if we may be allowed to compare two subjects so widely different—is divisible into four periods which are separated from one another by more or less well defined gaps, and in the chronology of which accuracy of dates is impossible. They may be named—Vedic, Buddhist-Hindu, Puránic, and Recent Hindu. The Vedic period extending from about B.C. 1500 to about B.C. 500 comprises the history of Vedic Hinduism or Vaidikism. It was pre-eminently the period of Indo-Aryan influence. In the Buddhist-Hindu period (B.C 500 to A.D. 700*), arose two

* From about the time of Sákyasimha, to about the time of Samkara, the great Hindu reformer.

synchronous though somewhat dissimilar systems, Buddhism and post-Vedic Hinduism. It was the period of what may be called non-Aryan influence, including under the term "non-Aryan" those of the aboriginal tribes who were incorporated with the Aryan society on the condition of their occupying the lowest place in it as well as the Scythians or Turanians * who strove for political ascendancy in northern India from about the first century B. C. to the third century A. D. The Puránic period extending from the eighth to the beginning of the present century is the period of what may be called sectarian Hinduism, that is Hinduism split up into a number of sects. It may be called the period of Mahomedan influence. We are living in the Recent Hindu period, the period of British influence, which within the last half a century has seen the foundation laid of a system which we shall designate Neo-Hinduism.

Post-Vedic different from Vedic Hinduism.

Taking a general view of these four systems, we find the passage from the Puránic to the Recent Hindu, and from the Buddhist-Hindu to the Puránic system to be more gradual than the passage from the

* "They are best known by the name of *Yueh-chi*, this being the name by which they are called in Chinese chronicles.....They are described as of pink and white complexion and as shooting from horseback; and as there was some similarity between their Chinese name *Yueh-chi* and the *Gotki* or *Goths*, they were identified by Remusat with those German tribes, and by others with the *Getae*, the neighbours of the Goths. Tod went even a step further, and traced the Játs in India and the Rájputs back to the *Yueh-chi* and *Getae*."—*Max Muller's "India, what can it teach us.*" (1892) p. 86.

Vedic to the Buddhist-Hindu ; or, in geological language, the unconformity between the two last named systems is far more strongly marked than that between the Buddhist-Hindu and the Puránic or between the Puránic and the Recent Hindu systems. The gods and goddesses and the cults of the Hinduism of the Buddhist-Hindu as well as of the Puránic period are very dissimilar to the gods and goddesses and the cults of Vaidikism ; very dissimilar, yet not quite different. Indra, Agni, Varuna, Soma, Savitri, Parjanya, Ushas and the Maruts, which are the familiar deities of the Vedic system, are scarcely known in post-Vedic Hinduism. The Vedic system knows no temples, images or pilgrimages ; whereas they may, without exaggeration, be said to be the very essence of later Hinduism. The sacrificial rites of the Vedic worship are scarcely known in the worship of post-Vedic Hinduism. The grand Vedic sacrifices, such as the Vájapeya, the Rájasúya, and the Asvamedha are scarcely heard of at the present day. The principal ideas and doctrines of each period of the history of Hinduism may be compared to the characteristic animal forms of geological periods. The idea of sacrifice, of a kind of bargain with the deities, was the characteristic idea of the early Vedic cults. "Man needs things which the god possesses, such as rain, light, warmth, and health, while the god is hungry and seeks offerings from man : There is giving and receiving on both sides." * In the later Vedic Period, the doctrine

* Barth "The Religions of India," (London, 1882) p. 36. "The liturgical formulæ are at times very clear in this respect ; for example,

of Jnána, the knowledge of the Supreme Soul, sprung into existence, and, to some extent, superseded the doctrine of sacrifice. Both of these doctrines have survived to the present day, but in diminutive forms, like the existing puny progeny of some gigantic animals of older geologic periods. The ruling doctrine of post-Vedic Hinduism is that of *Bhakti*, * faith or love. It attained considerable development in the Puránic period, chiefly in connection with the worship of the various manifestations of Vishnu, especially Ráma, Krishna and Chaitanya.† The idea of *Avatáras* or incarnations of the Divinity is also a distinguishing feature of post-Vedic Hinduism in contradistinction to Vaidikism in which it is altogether unknown.‡ This idea has had a very firm hold on the popular mind; and numerous little local *avatáras* still appear from time to time in all parts of India; the

Taitt. samh. VI. 4. 5. 6. : 'Does he wish to do harm (to an enemy,) Let him say (to Súrya): Strike such an one; afterwards will I pay thee the offering.' And Súrya desiring to obtain the offering strikes him."

* It is not unknown in the Vedic system. In the Rigveda, oblations and prayers are said to be useless without faith, Sraddhá. "Whatever sacrifice, penance, or alms is performed, and whatever act is done without faith, that is called *asat*, O son of Prithá, and is of no account in this life or after death.' (Bhagavatgítá, XVII, 28. Translation by J. Davies, London 1889, p. 165).

† In the system of Chaitanya, the great prophet of Bengal, Bhakti has five forms. *Sánti*. quietism, *Dásya*, surrender of one's self to the service of God, *Sákhya*, friendship, *Vátsalya*, filial affection, and *mádhurya*, passionate attachment for the Deity.

‡ Krishna says in the Bhagavatgítá: "For whenever piety decays, O Son of Bharata, and impiety is in the ascendant, then I produce myself. For the protection of good men, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the re-establishment of piety, I am born from age to age." iv. 7, 8. (Translation by J. Davies, London, 1889, p. 59)

latest case of apotheosis to our knowledge being that of Paramhaṁsa Rámkrishna in Bengal a few years ago.

Continuity between Vedic and post-Vedic Hinduism.

We have said, that the deities and cults of post-Vedic Hinduism are dissimilar to the deities and cults of Vaidikism, but not quite different Notwithstanding the salient points of difference just noted there is a continuity between them ; and the belief of the Hindus that their religion is based upon Vaidikism is not groundless. The Brahmans still recite every morning the celebrated Gáyatrí found in the Rigveda.* The *samskáras* or Sacramental observances of the higher castes are still those of the Vedic system.† The two central figures of the Hindu pantheon, Rudra and Vishnu, are found in the Rigveda though as yet in a subordinate position, and without those myths and legends which form such a large portion of the later Hindu literature ; and the leading tenets of the Upanishads or the Vedánta are discernible in almost every phase of modern Hinduism.

* "Let us meditate on the sacred light of that divine Sun, that he may illuminate our minds."

† These are usually ten in number : 1. Garbhádhána, a rite performed to procure conception. 2. Pumsavana has for its object the bringing about the birth of a male child. 3. Símantonnayana, which consists in parting the hair of a pregnant woman. 4. Játakarma, the birth ceremony. 5. Námakarana, the name giving ceremony. 6. Nishkramana, a cermony performed when the child is first taken out to be shown to the sun or the moon. 7. Annaprásana, when the child is fed with rice for the first time. 8. Chudákarana, when only a tuft of hair is left on the top of the head. 9. Upanayana, Initiation. 10. Viváha, Marriage.

After their dispersion from their primitive home, the Indo-Aryans at first settled on the banks of the Kabul and the Indus, and thence gradually spread south-eastward. While still located in the Punjab and its vicinity they were in the habit of chanting hymns to their deities; and these hymns have been preserved in a most remarkable collection—the Rigveda. * Portions of the hymns read like idyls of no mean order. But, there is something which distinguishes these compositions from poetry—something supernatural and infinite behind the natural and finite phenomena, something which is entirely beyond sense-perception, and the idea of which filled the Vedic Rishis with awe and reverence. When Parjanya (the Thundering Rain-God) is invoked to "roar and thunder and give fruitfulness, and to fly around with his chariot full of water"; or when Ushas (Dawn) is described as chasing away the dark veil of night and awakening all creatures to cheerfulness, the Rishis must be thinking of the natural aspects of their deities. But when they declare that Parjanya is the lord of all moving creatures, that all creatures abide in him and that he is the independent monarch, or when the Dawn is asked to give them riches and stand to them in the relation of a mother to sons, they evidently are thinking of some divine being behind the clouds and behind the dawn.

The Rigveda,

its deities in their natural and supernatural characters.

* The citations of the Rigvedic texts above are from translations given in Muir's "Original Sanscrit Texts" (1884) vol. V.; Max Muller's "Origin and growth of Religion" (1882), &c.

When Agni (the Fire-God) is spoken of as consuming and blackening the woods with his tongue, or roaring like the waves of the sea, as having clarified butter for his food and smoke for his mark, as being driven by the wind and rushing through the woods "like a bull lording it over a herd of cows," we seem to be reading poetry. By a stretch of imagination he may even now in his character of light be poetically described as having stretched out heaven and earth, (for without light heaven and earth would be indistinguishable), and as cognisant of the recesses of heaven, and of the secrets of mortals. But when he is described as "progenitor and father of heaven and earth, and maker of all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves on earth," when he is invoked to be easy of approach even as a father to his son," to grant health, wealth, and long life, he is clearly invested with the attributes of Divinity. The descriptions of the Sun in the Rigveda as "standing on a golden chariot with golden arms and hands and eyes, nay even with a golden tongue," as enlivening men to pursue their ends and perform their work, as bliss-bestowing, all-seeing and wide-shining, or as one before whom the stars flee like thieves, one who sees the right and wrong among men or even as the soul of all things stationary and moving, might be matched with similar descriptions from modern poetry. But to the Vedic Rishis, the sun had also a supernatural aspect; and it is in this aspect that he is called the maker of all things (visvakarman), the lord of all living creatures, the god among gods, the divine leader of all the gods.

Henotheism.

There is no subordination among the deities of the Rigveda. "In the Veda" says Professor Max Muller "one god after another is invoked. For the time being all that can be said of a divine being is ascribed to him. The poet while addressing him, seems hardly to know of any other gods".* Dyaus, the sky, is frequently invoked as the father, Prithivi the earth, as the mother. They are described as the parents of the other gods including even the most powerful amongst them like Indra and Agni. "It is they, the parents, who have made the world, who protect it, who support by their power everything, whatever exists". † In some passages, Indra is credited with the production and support of the earth and heaven. In one passage we read: "The greatness of Indra exceeds the heaven (Dyaus), exceeds the earth (Prithivi) and the sky." Elsewhere, the Heaven and the Earth are said to be but as half compared with him—the same Heaven and the same Earth who in other passages are described as his parents. "The other gods" one poet says "were sent away like (shrivelled up) old men; thou, O Indra, becomest the king." "No one is beyond thee" says, another poet "no one is better than thou art, no one is like unto thee." In some texts, Varuna (Gr. "Uranos") is sovereign ruler; he upholds heaven and earth; he made the sun to shine; the wind is his breath; the rivers flow by his command; he perceives all that exists

* Max Muller's "Lectures on the origin and growth of Religion" (1882) p. 277.

† Max Muller *Op. cit.* p. 284.

within the heaven and earth and all that is beyond : the winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by him. In other texts, the same Varuna unquestionably the most ancient, and probably the most elevated of all the Vedic deities, is represented as singing the praises of the sun, whose independent authority can not be resisted by him. This peculiar form of polytheism has been called by Max Muller "Henotheism," or the worship of single gods.

Tendency towards monotheism.

Certain of the Vedic gods, were called Visvakarmá (maker of the universe) and Prajápati (lord of all creatures). Rishis of a critical and reflective turn of mind must at times, have been struck by the incongruity of the application of such epithets to diverse divinities ; and they boldly asserted the unity of the Godhead. Says one Rishi : "Sages name variously that which is one ; they call it Agni, Yama, Mátarisvan." Another Rishi says : "The wise poets represent by their words Him who is one with beautiful wings, in many ways." "In the beginning" says a third "there arose Hiranyagarbha ; he was the one born lord of all this. He established the earth and this sky." "He is alone God above all gods."

The Bráhmanas ;

As time rolled on, the hymns which the bards of the Rigvedic times had sung became more and more antiquated. Our Aryan ancestors had great faith in them. Those hymns had led their forefathers to victory, and had brought down count-

less blessings from above. The art of writing had not yet been invented; and the hymns were very numerous and very long. There were over a thousand of them in the Rigveda; and each would, on the average, fill one page of an octavo volume. This was not all: every hymn must be recited in a particular manner—every word, every syllable must be pronounced in a prescribed way. Besides, many idioms of the majority of the hymns gradually became obsolete. The Aryan territories gradually covered a considerably wider area; population increased largely; and considerable progress was made in the arts and manufactures. Every Aryan was expected to have gone through the hymns once. But very few of those who were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life could afford space in their brains for a thousand and odd long hymns, with obsolete idioms and expressions, so as to be able to reproduce them at a given notice. All these circumstances tended to create a class of men, the Brahmans, who treasured up the hymns in their memory, and officiated at the sacrifices The accumulation of wealth by the Aryans, who now began to call themselves Dvijas, twice-born, furthered the division of labour amongst them, and afforded the Brahmans opportunity for devoting themselves entirely to their pursuits. The Rigvedic poets belonged, as a rule, to the mass of the people. By far the greater number of their prayers were for cattle, grain, and similar earthly blessings—a fact which shews that they had, like the rest of their community, to struggle for exis-

tence. They could not afford much time for speculation; their attention was all but engrossed by temporal objects. But now the Brahmans obtained leisure for speculating upon theosophical and philosophical subjects, and for elaborating and thus complicating, the sacrificial rites and ceremonies of their ancestors. Consciously or unconsciously, they also enveloped these ritualistic ceremonies in so dark a mystery that none but professional adepts could properly interpret them. Thus the poetical nature-worship of the primitive Indo-A'ryas stiffened into a dry creed of sacrifice and penance (Bráhmanism). Liturgical treatises, known as the *Bráhmanas*, containing elaborate rules for the performance of sacrifices, were composed. The minutest rules were framed for penance, not only for mistakes committed and observed during the performance of a sacrifice but also for hypothetical omissions which might have slipped the observation of priests. Thus the liturgical literature became so very cumbersome, and the sacrificial ceremonial so very intricate, that the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were obliged to leave them to the care of the Brahmans, who were thus created sole trustees, as it were, of the religious welfare of the twice-born classes, and from the nature and importance of their function occupied the highest social rank.

Though the Bráhmanas are supposed to treat of various topics, Karmavidhána, which lays down rules and regulations for the performance of sacrificial rites and ceremonies, occupies the most prominent place, all other topics being subordinate to it. Dr. Hang thus

sums up the importance attached to sacrifice, according to the doctrine of the *Bráhmanas*:

their extravagant estimate of sacrificial ceremonies.

"The sacrifice is regarded as the means of obtaining power over this and the other world, over visible as well as invisible beings, animate as well as inanimate creatures... The Yajna (sacrifice) taken as a whole is conceived to be a kind of machinery, in which every peice must tally with the other, or a sort of large chain in which no link is allowed to be wanting, or a staircase by which one may ascend to heaven. ... It exists from eternity and proceeded from the Supreme Being (Prajápati or Brahma) along with the *Traividyá,* i.e. the threefold sacred science (the Rik verses, the Sámas or Chants, and the Yajus or Sacrificial formulæ). The creation of the world itself was regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being." *

The Upanishads;

It was not long before the ascendancy of the Brahmans established during the last period was disputed by the other classes of the Aryan society. The legends representing a Brahman hero (Ráma Jámadagnya) as having exterminated the Kshatriyas thrice seven times, and subsequently, as himself vanquished by the Kshatriya Ráma, the hero of the Rámáyana, and a host of other legends,

* Hang's "Aitareya Bráhmana" (Bombay, 1863) i. pp. 73-74.

indicate in unmistakeable language the contests that went on between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas after the establishment of Bráhmanism. The complicated and elaborate sacrificial rites and ceremonies, which were the characteristic features of that creed, formed, as we have seen the chief basis of Brahmanic influence. But, an important movement, in which the Kshatriyas * seem to have taken the leading part, began in reaction against the exaggeration of the efficacy and importance of sacrifice, and terminated in the establishment of a sort of modified, rationalistic, Bráhmanism. Such is the high notion entertained about sacrifices by the *Bráhmanas* that according to one of these, the gods themselves became immortal by repeated sacrifices. But works known as the *Upanishads* † now appeared, which put forth the doctrine of the superiority of spiritual knowledge to sacrificial ceremonies. "The wise who perceive him [Supreme Spirit] within their self" says one Upanishad, ' to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others." ‡

* In the Chhándogya Upanishad (v. 3) king Pravahana (a Kshatriya) is said to have asked the son of Gautama (a Brahman) some difficult questions about future life ; the son, failing to answer, returns to his father who is equally unacquainted with the answer. Gautama goes to the king and asks to be instructed. Pravahana grants his request saying, "this knowledge did not go to any Bráhmana before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone " "Sacred Books of the East " Vol. I. p. 78.

† The Upanishads referred to in this section are the more ancient ones which form a portion of the Vedic literature,such as Brihadáranyaka, Chhándogya. Kausítaki, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Aitareya, Taittiríya, Mundaka, Mándúkya.

‡ Katha Upanishad, II. 5. 13 "Sacred Books of the East," vol. XV, p. 19.

"Those who imagine,' says another, "that oblations and pious gifts are the highest object of man are fools; they do not know what is good."*

protest against sacrificial ceremonies.

The sacrifices which formed the essential doctrine of Bráhmanism were of two kinds—(1) The grand and elaborate sacrifices, in which the services of a large number of priests were necessary; and (2) the simple domestic sacrifices consisting of Five Sacraments or Devotional Acts, *viz.*, (i) an oblation to the gods offered on the domestic fires, (ii) an offering in honor of all sentient beings, (iii) an offering to the Manes, (iv) repetition of the Vedas, and (v) gifts to men and hospitality. With the progress of rationalism, the reactionary movement against Bráhmanism, the first class of sacrifices gradually fell into desuetude.† These, however, were the only sacrifices at which the services of the Brahmans were essential. The Five Sacraments still continued to be performed by the twice-born classes; but Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaisya, he did not require the assistance of priests at these simple sacrifices. He was his own priest; his home was his place of sacrifice; and the materials he required for it were of the simplest character,—rice, clarified butter, water, and a log of wood. Thus the establishment of rationalistic Bráhmanism struck at the root of Brahmanical ascendancy, by shaking men's faith in the efficacy of those sacrifices on which were based the pretensions of the Brahmans to

* Mundaka Upanishad, I. 2, 10.

† They are only incidentally mentioned in the Manusamhitá.

the religious trusteeship of the Dvijas, and by opening a path—the path of knowledge—which any Dvija seeking for salvation might follow independently, to reach the goal of his desires.

Pantheism.

In the Upanishads the doctrines of Pantheism and Monotheism superseded that of the Henotheism of the Vedas. "As the spider comes out with its thread, or as small sparks come forth from fire, thus do all senses, all worlds, all devas, all beings come forth from that Self." * "From that Soul (Brahma) verily sprang forth ether, from ether air, from air fire, from fire water, from water earth,"† That soul is the light of lights and immortal life. Every creature exists in Him alone. He is the all-pervading, all-wise, omniscient, eternal, self-existing being. He is not born; nor does He die. He is all-seeing, not derived from anything else, eternal, indestructible. As flowing rivers are resolved into the sea losing their names and forms, so the wise freed from name and form, pass into the Divine Spirit which is greater

* Brihadáranyaka Upanishad II. 1,20. (Sacred Books of the East Vol. XV. p. 105) "If in this world a person knows the Soul then the true end of all human aspirations is gained, if a person in this world does not know the Soul, there will be a great calamity. The wise who discern in all beings the Brahman become immortal after departing from the world" (Talavakára Upanishad II. 5.) "Those who imagine that oblations and pious gifts are the highest object of man are fools; they do not know what is good; but those who with subdued senses, with knowledge, and the practice of the duties of a mendicant in the forest follow austerity and faith go freed from sin, to the abode of the Immortal Spirit" (Mundaka Upanishad, I. 2, 10-11).

† Taittiríya Upanishad, II. 1st anuváka.

than the great. With the movement started by the Upanishads commenced the age of enquiry; the attention of men was turned inwards. They began seriously and earnestly to ask :—

" When men away from earth have past
Then live they still?"*

" Is Brahman the cause? Whence are we born? By what do we live? Where do we go? At whose command do we walk after the land, in happiness and misery? Is time the cause, or nature, or law, or chance or the elements?"† "Does the ignorant when departing this life go to that world (of the Supreme Brahma)? Does the wise when departing this life obtain that world?"‡

"In the whole world" says Schopenhauer "there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life—it will be the solace of my death."

Buddhist-Hindu period : Buddhism ;

One of the most important results of the movement of Jnánakánda inaugurated by the Upanishads is the system which is called after Gautama, the Buddha (*i. e.* the "enlightened"). He was the son of Suddnodana, king of Kapilavastu, and was born about 500 years

* Muir's "Sanscrit Texts". (London 1884). Vol. v. p. 331.

† Svetásvatara Upanishad I, 1.

‡ Taittiríya Upanishad, II. 6th anuváka.

before the birth of Christ. * He was early impressed with the miseries to which humanity is subject: "Birth is sorrowful; growth, decay, illness, death all are sorrowful; separations from subjects we love, hating what can not be avoided, and craving for what can not be obtained, are sorrowful." To seek for a way which would lead to the cessation of all sorrow, he fled from home from all who were dearest and nearest to him; and the heir-apparent to the throne of Kapilavastu became a poor student and homeless wanderer.

After studying the various systems of Brahmanical philosophy then in vogue he went into a jungle near the present Buddha Gayá, and there for six years practised severe asceticism which was then and still is a recognised path of Brahmanic salvation. Finding, however, the futility of the course of penance and mortification to which he subjected himself, he sat down under a tree—the celebrated Bo-tree—and there for one whole day pondered over the problem which had long engaged his earnest attention. Before the day closed he had become enlightened (the Buddha)—found what he had vainly saught for in asceticism, the cause and the cure of human misery. He had, while at Kapilavastu, found that the pleasures of sense are degrading, vulgar, vain and profitless, and had more recently found the inefficacy of asceticism. The path of salvation which lighted upon him under the Bo-tree and which he devoted

* Mr. Rhys Davids has shewn B.C. 412 to be the probable date of the Buddha's death, "Buddhism" (1886) p. 213. The sketch of Buddhism given here is chiefly drawn from that admirable little book.

the remaining years of his life in preaching with characteristic missionary zeal, is what he called the "Middle Path". It is summed up in eight fundamental principles,

its fundamental principles.

viz. (1) right belief; (2) right aims; (3) right speech; (4) right actions; (5) right means of liveli-hood; (6) right endeavour; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right meditation. The means requisite for salvation is still more briefly summed up by the Buddha in the following verse:—

"To cease from all wrong doing
To get virtue
To cleanse one's own heart,
This is the religion of the Buddha."

The goal to which such a life of right conduct leads is Nirvána—the "sinless, calm state of mind, the condition of perfect peace, goodness and wisdom."

There are several important points in which the

its divergence from Hinduism.

system promulgated by Buddha differed from orthodox Hinduism In the first place, he disregarded caste-distinctions. One of the most prominent leaders of the Order founded by him was Upali, a barber by caste; and a rope dancer was not considered too low for it. On one occasion, he was treated by a goldsmith (a member of one of the lower castes) to a dish of pork, a dish which is said to have caused his death. On another occasion he became the guest of a courtesan. The salvation of the despised Súdra was of as great concern to him as that of the honoured Bráhman. Secondly, he struck at the root of the Bráhman ascen-

dancy by teaching and preaching in Páli, the language of the people, instead of in Sanskrit. He preached alike to princes and people, men and women, learned and ignorant. Thirdly, he carried his protest against the ritualism of the Bráhmanas even further than the authors of the Upanishads by ignoring the Vedas.

Amicable relations between Buddhism and Hinduism.

But during the lifetime of Gautama, and for a long time afterwards, it is doubtful if the divergence of his system from that of Bráhmanism was fully seen. For at least ten centuries Buddhism prospered side by side with Hinduism. Buddha respected, and was respected by, Bráhmans as well as by the members of his Order who were called Srámans. Some of the distinguished members of his Order were Bráhmans. Asoka Piyadasi, who did for Buddhism what Constantine did for Christianity, always considered Bráhmans and Srámans as equally deserving of reverence and liberality. Even so late as the time of Fa Hian and Hiouen Thsang, we find Buddhism and Hinduism flourishing side by side, and Buddhist princes lavishing gifts upon Bráhmans and Srámans alike.

Progress under Asoka.

Buddhism did not make much progress until the reign of Asoka about the middle of the 3rd century B. C. He sent Buddhist missionaries to outlying parts of India and to Bactria, Burma, Ceylon, and even to Egypt and Syria. His edicts engraved on rocks and pillars in various parts of India are "full of a lofty spirit of tolerance and righteousness." Toleration, generosity,

charity, kindness to relations and friends, obedience to parents, mercy towards all animals and reverence towards Bráhmans and Srámans are among the precepts taught in them.

Later Buddhism an essentially non-Aryan form of faith.

Buddhism as it spread amongst the people did not supersede their coarse superstitions but was simply engrafted on them. Its tacit disregard of caste made it highly acceptable to the Scythians or Turanians of the North who looked upon that institution with aversion. They professed Buddhism but retained their vulgar superstitions. The consequence was that the noble system of Gautama, which as propounded by him embodied some of the noblest results of Aryan culture and Aryan thought in India, began soon after the reign of Asoka to be transformed into some of the grossest forms of Scythian idolatry. In Tibet it was deformed into Lamaism "a religion not only in many points different from, but actually antagonistic to the primitive system of Buddhism." An infinity of absurd legends gathered round the Buddha. His image and relics were devoutly worshipped. But the inborn Turanian love for idolatry did not stop with the worship of the Buddha. A host of other deities were created, and a debasing belief in charms and incantations, which had been the special object of Gautama's scorn, began to grow vigorously

Personal description of the Vedic deities does not imply idolatry.

The fate of Bráhmanism was in many respects similar to that of its offspring, Buddhism. The Aryans of the Vedic period were not image-worshippers. There are indeed suspicious texts. We read of Varuna as "arrayed in golden mail and surrounded by his messengers or angels", and as occupying along with Mitra, a "palace supported by a thousand columns." Similarly, the Maruts are described as adorned with rings and as having anklets on their feet, golden ornaments on their breasts and golden helmets on their heads. So also Agni is said to have golden teeth, a thousand eyes and a thousand horns. But such epithets are merely allegorical, and the allegory is in some cases fancifully mystified. The very extravagance of the expressions would militate against the hypothesis of image-worship. There is an abundance of texts which would make it apparent, that the A´ryas of the Vedic period in the personal descriptions of their deities had no idols in view. * Such descriptions are evidently figurative. Had idolatry been prevalent during the Vedic period,

* The personal appearance of Indra is described in several passages. He is frequently called *susípra*. His jaws are ruddy-coloured; his hair is of a golden hue, his arms are long and far-extended. But all our suspicions of the worship of Indra in his image are to some extent removed by several other passages, where his forms are said to be endless. In one passage, Agni is described as footless and headless; elsewhere he is said to have three heads. Had an image of the fire-god been present before the Rishis, it is not likely that its descriptions would have been so diametrically opposite.

it would have been in still greater force in the period immediately succeeding it, when a halo of sanctity had spread round the Vedas. But even so late as the time of the Manusamhitá, we find in that code only two passages * in which there is any reference to idolatry, and that too in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt that it was as yet confined to the Dasyus or the aborigines. The deities are still Vedic.† There is no mention of the gods and goddesses of the later Hindu pantheon. But in the Grihya Sútras we read of vulgar practices and vulgar superstitions; and in the Manusamhitá there are dark hints as to the existence of idols. The Aryans never persecuted the aborigines on account of their religion. On the contrary, their anxiety to Aryanise the aboriginal populations and thus establish their supremacy over them, made them pander to their superstitions. ‡ According to their code of national morality, the deities adored in a conquered country are to be respected, and the laws of the conquered nations are to be maintained. §

Saivism.

From A'ryavarta in Northern India, the Aryans gradually extended southward. From the mention in the Manusamhitá, of Paundrakas, Draviras &c. as fallen Kshatriyas it would appear that the partial Aryanisation of these people had

* Manu III 152; IV. 130.

† Manu I. 11, 49.

‡ The breaker of images is ordained to be fined in the Manusamhitá (ix. 285) But the-Bráhmans who attend on them are to be shunned in Sráddhas,

§ Manu, VII. 201-203.

been effected by the time of the composition of that work. In the edicts of Asoka, three Dravidian kingdoms of Southern India, Pándya, Chola, and Kerala are referred to. The aborigines of the South, were not devoid of the elements of civilisation. The A'ryas settled amongst them as friendiy colonists, not as conquerors, and their influence was owing chiefly to their moral and intellectual superiority. They, however, succeeded in establishing their supremacy all the more securely, and the Dravidians were incorporated with their society as Súdras. The original faith of these aborigines appears to have been a form of Demonolatry similar to the Shamanism of High Asia. * It is a worship of evil spirits by means of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances, its objects being not gods, or heroes, but demons, cruel, revengeful and capricious. The Aryanisation of the aborigines gradually reacted upon the original religious system of the A'ryas. It is probable that the different forms of Demonolatry prevalent amongst the various sections of the aborigines, especially the Dravidians of the South, shaped, moulded and refined by Aryan thought, gave rise to Saivism. † It is conjectured by Lassen and Stevenson, that the phallic emblem "may have been at first an object of

* Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," second edition, p.p. 579ff; the favourite deities of the Hinduised Gonds (Dravidian) are Siva and Bhavání.

† The traditions of the Gonds (a Dravidian tribe inhabiting a large area in Central India) relate how after they were born they lived at Dhavalígiri, the seat of Mahádeva. Bose, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. LIX, pt. I, pp. 276 ff..

veneration among the aboriginal or non-Aryan Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Bráhmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra." *

Rudra of the Rigveda;

We find in the Atharva-veda, Rudra, the Storm-God of the Rigveda, gradually gaining in importance and appearing oftener in the terrible than in the beneficent aspect of his nature. He is invoked as lord of life and death; and his identification with Agni, the Fire God, as the author of destruction, is more frequent. In the Yajur-veda, he receives the appellations of Isána, Ísvara, and Mahádeva, the "Great God," the name by which he is still most popularly known. So far, however, there is nothing that throws much light on his transformation into the great popular god known under this name; there is, however, one hymn in the Yajurveda that does, at least to some extent.† In it his popular and non-Aryan origin is scarcely veiled. He is represented as the patron of carpenters, smiths, watermen, hunters, thieves, robbers, and beggars.

transformed into Mahadeva of later Hinduism.

We do not know the exact steps which led to the transformation of the Vedic Rudra into the Mahádeva of later Hinduism. It was an accomplished fact in the earlier centuries of the Christian Era. The Indian Dionysos of Megasthenes is usually identified with Siva. Sivaite figures alternating with Buddhist symbols are represented on coins of the Indo-Scythian kings about the beginning of the Christian era. Siva is the great patron of the

* Muir's "Original Sanscrit Texts" (1873) Vol. IV. pp. 406-407.

† Muir's "Original Sanscrit Texts" (1873), Vol IV., pp. 326 ff.

ancient dramatic and other literature. He is represented in a twofold character—the terror-inspiring and the beneficent. He is the Auspicious, as well as the Terrible His wife also appears in similar double character. She is Umá, the gracious, and Ambiká, the good mother, as well as Kálí, the black one, and Karálá, the horrible. In these two-fold aspects we trace, however indistinctly, the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan conceptions of the Divinity, the former beneficent and loveable, the latter destructive and terrible. Against this hypothesis of the mixed origin of Siva, it may be urged, that though there are probably more temples dedicated to him than to his rival Vishnu, that though the most ancient renowned temples such as those of Somnáth and Visvesvara are appropriated to him, his worship is by no means popular. In fact, at the present day, he is worshipped chiefly by the higher caste Hindus. His temples at Benares are the only Siva temples which attract pilgrims on a large scale. His unpopularity may, however, be accounted for at least partially, by the fact of his remaining in the emblematic form of the phallic *linga*, whilst the rival divinities, including his consort, assumed forms more attractive to the popular mind.

The two-fold character, Aryan and non-Aryan of Siva and Káli'.

The genesis of Vishnu, and of his various Avatáras, is still more obscure than that of Siva. In the Rigveda, Vishnu is a name of the Sun-God, a deity indeed of sovereign rank, but a rank which he occupies in common with other deities. But there is no indication even in later Vedic literature

Vishnu.

of the supremacy enjoyed by him or rather by his Avatára, Krishna, in later Hinduism. "Krishna, the son of Devaki" is indeed mentioned in an ancient Upanishad, but only as the disciple of a sage. In the Mahábhárata however, he is the great man-God, the incarnation of Vishnu. * The steps which led to this popularisation of the Vedic Vishnu were probably similar to those which led to the popularisation of the Vedic Rudra. But we can only guess, as the evidence on the subject is very inconclusive. As early as the second century before the Christian Era, the story of Krishna was the subject of popular dramatic representations similar to the *Rásas* and *Yátrás* of the present day. The Indian Hercules, the worship of whom is referred to by Megasthenes, ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, King of Magadha, about the third century B. C., has been identified, though conjecturally, with Krishna.

Brahma.

Brahmá, who in orthodox Hinduism is regarded as the first of the three deities constituting the Hindu Trinity has never been popular. His worship is now prevalent at only a very few places—at Pokhar in Ajmir, and at Bithur in the Doab.

Conflict between Buddhism and Hinduism.

Circumstances similar to those which brought about the transformation of the system of Gautama into modern Buddhism caused the bifurcation of the original religion of the A´ryas into Saivism and Vaishnavism. Their

* The Vishnu of later Hinduism retains but little of the solar character of the Vishnu of the Vedic system, except in such symbols as the *chakra*.

origin was probably simultaneous. The earliest references to the existence of Saivism and Vaishnavism carry us back about a century or two before the Christian Era. This was also the time when those changes which converted the Hínáyana into Maháyana were creeping over Buddhism. It should be noted that it was about this time, that an important political revolution took place which found a good portion of Northern India in the occupation of Turanian or Scythian races. About the commencement of the Christian Era a competition arose between Buddhism on the one hand, and Vaishnavism and Saivism on the other. They were probably all different forms of aboriginal idolatry modified and elevated by Aryan culture. But there was an essential difference between the Buddhistic and the Hinduite groups of religion. The former denied the supremacy of the Bráhman, by their disregard for caste system, and their denial of the authority of the Vedas. Hinduism, on the other hand, was created, fostered, and patronised by the Bráhmans. In all its different forms the Bráhman influence is prominent. But Buddhism struck at the root of Bráhman ascendancy. It could not have survived long but for the patronage of powerful princes. In the earlier centuries of the Christian Era, the predominance of Hinduism or Buddhism became a question of vital importance to the Brahmans. Men like Kumárila Bhatta * entered into a vigorous contest

* Kumárila lived about the middle of the 8th century. He incited a persecution against the Buddhists; and it is said, that a prince in Southern India, at his instigation "commanded his servants to put

with the opponents of the sacred books of the A'ryas. The Aryan intellect was still in its full vigour, and the Aryan cause eventually won the day. When Fa Hian visited India (A.D. 400) Bráhman priests and deválayas were scarcely less numerous than Sramans and vihāras. At the time of Hiouen Thsang (A.D. 629-648) Buddhism was on the decline. It was still the accepted religion of Magadha; but at Kányakubja, the then capital of that empire, there were two hundred temples against one hundred Buddhist monasteries. Srávasti and Kapilavastu were heaps of ruins; and at Benares there were thirty Sangharámas against one hundred temples. Síláditya, the great Buddhist monarch, patronised the Hindu forms of faith. The contest went on for a few centuries longer. When Buddhism lost the support of kings, it could not stand any longer. In the twelfth century there were scarcely any Buddhists left in India; modern Hinduism as inculcated in the Puránas and Tantras became paramount.

Ultimate victory of Hinduism.

With Samkaráchárya dates the Puránic or Sectarian period of Hinduism. There were Hindu sects before his time. He is said to have entered into polemical discussions with

Puránic period: Samkara.

to death the old men and the children of the Buddhists, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas." This must, however, be a highly exaggerated statement of some local persecution.

fortyeight different sects. * But the information about these is, as a rule, very meagre, unsatisfactory, and even contradictory.† The record of the Buddhist-Hindu period in the History of Hinduism is a very broken and unsatisfactory one. It is only in the case of Buddhism that it is any thing like satisfactory. We know, that side by side with the later form of Buddhism, there were formed Saivism and Vaishnavism; but the connecting links between them and the different forms of Vedic faith are missing, and we can only hazard guesses as to the time and mode of their formation. With the Puránic period we tread upon the firmer ground of history. Samkara was the first of a succession of great Hindu apostles who notwithstanding the accumulation round their names of many fables, more or less absurd, are historical personages. His date may be approximately given to be the end of the eighth century. Born in the Deccan, (according to most accounts in Malabar), he led an itinerant and

* The Vaishnava sects mentioned in the *Samkara-Vijaya* are: Bháktas, Bhágavatas, Vaishnavas, Chakrinas or Páncharátras, Vaikhanasas, and Karmahínas. The main tenets ot several of these are still current; but the sects themselves have become extinct. The term Vaishnava is at present applied to a large division of the Hindus who are worshippers of Vishnu as Krishna, Ráma &c. The Saiva sects mentioned by A'nandagiri, the author of *Samkara-vijaya*, are the Saivas, Raudras, Ugras, Bháktas, Jangamas and Pásupatas. Of these the Jangamas alone, found chiefly in Southern India, have survived to the present day.

† In the Mahábhárata, for instance, the Pánchárátras and the Bhágavatas are supposed to be two closely connected sects. In the seventh century, however, they are spoken ot by the poet Bána as two distinct sects. In the Varáha Purána, on the other hand, they are supposed to be identical. "It is by no means certain" says Barth

ascetic life wandering all over India, holding successful disputations with various sectaries and founding new sects. The leading doctrine preached by him was a strictly unitarian one, that there is only One sole First Cause and Supreme Ruler of the universe who is to be worshipped by meditation. This was however, meant for the cultured few. To the mass of the people, to those who could not rise up to such an abstract conception of the Divinity, he allowed the observance of such rites and the worship of such deities as are prescribed by the Vedas and other authoritative works. Preachers of such divergent forms of popular faith, as the Saiva, the Vaishnava, the Saura, the Sákta, and the Gánapatya * claimed to be his pupils. But Saivism claims him to be its special apostle, in fact, as an incarnation of Siva himself. † Saivism to this day retains much of the character which he gave to it—that of a highcaste philosophical religion.

Saivism,

In the Puránic period, it ceased to be popular. Besides Samkaráchárya,* the only other apostle it can boast of is Gorakhnáth, the founder of the *Kánphátá* Jogis ‡ so called on account of their ears being bored and rings inserted in them

"that in these different texts the same words always denote the same things; it is even probable that in the monumental inscriptions [of the second to the sixth century A. D] the term Bhágavata simply means worshipper of Vishnu. "Religions of India" (Translation, 1882), p. 194.

* The *Sauras* are worshippers of the Sun, and the Gánapatyas, worshippers of Ganapat or Ganesa.

† Samkara's preference for Saivism is doubtful.

‡ For information about these and other sects referred to in the text see Wilson's "Religious sects of the Hindus."

at the time of their initiation. The Saiva sects are small in number. There are not more than twelve of any importance, and their followings too are insignificant. Within the last four or five hundred years scarcely any new sect on Saiva principles has been started in any part of India, except the small sect of the Sittars of Southern India; and they only retained Siva as the name of the One God believed in by them, rejecting every thing in Siva worship not consistent with pure Monotheism. Saivism has inspired but little of what is grand and beautiful in the vernacular literatures. Since the close of

becomes unpopular.

the Buddhist-Hindu period, it has not been presented in popular and attractive forms. Siva has not gathered around him legends such as those of Krishna and Ráma, which interest the feelings or excite the imagination of the populace. The Saiva literature, especially vernacular, in richness or variety, falls far short of the Vaishnava. Saivism cannot boast of such popular pilgrim-resorts as Puri, or of such sainted teachers as Chaitanya.

The remarks just made with regard to Saivism apply

Sáktism.

also to the worship of his consort or Sakti, though not to the same extent. The phallic emblem in which Siva is worshipped is of too mystic a nature for popular conception. His consort, however, is usually represented in forms such as excite awe and terror in the popular mind. Hence the popular craving for her propitiation by sacrifices and self-inflicted tortures. The temples* dedicated

* The Vindhyavásiní near Mirzapur, and Jválámukhí, Nagarkòt, are among the most ancient of these

to her attract large crowds of pilgrims. The Sáktas, however, form but few specialised sects. The Dakshináchári or "right-hand" Sáktas perform their worship publicly and conformably to the Vedic and Puránic ritual. The worship of the Vámáchari or the "left-hand" Sáktas, however, is performed in secret and in accordance with special Tantras which prescribe rites of a most objectionable description. All the forms of their worship require the use of some or all of the five *Makáras,—Mámsa* (flesh), *Matsya* (fish), *Madya* (wine), *Maithuna* (women) and *Mudrá* (mystical gesticulations). It should be stated, however, that there is an esoteric side of this Sáktism; and the Tantras which enjoin orgistic rites of a highly obscene character also inculcate asceticism and a pure and devotional state of mind.

Vaishnavism.

Vaishnavism has unquestionably been the dominant faith of the Hindus in the Puránic period. As Siva has for his emblem the *linga*, so is Vishnu usually represented by the *Sálagráma*, an ammonite. If Vishnu worship had been confined to this emblem, it would probably have excited as little popular enthusiasm as the worship of Siva. The doctrine of Avátaras or "Descents" is the principal cause of its popularity. The conception of One, sole, infinite Cause is too abstract and too high for the people. They want something more tangible, more human. Christianity without the incarnation of Christ could not have influenced so considerable a portion of the western world. Mahomet is more of a living reality with the Mahometans than the Great God whose prophet he

claimed to be. Buddhism as it prevails at the present day is practically a worship of idols, of which the chief is the Buddha. Even a visible emblem like the *linga* or the *Sálagráma* is of too mystic a nature to attract the popular mind.

The most popular incarnations or descents of Vishnu are Krishna and Ráma. It is rather curious, that there is no allusion to the worship of either of these in the *Samkara-vijaya*, * though it is certain that the worship of both had been current before the time of Samkara. Probably the worship had not yet crystallised into definite sects.

Krishna-cult.

There are two distinct stages in the worship of Krishna which are of sufficient importance to be distinguished; the first may be called the Epic, and the second the Puránic. In the Mahàbhàrata (including the Bhagavatgítá), Krishna is represented as a great warrior, an astute politician, and a wise moralist. He did not take an active part in any war. But he was the chief councillor of the Pándavas in the great war between them and the Kurus; and he gave proofs of his physical prowess in killing Kamsa and Sisupála. The Mahábhárata, owing no doubt to the redactions of which it possesses abundant internal evidence, presents not a few inconsistencies and contradictions about his character. It is more than probable, that in its earliest form the great Epic knew Krishna only as a man, though, no

* Wilson, "Religious Sects of the Hindus" (1861) p. 17.

doubt a great man, a hero; and that it is only in subsequent redactions that the idea of a Divinity was gradually superadded to that of a hero. In some places in the Mahábhárata, Krishna appears as an intensely human being, as for instance, a statesman not very different from the ordinary type of that character at the present day. In the Dronaparva, he advises the Pándavas to try and kill Drona by foul means, as it would be impossible to kill him by fair. It was by Krishna's advice that one of the Pándavas, Bhíma, told Drona on the battle-field a falsehood, that Droná's son Asvatthámá was dead with the object that overcome with grief for his son he would cease to fight! And yet it is this very Krishna, that in various other passages in the Mahábhárata is declared to be the incarnation of Vishnu. The Bhagavadgítá is the oldest, as it is certainly the sublimest, exposition of Krishna cult. But nowhere in it do we find that form of erotic Vaishnavism which is most popular at the present day. It is in the Vishnupurána, the Bhágavatpurána, and the Brahmavaivartapurána, especially in the two last named Puránas, that this form of Krishna-cult is developed. We have therefore called it Puránic Vaishnavism. It dwells especially on the infantine freaks and youthful amours—*lílás* as they are called—of Krishna. Krishna is represented as stealing various preparations of milk, not indeed solely for himself but also to feed monkeys with, and as sporting with the damsels of Vrindávana in a manner which

in the Mahábhárata;

in the Puranas.

moral sense must certainly condemn. It must be said however, that the sports are capable of allegorical or esoteric interpretation, that the thoughtful amongst the Vaishnavas interpret them in this way, and that the mass of them who cannot soar so high usually consider them as the mysterious *lílás* of incarnate Divinity. Puránic Vaishnavism is the religion of Love *par excellence*. The Bhagavatgítá introduced the doctrine of Bhakti, "faith, humble submission, absolute devotion, love for God." The Bhágavatpurána and the later Vaishnava literature carried this doctrine of Love to an excess which, notwithstanding much that is beautiful in it, must be condemned.

Ráma, the other popular incarnation of Vishnu, bears a more irreproachable moral character than Krishna. Devotion to duty is his principal trait. Owing to an imprudent promise made by his father, Dasaratha, King of Ayodhyá, to his step mother, he goes into voluntary exile for fourteen years with Sítá, his wife, and Lakshmana, one of his brothers. While living in the forests of the Deccan, Sítá is carried away by Rávana, King of Lamká ; and Ráma, with the help of monkeys (the aborigines of the Deccan), the most distinguished amongst whom is Hanumán, rescues his wife after a protracted war, and returns to Ayodhyá to reign. After many years, he banishes Sítá in order to please his subjects who had begun to entertain unjust suspicions as to her purity during her imprisonment in Lamká. After sometime, conclusive evidence of her purity is

Ráma-cult.

given, a reconciliation is effected, and Sitá returns to the bosom of the earth whence she had come forth long before.

Rámánuja.

The first great apostle of Vaishnavism was Rámánuja a native of Southern India, who lived about the middle of the twelfth century, A.D. * He preached the superiority of Vaishnavism over Saivism and gained many converts to his views. In consequence of persecution by the Chola King, in whose territory he resided, he with his followers took refuge with the Jaina King of Maisur, whom after sometime he converted to the Vaishnava faith. He is said to have established seven hundred convents (maths) of which four still remain. The followers of Rámánuja worship Vishnu or either of his incarnations, Krishna and Ráma. They do not appear to be very numerous, at least in Northern India.

Madhvácharya.

Madhvácharya, the founder of the sect of Madhvácharis, lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The sect is chiefly confined to Southern India. The object of Madhvácharya appears to have been to effect a friendly compromise between Saivism and Vaishnavism. Siva, Durgá and Ganesa, the principal deities of the Saiva

* For the account of Rámánuja and other founders of sects described in this chapter. I am chiefly indebted to Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" (1861).

pantheon receive the adoration of the Madhvácháris along with Vishnu; and somewhat intimate relations between the Madhváchári Vaishnavas and the Sankaráchári Saivas are maintained to the present day.

The next great name in the history of Vaishnavism is that of Rámánanda who probably lived about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. He was a great reformer. Samkaráchárya and Rámánuja had addressed themselves chiefly to the upper classes. What they wrote they wrote in Sanscrit; and they maintained caste distinctions. Rámánanda, like Gautama the Buddha, preached to the learned and the ignorant alike. It was he who made Vaishnavism, the religion of the people. Of his twelve chief disciples, the most distinguished belonged to very low castes. Kabir was a weaver, Raidás a currier, and Sena, a barber. All three of them especially Kabir were great reformers. According to the *Bhaktamálá*, one of the most important works of the sect, distinctions of caste are abrogated by it, at least amongst the clerical class. Rámánanda taught that such distinctions were inadmissible in the case of those who quitted the ties of nature and society, and who were called by him *Avadhúta*, *i.e.* liberated. It is not known that Rámánanda wrote anything himself. But, his followers all wrote in Hindi, the most distinguished amongst them being the sainted Tulasi Das, Sur Das and Nabháji. The especial objects of worship of the followers of Rámánanda are Ráma, Sítá,

Rámánanda.

Lakshmana and Hanumán. They are most numerous in the country along the Ganges and the Jamuná.

The work of reformation commenced by Rámánanda was vigorously continued by Kabir, the most celebrated of all his disciples. He went much further than his master, and boldly assailed the idolatrous worship and caste system of the Hindus. He flourished about the beginning of the fifteenth century. He made no distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans. His catholicity was so great, indeed, that to this day the Mahomedans claim him as one of their persuasion. Tradition relates a dispute on Kabir's death between the Hindus and the Mahomedans as to the disposal of his corpse, the Hindus insisting upon burning, and the Mahomedans upon burying it. In the midst of this dispute Kabir is represented to have appeared before the disputants and told them to look underneath the cloth which was supposed to cover his remains. They did as told, but instead of the corpse found only a mass of flowers. The dispute was settled by the Hindu party taking one half of the flowers and burning them at Benares, and the Mahomedan party taking the other half and burying them at Magar near Gorakhpur.

Kabir,

Kabir attacked the superstitions of the Hindus as well as of the Mahomedans with equal vigour. "To Ali and Ráma" he taught "we owe our existence, and should therefore show similar tenderness to all that live; of

attacks Hindu and Mahomedan superstitions.

what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream? Whilst you shed blood you call yourself pure and boast of virtues that you never display; of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Musalmán during the Ramzan. Who formed the remaining months and days that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose residence is the universe? Who has beheld Ráma seated amongst images, or found him at the shrine to which the pilgrim has directed his steps? The city of Hara is to the east, that of Ali to the west; but explore your own heart, for there are both Ráma and Karim."

The Kabirpanthis, on account of their founder having been a reputed disciple of Rámánanda maintain a friendly attitude towards the Vaishnavas, and are often included among the Vaishnava sects. It is no part of their creed, however, to worship any Hindu deity or to observe any Hindu rites or ceremonies, though the lay members usually conform to the usages of their castes. The moral principles of the sect are thus summed up by H. H. Wilson: "Life is the gift of God, and must not therefore be violated by his creatures; Humanity is therefore a cardinal virtue, and the shedding of blood whether of man or animal a heinous crime. Truth is the other great principle of their code, as all

the ills of the world, and ignorance of God are attributable to original falsehood. Retirement from the world is desirable, because the passions and desires, the hopes and fears which the social state engenders, are all hostile to tranquillity and purity of spirit, and prevent that undistrubed meditation on man and God which is necessary to their comprehension. The last great point is the usual sum and substance of every sect amongst the Hindus, implicit devotion, in word, act and thought to the *guru*, or spiritual guide."*

The Kabirpanthis are most numerous in Northern and Central India.

Nának.

Nának Sháh, the founder of the Sikh sect, was chiefly indebted for his religious ideas to Kabir. Nának flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century. He preached a strictly monotheistic creed, and made no distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans amongst his followers. The Sikh religion as preached by Nának was one of high spirituality and benevolence. But towards the close of the seventeenth century, Guru Govind converted the Sikh community into a kind of armed confederacy. He combined the worship of "steel" with that of the *granth*, the Book of Nának, directed his followers always to have steel upon their persons, and made them vow vengeance against the Mahomedans who had for sometime past been severely persecuting them. Though the Sikhs do not worship any of the Hindu

Guru Govind.

* "The Religious sects of the Hindus." (1861) p. 94.

deities, they do not deny their existence and they accept the Puranic legends regarding them as true. Nának though he preached monotheism acknowledged the whole of the Hindu mythology ; and Guru Govind was a votary of the goddess Bhaváni. He, says of himself : "Durgá Bhaváni appeared to me when I was asleep, arrayed in all her glory. The goddess put into my hand the hilt of a bright scymetar which she had held in her own. 'The country of the Mahomedans' said the goddess 'shall be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain.'

Dádu.

Dádu, the founder of the sect of Dádupanthis, was a native of Ahmedábád. He flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was a cotton cleaner by profession. He borrowed much of his teachings from Kabir ; and his followers still maintain a friendly intercourse with the Kabirpanthis. He, like Kabir, prohibited idolatry, and enjoined the worship of one God under the name of Ráma. The Dádupanthis are most numerous in parts of Rájputána.

NEO-VAISHNAVISM.

Neo-Vaishnavism.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Vaishnavism underwent a great change—a change which, on the whole must be pronounced to have been for the worse. The Vaishnavism,as preached by Rámánuja and Rámánanda breathes a tone of pure morality, and knows nothing of the loves

of Krishna and Rádhá.[1] In the system of Rámánuja, Rádhá is unknown ; in the Bhágavatapurána, the great gospel of Vaishnavism, Rádhá is only once mentioned in a passage of great ambiguity. The Krishna of Rámánuja, of the Mahábhárata and the Bhágavata is closely identified with Vishnu. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, Krishna-cult entered a new phase which may be called Neo-Vaishnavism. Krishna became the supreme deity. His residence according to the gospel of Neo-Vaishnavism, the Brahmavaivartapurána, * is *goloka* which is far above the residences of Vishnu and Siva. The origin of the Hindu Trinity is traced to him . Vishnu springs into existence from his left, and Brahmá from his right hand. Rádhá unknown in older Vaishnavism, becomes his beloved. Literally "Rádhicá" means "one who worships ;" and it is more than probable, that the poet who constructed her had in his mind the allegorical representation of the love of a worshipper for the Deity But the allegory was soon lost sight of, and Rádhá became an entity in the Hindu pantheon as real as Durgá, Lakshmí, and Sítá.

Vallabhácharya.

The first apostle of Neo-Vaishnavism was, Vallabhácharya. The two most popular festivals of this creed are the *Janmástamí*, the nativity of Krishna ; and the *Rásayátrá* in commemoration of the amours of that deity with Rádhá and the other damsels of Vrindávana. Vallabhácharya consist

* The date of this Purána, at least in its present form, is probably not earlier than the sixteenth century.

ently with this ideal of a voluptuous Divinity, taught, contray to the teachings of all previous reformers, that the Deity was to be worshipped "not in nudity and hunger, but in costly apparel and choice food, not in solitude and mortifications but in the pleasures of society, and the enjoyments of the world." The *Gosáins*, or spiritual guides of the sects founded by him unlike the spiritual guides of the sects we have been treating of hitherto, are as a rule, family men, well-clothed and well-fed. The Vallábhacháris are principally recruited from well-to-do mercantile communities ; and the spiritual guides themselves often do not consider it inconsistent with their character to engage in trade. The temples and establishments of the Vallabhácháris are most numerous at Mathurá and Vrindávana ; the latter of which is said to contain many hundreds.

Chaitanya.

Contemporary with Vallabhácharya was a reformer of a different type, of the type of Gautama the Buddha. Chaitanya was born at Nadivá, in Bengal, in A. D. 1485. At twenty-four, he left home and becoming an ascetic spent the next six years in travelling and preaching, gathering round him numerous followers. In 1515, he settled at Niláchala near Katak, where he spent the remainder of his life in ecstatic meditation of Krishna. There is a tradition, that during a fit of trance produced by such meditation, he saw Krishna, Rádhá and other celestial beings sporting in the blue waters of the sea near Katak and walked into it to share their company ; his body is said to have been subsequently caught in a fisherman's

net, and recovered by his disciples. His death occurred about A. D. 1527. His was a religion of Love, Love towards God and Love towards man. His ideal of devotion was *mádhurya* or passionate attachment towards the deity. He overcame the opposition of his bitterest enemies by showing love towards them. He abrogated all distinctions of caste or race amongst his followers; and two of his most prominent disciples were Mahomedans. He admitted into his sect five Mahomedans, who had purposed to rob him but were held back by his sanctity and converted by his preaching. Chaitanya is now worshipped by his followers as an incarnation of Krishna. The principal seat of his worship is Nadiyá.





CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON HINDUISM

Composite character of Hinduism.

From the brief sketch we have just given of the history of Hinduism, it will be seen that in one sense it is a very ancient religion, in another sense it is not. Though professedly based upon the Vedas, it is no more like the Vedic religion, than man is like the protoplasmic germ out of which he is supposed to have been evolved. It has grown during three thousand years to be what it is at present. It is not the creed of the Rigveda, nor of the Bráhmanas, nor of the Upanishads, nor of the Puránas; it is neither Saivism, nor Vaishnavism, nor Sáktism; yet it is all these. It can hardly be called a homogeneous religion in the sense that Judaism and Zoroastrianism are among the older, or Christianity and Mahomedanism are among the more recent reli-

gions. The catholicity and ecleticism of Hinduism have been of immense advantage to it. If it had shewn less toleration, less adaptability to its environment, it would probably not have survived so long. But, there is a remarkable unity in the diversity of the forms of faith comprised under Hinduism. Though there are numerous Saiva, Vaishnava and other sects, the number of sectaries is comparatively insignificant.* The majority of the Hindu population accept the whole system of the Hindu mythology. Preference for any particular deity does not preclude the worship of the other deities. Sectarianism, that is strict adhesion to one divinity or one faith, is quite unusual. The usual practice is for one and the same Hindu to pay his homage to Vishnu, Siva, and the various deities of the Vaishnava and Saiva pantheons. The same Hindu will often in one round of pilgrimage visit temples dedicated to Siva, Krishna, and Deví. The same Hindu will often in the course of one year celebrate the worship of these and various other divinities; and if he is philosophically disposed, he will with Bhartrihari exclaim: "One god, Siva or Vishnu."

The Vedic period was the period of the political supremacy of the Aryans. The religions of that period which have been preserved in the Vedas, the Bráhmanas and the Upanishads are essentially of Indo-Aryan des-

* In Bengal out of a total Hindu population of 47, 749, 242, there are only 499, 659 persons belonging to the various Vaishnava sects, and 106, 178 persons to the Saiva, and other sects.—"Census of India" (1891) Vol. III. p. 149.

cent. The Buddhist-Hindu period was the period, at least in part, of the political supremacy of the non-Aryan races. The Puránic period was the period of the political supremacy of the Mahomedans; and the forms of faith which sprung up during that period bear abundant traces of Mahomedan influence. As this influence has been felt till very recently, and as there is much popular misconception regarding it, we shall treat of it in some detail.

Tolerent policy of the Moslem rulers in India.

Much has been written on the intolerance of the Mahomedan rulers of India. But, the persecution of Jews by Christians, of one Christian sect by another, of the Protestants by the Roman Catholics, of the Roman Catholics by the Protestants, of one section of the Protestants by another in Christian Europe, was on the whole severer than that of the persecution of the Hindus by their Mussulman rulers in heathen India. The horrors of the Inquisition were here unknown, except, perhaps, in a small territory ruled by the Roman Catholics. Khafi Khan, himself a bigot, was shocked by the intolerant conduct of the Europeans of his day in India. (commencement of the 18th century).* It is doubtful if

* Speaking of those settled at Hughli. Khafi Khan says: "Of all their odious practices this was the worst:—In the post which they occupied on the sea-coast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Mahomedans or Hindus who dwelt under their rule; but if one of those inhabitants died leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and whether these young children were Sayads or whether they were Bráhmans, they made them Christians and slaves (*Mamluks.*)"

the cruelties perpetrated by the Portuguese at Salsette were equalled by the most fanatical and insensate Moslem that ever ruled in any part of India.*

Influence of Mahomedanism on Hinduism;

Mahomedanism did not place any insuperable barrier between man and man such as Hinduism interposed by its caste system. The meanest peasant amongst them could rise to the rank of the greatest nobleman. Mahomedans preached the brotherhood of man. The lowest Musalman had a right to read the Koran and to pray in the mosque. Not so with the Hindus. "Every action," says Alberuni, † "which is considered as the privilege of a Brahman, such as saying prayers, the

"In the ports of the Konkan, in the Dakhin, and on the sea-coast, wherever they had forts and exercised authority, this was the custom of that insolent people. ...... They allowed no religious mendicants (*fakirs*) to come into their bounds. When one found his way unawares, if he were a Hindu, he was subjected to such tortures as made his escape with life very doubtful; and if he were a Musalman, he was imprisoned and worried for some days, and then set at liberty." (Sir H. M. Elliot's "History of India" Vol. VII, p. 211.)

* A Portuguese armament landed at Salsette when least expected, and "carrying all before them, destroyed 1200 temples with all their images." A new expedition was fitted out soon after, which landed as before, "and not only destroyed the temples, but set fire to the cities, villages and all the habitations, and in a few hours reduced the whole island to ashes. The affrighted inhabitants fled almost naked from their houses and sought shelter on the shore of the neighbouring continent; and this fair scene of culture and crowded population, was converted at once into a smoking desert. Father Berno followed the troops, wielding a huge club, with which he beat down all the idols and brayed them in pieces." "Discoveries and Travels in Asia," (Edinburgh, 1820). By H. Murray, p. 77.

† Alberuni's "India" [Translation by E. C. Sachau] Vol. II, p. 136.

recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him [a Sudra] to such a degree, that when *e. g.* a Sudra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda, he is accused by the Brahmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off." Yet it is a curious fact that, notwithstanding the prestige which Mahomedanism enjoyed, as the Imperial religion; notwithstanding the equality which all its votaries enjoyed; notwithstanding such pressure as was exerted by the imposition, at times, of a poll tax on all non-Mahomedans, and notwithstanding more violent pressure exerted—though fortunately at rare intervals—by enthusiastic bigots, the great majority of the population of India remained Hindus. The fact that, notwithstanding the immigration of Mahomedans from various parts of Asia for some seven centuries or more, they still do not form more than a fifth of the entire population of India, speaks volumes in favour of the stability of Hinduism. But though Islam failed to make many converts, it exerted some influence on Hinduism. It was partly this influence that produced that succession of earnest reformers who shed such lustre on India from the commencement of the fourteenth to the close of the eighteenth century. They all preached the Unity of the Godhead; they all protested against caste; and not a few of them denounced idolatry.

in Southern India.

In Southern India the influence of Mahomedanism on Hinduism is distinctly recognisable at an earlier date than in Northern India.

"Criticism," says Dr. Barth*, "is generally on the look out for the least traces on Hinduism of Christian influence, but perhaps it does not take sufficiently into account that which Islamism has exercised. . . . The Arabs of the Khalifat had arrived on these shores (of the Deccan in the character of travellers, or merchants, and had established commercial relations and intercourse with these parts, long before the Afgans, the Turks, or the Moghuls, their co-religionists, came as conquerors. Now it is precisely in these parts that, from the ninth to the twelfth century, those great religious movements took their rise which are connected with the names of Samkara, Rámánuja A'nandatírtha, and Basava; out of which the majority of the historical sects come, and to which Hindusthan presents nothing analogous till a much later period. It has been remarked that these movements took place in the neighbourhood of old-established Christian communities. But alongside of these there began to appear, from that moment, the disciples of the Koran. To neither of these do we feel inclined to ascribe an influence of any significance on Hindoo theology, which appears to us sufficiently accounted for by reference to its own resources; but it is very possible that, indirectly, and merely, as it were, by their presence, they contributed in some degree towards the budding and bursting forth of those great religious reforms which, in the absence of doctrines altogether new, introduced into Hinduism a new organisation and a new spirit, and had all this common characteristic that they developed very quickly under the guidance of an acknowledged head, and rested on a species of authority akin to that of a prophet, or an Iman. Now to effect such a result as this, the Arabian merchants in the first centuries of the Hegira, with the Mahomedan world at their back, were perhaps better qualified than the poor and destitute churches of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts." *

Oposition of E. I. Company to Christian missionaries;

The English on whom fell the mantle of the Moghul empire adopted a policy of perfect neutrality towards the religions of India. The Mahomedans had freely allowed their maulavis to preach Mahomedanism and make

* Barth's "Religions of India" (London 1882) p. 211.

conversions in a fair way. But the East India Company assumed an attitude of hostility towards Christian missionaries. They were probably the only Christian power that separated religion so completely from state policy. The Portuguese attempted to combine conversion with conquest in India. The Dutch, though not to the same extent, were also actuated by missionary zeal. The avowed object of the Spaniards for the conquest of America was conversion. As a trading body, the East India Company had considered it a part of their duty to preach Christ to the benighted "Gentu," and had entertained an establishment of paid Chaplains for the purpose. But as a sovereign power, the East India Company not only did not attempt to preach their religion themselves, but threw every possible obstacle in the way of missionaries to settle in their territories. When William Carey came to Calcutta in 1793, he had to preach the religion of Christ almost like a thief in constant fear of being deported to England; and when six years later, he, Joshua Marshman and William Ward started systematic mission work, they sought shelter at Serampore, then a Danish possession.

Its ostensible and real reasons.

The ostensible grounds assigned for this discouragement of the missionary were political. But the real reasons are thus given by a writer in the *Calcutta Review*:—*

"The Anglo-Indians who ultimately filled the Court [The Court of Directors] were essentially a proud bad race, greedy for gold, eager for license. They shared to a very wide extent the intense hatred of "me-

* *Op. cit*, June, 1859.

thodism" which then pervaded the upper grades of the middle class of Englishmen. The feeling was intensified by that scorn of priestly meddling which is an attribute of all aristocracies, and which to this hour is strongly manifested in Indian [Anglo-Indian] society. It does not now show itself in immoralities, but the boldest chaplains fail utterly in securing social weight. Out of Calcutta there is no Minister who would venture even to censure his flock for lax attendance, or want of respect for the priestly office. His silent, respectful, but complete defeat would teach him at once that an Indian station was not a parochial cure. The Missionary was *the* Interloper *par excellence*, and the hate of a camel for a horse, of a snake for a mungoose, was feeble when compared with the heat of an Anglo-Indian for the interloper. Partly from his training, partly from the first circumstances of the conquest, the Anglo-Indian official regarded India as his property, his peculium. An interloper was therefore in his eyes little better than a thief, a man who undersold him, interrupted his profits, and impaired his exclusive authority over the population. With that instinct which comes of self-defence he saw that the Missionary was the most dangerous of interlopers. If he succeeded and India became Christian, the profitable monopoly was at once destroyed. If he failed, the religious party would never rest till they had broken down the monopoly to give him free course and liberty. The class therefore hated the Missionary, and hoped perpetually for a blunder which should give them an opportunity of deporting them from the country. It was the knowledge of this feeling, of this predetermined conclusion, which tinged the Missionary movements so deeply with alarm."

The character of the founders of the British Empire as a body was such as was not likely to inspire respect for their religion. I shall let an English writer speak about them :

"Honest minded travellers retured to England, after exploring, then almost a *terra incognita* the provinces of "East India," and specially the territories of "the Great Mogul," to narrate how Christian men in a heathen land were put to shame by the benighted natives ; to descant on the gentleness, the fidelity, the temperance of the gentiles, and the violence, the rapacity, the licentiousness of the Christians. It is remarkable,

that almost all the earliest travellers speak, in the highest terms of the native character; commending the friendly feeling exhibited by both Hindus and Mahomedans to the few scattered Europeans, who found their way beyond the coast, and not unfrequently descanting upon the sorry return which these kindly manifestations elicited. An intelligent gentleman, who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe, early in the seventeenth century to the court of the Great Mogul, and who furnished an account of what he saw and did which was held in high repute at the time of its publication (1665), gives a chapter on "the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the people of those nations" wherein he takes occasion to contrast the behaviour of the Heathen with that of the Christian man. After commenting on the industry and punctuality of the natives, in the XIV section of the memoir, he adds, 'This appears much in their justness manifested unto those who trade with them; for if a man will put it unto their consciences to sell the commodities he desires to buy at as low a rate as he can afford it, they will deal squarely and honestly with him; but if in those bargainings a man offers them much less than their set price, they will be apt to say, what dost thou think me a Christian, that I would go about to deceive them? It is a most sad and horrible thing to consider what scandal there is brought upon the Christian religion by the looseness and remissness, by the exorbitances of many, which come amongst them, who profess themselves Christians, of whom I have often heard the natives, who live here near the port where our ships arrive say thus, in broken English, which they have gotten, *Christian religion, devil religion*; *Christian much drunk*; *Christian much do wrong, much beat, much abuse others*: But to return unto the people of East India: Though the Christians, which come amongst them, do not such horrible things, yet they do enough to make Christianity itself evil spoken of; as a religion that deserves more to be abhorred, than embraced, for truly it is a sad sight there to behold a drunken Christian and a sober Indian; a temperate Indian and a Christian given up to his appetite. An Indian that is just and square in his dealing; a Christian not so; a laborious Indian and an idle Christian. O what a sad thing it is for Christian, to come short of Indians." And again in another place this writer sets down as one of the principle obstructions to the growth of Christianity in the East, "the most debauched lives of many coming thither, or living amongst them who

profess themselves Christians, by whom the Gospel of Jesus Christ is scandalised and exceedingly suffers."

"From the moment of their landing upon the shores of India, the first settlers cast off all those bonds, which had restrained them in their native villages; they regarded themselves as privileged beings—privileged to violate all the obligations of religion and morality, and to outrage all the decencies of life. They who came hither, were often desperate adventurers, whom England, in the emphatic language of the Scripture, had spurned out; men who sought all these golden sands of the East to repair their broken fortunes; to bury in oblivion a sullied name; or to wring, with lawless hand from the weak and unsuspecting, wealth which they had not the character or the capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated; they revelled in all kinds of debauchery; though associates in vice linked together by a common bond of rapacity—they often pursued one another with desperate malice, and few though they were in number, among them there was no unity, except an unity of crime."

"It is only from incidental allusions in the few works of travel and fewer political memoirs, which our ancestors have bequeathed to us, that we can gain any insight into the moral condition of the English in India, previous to the conquest of Bengal Many writers who have described the rise and progress of the different East India Companies have given us somewhat startling accounts of the official rapacity of our predecessors—of the fierce contensions of the rival companies, of their unscrupulous conduct towards the natives and towards each other, of their commercial dishonesty, their judicial turpitude and their political injustice—all these things are broadly stated; but to the immorality of their private life we have little but indistinct allusion.

"There was certainly society at the chief Presidency, during the administration of Warren Hastings; but in candour we must acknowledge it to have been most offensively bad society. Hastings himself, whatever may have been his character as a political ruler, had no great title to our admiration as a moral man. He was living, for years, with the wife of another, who lacking the spirit of cockchafer, connived with all imaginable *sangfroid* at the transfer of his wife's person to the possession of the Nabob; and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond

which had long been practically disregarded, the Governor-general had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adultress, in a style of the utmost magnificence, attended with open display and festal rejoicing What was to be expected from the body of society, when the head was thus morally diseased? Francis was a hundred-fold worse than Hastings. The latter was weak under a pressure of temptation; he was not disposed to "pay homage to virtue" by throwing a cloak over his vice: and did not sufficiently consider the bad influence, which his conduct was calculated to exercise over society at large. In him, it is true, there was a sad want of principle; but in Francis an evil principle was ever at work. His vices were all active vices—deliberate, ingenious, laborious. His lust was, like his malice, unimpulsive: studious; given to subtle contrivances; demanding the exercise of high intellectual ability. When he addressed himself to the deliberate seduction of Madame Grand, he brought all the mental energy and subtlety of matured manhood to bear upon the unsuspecting virtue of an inexperienced girl of sixteen. Here, indeed, were leaders of society; not only currupting the morals but disturbing the peace of the Presidency. The very members of the Supreme Council, in those days, could not refrain from shooting at each other. Barwell and Clavering went out. The latter had accused the former of dishonesty; and the former in return had called his associate "a liar". They met; but the contest was a bloodless one. Not so, that between Hastings and Francis. The Governor General shot the councillor through the body and thus wound up, in this country, to be renewed in another, the long struggle between the two antagonists. Such was the Council. The Supreme Court exercised no more benign influence over the morals of society. Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, was a model of rapacity and injustice—corrupt as he was cruel—and others not far below him in rank were equally near him in infamy. Viewing the whole picture with an unprejudised eye, it is assuredly a most disheartening one."*

Missionary work,

But times have long since changed. A far better class of Englishmen now come to India. The opposition of the East India Company to missionary work was removed by the Charter of

* *Calcutta Review* Vol. I. (1844) p.p. 294-295, 298 *etseq.*

1813. Since then numerous Protestant missions have been established in different parts of India. The missionary is still not very popular in Anglo-Indian society. He sometimes raises inconvenient questions of morality. He raises his voice against the expansion of the excise revenue; he threatens another and more important source of revenue, that from opium, because he considers it immoral; and he sometimes takes the side of oppressed ryots against the powerful planter or the still more powerful official: to crown all, whatever he says or writes carries great weight with a certain section of the English people in England. Still no hindrance is now offered to missionary work. Within the last sixty years missionary societies have rapidly increased. In 1830, there were nine Protestant missions; in 1870 there were thirty-five. In 1852 there were 459 Protestant missionaries; in 1872 there were 606. In 1851 there were in India and Burma 222 mission stations; in 1881 the number rose to 601.* Notwithstanding all this missionary activity, Christianity has made but little impres-

not very success-full,

sion upon Hinduism. Notwithstanding four centuries† of earnest preaching by Roman Catholics, and two centuries‡ of as earnest preaching by Protestants, notwithstanding the devotion,

* These figures have been taken from Hunter's "Indian Empire" Second edition, p.p. 261-263.

† The first Catholic mission (properly so called) arrived from Portugal in 1500.

‡ The first Protestant missionaries were Lutherans who began their work in 1705 at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar.

ability and self sacrifice of such men as St. Francis Xavier, de Nobili and Beschi amongst the Roman Catholics, and Schwartz, Carey, Duff, and Wilson, amongst the Protestants, there were in 1891 not more than 2,036,590 Indian Christians of all denominations out of a population of 287, 179, 715. It is true the number shows a fair increase on that of 1881. But the remarks of the Census Commissioner for Bengal apply generally to the hole of India: "In the great majority of districts the increase is due to the natural growth of people most of whose physical wants are carefully looked after by benevolent pastors, augmented by a few stray conversions."*

These remarks are perhaps a little too strong. Conversions not quite of a "stray" character do take place but only amongst the aborigines or the lowest ranks of the Hindu Society. In Bengal, for instance, the number of Christians for 1891 shows an increase of 63, 418 over that for 1881. But of this number, no less than 49, 281, were in the Chhota Nagpur Division, where mission work is chiefly carried on amongst the aborigines. About the middle of the present century, a good number of high-caste and educated Hindus embraced Christianity. But it soon after met with formidable opponents in the Bráhma and the A´rya samájes; and in the struggle that ensued, the latter triumphed. Within the last thirty years the progress of Christianity among the upper-class Hindus has been very insignificant.

especially amongst upper-class Hindus;

* "Census of India" (1891) Vol. III. p. 152.

Mr. H. J. S. Cotton in his "New India"* says: "Though here and there an educated native may have been brought to Christianity, the educated natives, as a body, have not been slow to perceive that the intellect of Europe is drifting away from the traditional religion. Whatever change may eventually be effected, the change from Hindooism to Christianity is perhaps the most improbable; the people will not accept it." Again: "The spread of education has enabled the people to bind together with more cohesion and unity against a form of proselytism they so much dislike, and conversions to Christianity otherwise than among famine remnants and occasionally among the aboriginal tribes are far less frequent than was formerly the case. During my eighteen years' experience of Bengal, I do not remember a single instance of the conversion of a respectable native gentleman to Christianity." There can be no doubt that Christianity amongst the upper-class Hindus has been on the wane for sometime past; and there are no signs

* *Op. cit* (London 1885) p.p. 156-159 It should be noted that education amongst the Indian Christians is relatively more widely spread than amongst the Hindus and Mahomedans. "In South India alone there were 44,225 native Christians at school and college, or 61 per cent of boys and 28 per cent of girls of a schoolgoing age, while the percentage of the Presidency, as a whole, is 23 of boys and 3 of girls. The native Christians are only a fortieth of the population, but more than 8 per cent of the students attending colleges and of the graduates of the University are native Christians." Dr. G. Smith, "Conversion of India" (1893) p. 229.

of its finding favor with them again. Whatever optimist missionaries* may think, it is never likely to win many converts among the Hindus, and for the following reasons:

reasons why.

First. The pliability of Hinduism which has given it somewhat the character of an all-embracing religion. We have already adverted to this point. Mahomedanism has nothing new to present; for, Hinduism admits monotheism to be its very essence. Christianity too has hardly any spiritual idea to offer that is not to be met with in Hinduism. On its doctrinal side, Hinduism is almost invulnerable. It is armed with all the weapons of its opponents, offensive or defensive. It can oppose Faith to Faith, Love to Love, Revelation to Revelation, Sacrifice to Sacrifice.

Secondly. The caste-system. The survival of Hinduism as the religion of over two hundred millions of human beings in a high stage of civilisation is not solely attributable to its pliability.† Its social organisation, of which the caste-system is the principal factor, is also an important cause of its remarkable vitality.

* Says Bishop Caldwell: "To be almost a convert is the highest point many well-disposed Hindoos have reached at present. They are timidly waiting for a general movement which they will be able to join without personal risk; but the time may any day come when the masses of them will become not only almost, but altogether followers of Christ."

(Quoted in Dr. George Smith's "Conversion of India" p. 217.)

† A missionary of considerable Indian experience says: "Eclectic, elastic, willing to absorb every belief and cult that will tolerate its social system—Bráhmanism presents a greater difficulty than classical Paganism, if only because of caste." Dr. George Smith, Conversion of India" p. 219.

Hinduism has ever been, and still is as liberal and tolerent in matters of religious belief, as it is illiberal, and intolerent in matters of social conduct. Its religious pliability is in inverse ratio to its social rigidity. It is largely owing to the strictness of its caste-system, that comparatively so few Hindus have been converted to Christianity. To a Hindu conversion means separation from all that is nearest and dearest to him. If he be married, and his wife be unwilling to be converted with him he has to part from her, and sever all connections with home, with father, mother, brothers, and sisters. The convert is excommunicated; he is looked upon as something degraded. But, few Hindus would undergo all this sacrifice, unless they are convinced that they are changing their ancestral religion for something better; and such conviction is rendered very difficult by the all-embracing character of Hinduism.

But few conversions have ever been made to Christianity except from the lower classes who, kept down at a low level by the caste-system, are actuated by a desire for social betterment, when the way to it is shown by missionaries. The largest number of converts made to Christianity in recent times has been in times of famine. The number of high-caste converts has been, and still is, exceedingly small. The success of the earlier Roman Catholic missionaries was largely due to their recognition of caste. Xavier and de Nobili both endeavoured to construct an Indian church on the basis of caste organization. The earlier Protestant missionaries followed in the wake of the earlier Catholic missionaries,

and Schwartz no less than Xavier recognised caste. When in 1833, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta issued a circular forbidding caste observances in Protestant Churches, the Protestant caste-converts of Tanjore renounced their religion rather than violate caste.

Thirdly. The missionaries as a body are no doubt good, earnest men; and according to the standard of comfort of their society, they undoubtedly do not live luxuriously. Still what is simplicity to them is luxury to the Hindus. Their houses, their servants, their food, their horses, their carriages—though there is nothing extravagant in these according to English ideas—do not harmonise with the Hindu ideal of the life of a man of religion. From the time of Gautama the Buddha to the present day all Hindu preachers, all Hindu founders of sects (with the single exception of Vallábhácharya, the founder of the sect of Vallábhácháris) have been ascetics. The Hindus cannot reconcile the character of a holy man with that of a worldly man. To have any weight with them the preacher must undergo an amount of self-denial of which the Christian missionary has scarcely any conception.

The influence of Christianity upon Hinduism has, indeed, been very little. The supposition that Krishna-cult owed its origin to the contact of Christianity has been shown to be groundless. * The suspicion of Christian influence on the small but interesting sect

* See Barth's "Religions of India," pp. 219 et seq.

of the Tamil *Sittars* (Wise ones) also rests upon slender grounds.

The English Government has suppressed certain cruel rites which may be mentioned here. The earliest reference to the practice of human sacrifice in India occurs in the story of Sunahsepha told in the Aitareya Bráhmana, which is considered to be the Bráhmana portion of the Rigveda.

Human sacrifice,

Rájá Harischandra of the Ikshváku race who had no son prayed to Varuna for one. "Let a son be born unto me," he said, "and with him, I will sacrifice to you." "So be it" said Varuna, and a son was born to the king, who was named Rohita. Harischandra evaded fulfilling his promise under various pretexts until Rohita had been invested with arms. He then called his son and said "My child, Varuna gave you to me, and I have also promised to sacrifice with you to him." "By no means" said the young man ; and he went away to the forest where he wandered for some years. At last Rohita purchased from a Bráhman, named Ajígarta, his second son named Sunahsepha, for one hundred cows, and returning to his father said "Rejoice father, for with this youth shall I redeem myself." Harischandra made preparations for the sacrificial ceremony termed Rájasúya and appointed Sunahsepha to be the human victim. Sunahsepha was tied to the stake. But he did not like his situation and said :

"They will put me to death as if I were not a man." Then at the suggestion of Visvámitra, he prayed to a number of divinities to be released and was ultimately set free.* In the Satapatha Bráhmana of the Yajurveda mention is made of Purushamedha or sacrifice of man, in which one hundred and eightyfive men of various castes are bound to eleven posts, and after recitation of a hymn celebrating the allegorical immolation of Nárá-yana, they are liberated unhurt, and oblations of butter are offered on the sacrificial fire.† It would thus appear that if human sacrifices had ever been prevelant amongst the Indo-Aryans, an emblematical ceremony was substituted in their place sometime about the Bráhmana period. ‡

emblematical in the Bráhmana period.

In Puránic period, a section of the Sákta Hindus introduced human sacrifice called Narabali to the goddess variously named Deví, Chandiká, Chámundá, or Kálí—a dark,

Later Narabali.

* The story is given in full by Wilson, "Essays and Lectures" (1862) vol. II. pp. 250 ff.

† Colebrooke, "Miscellaneous essays" (1837). Vol. I p. 61.

‡ "By a human sacrifice attended by the forms laid down, Deví remains gratified for a thousand years, and by a sacrifice of three men one hundred thousand years. By human flesh the goddess Kámákhyá's consort Bhairava, ... remains pleased for three thousand years. Blood consecrated, immediately becomes ambrosia, and since the head and flesh are gratifying, therefore should the head and flesh be offered at the worship of the goddess. The wise should also add the flesh free from hair, among food offerings." The Káliká Purána quoted in Rájendra Lála Mitra's "Indo-Aryans" vol II. p. 106.

fierce, hideous, blood-thirsty deity, "who is represented in the most awful forms, not unoften dressed in human palms, garlanded with a string of human skulls, holding a skull by the hair in one hand, and an uplifted sabre in the other, and having her person stained with patches of human gore."*

* Narabali was probably borrowed from the practice of such non-Aryan tirbes as the Kandhs.

"The Kandhs, like the Santáls, have many deities, race-gods, tribe-gods, family-gods, and a multitude of malignant spirits and demons. But their great divinity is the Earth-god, who represents the productive energy of nature. Twice each year, at sowing time and at harvest, and in all seasons of special calamity, the Earth-god required a human sacrifice (Meriah). The duty of providing the victims rested with the lower race attached to the Kandah village. Brahmans and Kandhs were the only classes exempted from sacrifice, and an ancient rule ordained that the offering *must be bought with a price*. Men of the lower race kidnapped the victims from the plains. and a thriving Kandh village usually kept a small stock in reserve, 'to meet sudden demands for atonement.' The victim, on being brought to the hamlet, was welcomed at every threshold, daintly fed, and kindly treated till the fatal day arrived He was then solemnly sacrificed to the Earth-god, the Kandhs shouting in his dying ear, 'We bought you with a price; no sin rests with us?' His flesh and blood were distributed among the village lands.

In 1835, the Kandhs passed under our rule, and these rites had to cease. The proud Kandh spirit shrank from compulsion; but after many tribal councils, they agreed to give up their stock of victims as a valuable present to their new suzerain. Care was taken that they should not procure fresh ones. The Kidnapping of victims for human sacrifice was declared a capital offence; and their priests were led to discover that goats or buffaloes did quite as well for the Earth-god under British rule as human sacrifices." (Hunter's "Indian Empire" p. 62).

The Kálikápurána says :—

"Next should be performed such sacrifice as is gratifying to the Deví. The elephant-headed (Ganes) should be gratified with sweetmeats; Hari with clarified butter, *(Habis)*, (the word may be rendered into rice, fruits, &c.); the all-destroying Hara, with the three-fold entertainment (of dancing, singing, and music); but the worshipper should always gratify Chandiká with animal sacrifice. Birds, tortoises, crocodiles, hogs, goats, buffaloes, guanos, porcupines, and the nine kinds of deer, yaks, black antilopes, crows, lions, fishes, the blood of one's own body, and camels are the sacrificial animals. In the absence of these sometimes horses and elephants, goats, sarabha, (a young elephant or a fabulous animal with eight legs,) and human beings in the order in which they are named, are respectively called *Bali* (sacrifice), *Mahabali* (the great sacrifice), and *Atibali* (highest sacrifice). Having placed the victim before the goddess, the worshipper should adore her by offering flowers, sandal paste, and bark, frequently repeating the mantra appropriate for sacrifice. Then, facing the north and placing the victim so as to face the East, he should look backward and repeat this mantra: 'O man, through my good fortune thou hast appeared as a victim; therefore I salute thee; thou multiform, and of the form of a victim. Thou, by gratifying Chandiká destroyeth all evil incidents to the giver. Thou, a victim, who appeareth as a sacrifice meet for the Vaishnaví, havest my salutations. Victims were created by the self-born himself for sacrificial rites; I shall slaughter thee to-day, and slaughter at a sacrifice is no murder.'—Then meditating on that human-formed victim a flower should be thrown on the top of its head with the mantra 'Om, Aiñ, Hriñ, Sriñ. Then, thinking of one's own wishes, and referring to the goddess, water should be sprinkled on the victim."

Human sacrifices must always have been very rare; they were against law under the Mahomedan Rule. Since the establishment of the British Rule, stricter Police supervision has made them still rarer. In some Sákta families, the practice of sacrificing a man in effigy still reminds one of the now almost obsolete rite. The effigy is about a foot in length, and is made of milk dried to solidity. A few mantras are recited

to vivify the image, which is then sacrificed according to the formula laid down in the Káliká Purána for human sacrifice. But, as Rájendralála Mitra observes, "persons are not wanting who suspect that there are still nooks and corners in India where human victims are occasionally slaughtered for the gratification of the Deví."* During the dearth of 1866, in a temple dedicated to Káli, within one hundred miles of Calcutta. "a boy was found with his neck cut, the eyes staring open, and the stiff clotted tongue thrust out between the teeth. In another temple at Hugli (a railway station only 25 miles from Calcutta, the head was left before the idol decked with flowers." †

Besides *Narabali* to *Chandiká*, human victims used to be occasionally offered in pre-British times for the propitiation of minor divinities, specially among the aboriginal classes, whenever a newly excavated tank failed to yield the expected supply of water or a harvest failed. In order to avert possible accidents, the foundations of important buildings were sometimes laid in human blood. The memory of such sacrifices still survives; and scarcely any important bridge has been constructed in recent times without its giving rise to a scare in its vicinity that some human victims would be sacrificed.

* Rájendralála Mitra, *op. cit.* p. 108

† *The Indian Empire* (Second Edition) by W. W. Hunter, p. 212; see also Ward's "Hindus" Vol. II p. 261.

Infanticide has been prevalent among the Hindus in two forms, of which one chiefly confined to the Rájputs, consisted in the destruction of new-born daughters through the apprehension that suitable matches would not be obtained for them.* The ordinance of the Hindu Sástras, that girls must be married, and that too before they attain maturity, always makes Hindu parents anxious on their account. The anxiety is intensified if the parents have not the means to marry their daughters suitably and with becoming pomp. The advent of a daughter, therefore, is often not very welcome in the household of a high-caste Hindu; the rejoicings which take place on the birth of a son are dispensed with when a daughter is born. The lower classes and the Hinduised aborigines, among whom the father of the daughter gains pecuniarily by her marriage, do not of course, look upon her as an unwelcome visitor.

Infanticide

Among several of the higher castes, especially the Rájputs, the morbid anxiety caused by the birth of a daughter has been so great as to lead to infanticide on a large scale. In 1856, an officer was appointed to investigate the matter. He states in his report, "that in the villages visited by him, in 26 out of 308 not a single girl under six years of age existed. In another batch of 38 villages he did not find a single girl; marriages were very rare there and in some places were

Killing of new-born daughters among Rájputs &c.

* This form of infanticide is treated of here for the sake of convenience. Its proper place is the next Book.

not known to have taken place within the recollecetion of the present generation. In another instance there was not a girl over six, and no marriage had taken place there for over eighty years In many parts of the Benares Division he also found that marriages had not taken place within the memory of the present generation." Other officers in other districts had a similar experience "Among the Rajputs it appears to be customary to destroy the infant immediately upon its birth; the mothers of the Rajkumar infants simply starve them to death. In other cases they are poisoned with the juice of mádár plant, tobacco, or Dhatura; or the child was strangled immediately it was born. In Benares it was a common practice to drown them in milk after a prayer had been offered that they might come again in the form of sons, whilst in other places, again, the newly-born infant was buried alive, or left exposed in the jungle." *

Steps taken for its suppression.

Punitive measures have been adopted by Government for the suppression of this form of infanticide; and earnest indigenous efforts are being made to strike at its very root, that is, to remove its real causes,—infant marriage and heavy marriage-expenses. The steps which have been adopted for raising the marriageable age of girls will be mentioned in the next Book. Here we shall briefly refer to the measures which have been adopted for the reduction of the marriage-expenses. Several

* Quoted by W. J. Wilkins, "Modern Hinduism" p. 433." See also *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I, pp. 372 *et seq.*

associations have been formed in Northern India having this as one of their principal objects. Of these the Káyastha Conference and the Walterkrit Rájputra Hitakáriní Sabhá are the principal. The former passed the following resolutions at a meeting held at Bareilly during the Christmas week in 1891 :—

"That, in the opinion of the Conference, the following means among others are suitable for the curtailment of extravagant expenses in marriages and on other festive occasions.

(1.) That every member of the community individually, and every Sabhá collectively should prepare a list of such expenses as, in his or its opinion, require curtailment or total abandonment; that such lists be published in the national papers, and a copy thereof be forwarded to the Provincial Sabhá Office; that an abstract thereof be read at the General Meeting of the Provincial Sabhá, and subsequently circulated widely in the community.

(2.) That every Sabhá and Sub-Division of the community should prepare a Dastur-al-Amal (code of rules and bye-laws to regulate expenses in marriages, &c.), and enforce it within its jurisdiction or Sub-Division; that these Dastur-ul-Amals be published in the national papers, and a copy thereof be for warded to the Provincial Sabhá; that an abstract of these Dastur-ul-Amals be appended to the Provincial Sabhá report; and that, when a sufficient number of them have been received, a draft Dastur-ul-Amal be prepared for general enforcement, and be read at the annual meeting of the Provincial Sabhá, and when approved by the latter, be published and widely circulated.

(3.) That expenses be limited, 1st with respect to the average annual income, (*e. g.*, not more than six month's income should be spent on the marriage of a son, one year's on that of a daughter, and so on); or 2nd with respect to grades of marriages, (*e. g.*, in the first class, marriage expenses may not exceed Rs. 1,000; in the second, Rs. 500; and in the third, Rs. 150); or 3rd that expenses on the different ceremonies be laid down at certain amounts which should not be exceeded. (*e. g.*, Rs. 5 for *Barrichha*, Rs. 50 for *Tilak*, and so on).

N. B.—The examples given above are only illustrative, and not

authoritative; regard should be had only to the principles underlying them.

(4.) That members and office bearers of the Sabhá should try their best to see within their respective jurisdictions that the rules thus framed are not violated; they should adopt all persuasive means to induce people to conform to them, *e. g.*, they should join their feasts, explain to them the advantages of their action, and otherwise use their influence to check breaches of the rules.

(5.) That in the first instance pressure be brought to bear on people of position and wealth, and the office-bearers of the Sabhás should take the lead in observing the rules.

(6.) That gentlemen conforming to the Dastur-ul-Amals promulgated by the Sabhás should be publicly honoured; and their names favorably noticed in the national papers, and further, their names should be recorded in a register kept for the purpose and read at the annual meeting.

(7.) That with a view to attract the attention of the community and the Sabhás towards the enforcement of the several methods indicated above, short pamphlets should be published pointing out the evils of extravagant expenses on marriages, and be distributed gratuitously."

From the annual report of the Rájputra Hitakáriní Sabhá it appears, that the rules prescribed by the Sabhá for the reduction of marriage-expenses have been generally adopted throughout Rájputáná.

A large meeting convened by the Sirdars of the Punjab was held in the Town Hall of Ludhiáná, on 8th October 1888, at which rules were framed, to be binding not only on the Sirdars and Raises, but on the whole Ját community. The following enactments were then passed :—

Every Ját to be bound by the Code. He might spend less than the authorised amount, but not more.

Parents are, themselves, to personally inquire into the age and other qualifications of the boy and girl before betrothal, and are not to leave these duties to *lagis* (barbers and Brahmans).

At the time of marriage the boy is not to be under nineteen years of age, or the girl under fourteen (except in particular cases).

Parents of girls are forbidden to receive any gratuity or present whatever, under any pretence, in consideration of the marriage of their daughter.

The following are the proportions of annual income which may be spent on marriages. Everyone is at liberty to spend less, but not more :—

(*a*) A person with an annual income of Rs. 100, or less, may spend at the rate of 60 per cent.

(*b*) A person having an income of more than Rs. 100 and not exceeding Rs. 500, may spend 50 per cent.

(*c*) A person with an income between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 may spend 40 per cent.

(*d*) One with an income between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 5000 may spend a third of one year's income.

(*e*) One receiving an income between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 20,000 may expend at the rate of 30 per cent.

(*f*) One whose annual income exceeds Rs. 20,000 is limited to 25 per cent. *

The Sixth National Social Conference passed the following resolution :—

"That in the opinion of this Conference, it is necessary to curtail marriage and ceremonial expenses, and the Conference recommends each community to lay down fixed scales of such expenses, and provide measures for the enforcement of their rules."

Infanticide in fulfilment of vows suppressed.

The other form of Infanticide was in fulfilment of vows made by parents to offer their first born babes to the sacred river, the Ganges (Bhágirathí), principally

* *The Indian Magazine* (London) December, 1890.

at its junction with the sea at the Saugar island. * The children thrown into the water were sometimes rescued by priests or other bystanders who brought them up. But sometimes they were drowned or devoured by sharks. In 1805, the practice was declared to be murder punishable with death. Ward mentions a horrible custom, happily now unknown, which in his time (*i.e.* in the earlier years of the present century) prevailed in some of the northern districts of Bengal. If an infant refused the mother's breast and declined in health, it was said to be possessed by some malignant spirit. Such a child was sometimes put into a basket and suspended in a tree where this evil spirit was supposed to reside but it was fed and clothed daily. If it was found alive at the expiration of three days, the mother received it back home and nursed it, but the child often died. †

Self-immolation.

Self-immolation is an ancient practice in India. The rite of *Maháprasthána* which required one to walk into the sea and drown himself survived till the beginning of the present century. Cases of self-immolation by drowning were by no means rare at the confluence of the Bhágirathí with the sea. Effective measures were taken in 1805 to stop the practice along with infanticide. Another form of self-immolation required the sinner to enter a blazing

* Rájendralála Mitra traced the offering of infants to Gangá to the sacrifice of Sunasepha to the water-goddess Varuna.

† Ward's "History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus" (Second Edition 1815) Vol. II p. 319.

pyre *(tushánala)*, and burn himself to death. It is what Calanus performed in the presence of Alexander the Great.

The following cases of self-immolation are cited by Ward: 'About the year 1790, a young man of the order of Dandí, took up his abode at Kakshalu, a village near Nadiyá, for a few months, and began to grow very corpulent. Reflecting that a person of his order was bound to a life of mortification, and feeling his passions grow stronger and stronger, he resolved to renounce his life in the Ganges; he requested his friends to assist in this act of self-murder, and they supplied him with a boat, some cord and two waterpans. He then proceeded on the boat into the middle of the stream, and, filling the pans with water, fastened one to his neck, and the other round his loins, and in this manner descended into the water—to rise no more!—in the presence of a great multitude of applauding spectators. A few years after this another Dandí, while suffering under a fever renounced his life in the Ganges at Nadiyá; and nearly at the same time a Dandi at Ariáda, about four miles from Calcutta, in a state of indisposition refusing all medical aid (in which indeed he acted according to the rules of his order) cast himself into the river from a boat, and thus renounced life."*

In such cases, the line of demarcation between self-immolation and suicide is not very sharp. Death under the wheels of the car of Jagannáth was sought for cen-

* Ward, *op cit*, Vol. II p. 315.

turies before the incorporation of Orissa with the British territory. But the number of such cases of self-immolation was very small, and they were chiefly confined to "diseased and miserable objects who took this means to put themselves out of pain".* Until 1824, devotees used to precipitate themselves over the Birkhalá rocks, at the eastern end of the Island of Mandáptá or Omkárji, on to the river brink where the terrible deity, Kála Bhairava, resided.†

Self-inflicted tortures: blood-offering,

The offering of one's blood to the bloodthirsty goddess, Chandiká, appears to be a comparatively modern rite confined to women. "There is scarcely a respectable house in all Bengal," says Rájendralála Mitra "the mistress of which has not at one time or other, shed her blood, under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and on the first Durgá Pújá following, or at the temple at Kálíghát, or at some other sacred fane the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then bares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and with a nail cutter *(naruna)* draws a few drops of blood from between her busts, and offers them to the divinity. The

* Hunter's "Orissa" (1872) Vol. I. p. 134.
† "Central Provinces Gazetteer", p. 259.

last time I saw the ceremony was six years ago, when my late revered parent, tottering with age, made the offering for my recovery from a dangerous and long-protracted attack of pleurisy".* The practice of votaries cutting out their tongues and offering them to the Deví at Jválámukhí appears to have been by no means uncommon in the earlier years of the present century. It was also not unknown at Kálighát near Calcutta. †

Hook-swinging,

The hook-swinging and attendant barbarities were put a stop to in Bengal by legislation in 1863. When they came into existence is not exactly known. But that they were of non-Aryan orgin there can be little doubt. The fact that they were, and in some parts still are, practised by low castes only points to this conclusion. A few days previous to the Charak Pújá, which is celebrated on the last day of the month of Chaitra, able-bodied, vigorous men belonging to such castes assume the character of devotees (*sannyásís*) They live upon plantains, clarified butter and similar food. On the first day some of them throw themselves down from a platform upon knives so ranged as to do but litte harm. They parade the streets, dancing to the music of drums and tomtoms, and exhibiting various feats, such as playing with pointed iron rods piercing their tongues or arms. The barbarities culminate on the day of the Charak Pújá in the swinging of a few chosen

* "Indo-Aryans", Vol. II, pp. 111—112.

† Ward "History, &c. of the Hindoos," (1815) Vol. II. p. 232. (foot note).

sannyásís suspended from a cross beam fixed high on a pole by hooks piercing the muscles of the back. Sannyásís are still swung on the occasion of the Charak Pújá, but in Bengal in a more harmless way. When the orders of Government prohibiting the barbarities practised during the Pújá were carried out in the district of Birbhum some of the lower caste people "assembled round the poles and foretold famine from the loss of their old propitiatory rites. As they thought the spring ceremonies absolutely essential before commencing tillage, the British officer suggested they might swing a man by a rope round his waist instead of with a hook through his back. This compromise was accepted by some, but the better-informed cultivators gloomily assured the officer that the ceremonies would have no good effect on the crops without the spilling of blood." *

Indirect English influence on Hinduism.

The indirect influence of the English environment chiefly exerted through English schools has been incomparably greater than the direct Governmental suppression of such inhuman practices as we have just described. This influence has principally been in the same direction as the influence of the Mahomedan environment—viz. in the direction of monotheism and social equality. Neo-Hinduism and some of the recent sects which we shall treat of in subsequent chapters are largely attributable to this influence.

* "Indian Empire," p. 213.



CHAPTER III.

NEO-HINDUISM

Hinduism as a social organisation,

All religions govern more or less the social life of their followers; but no religion in the world probably does so to the same extent as Hinduism. Hinduism, in fact, is more a social than a religious organisation. It includes all shades of faith—monotheism, pantheism, agnosticism, atheism, polytheism, and fetishism. So long as a Hindu conforms to the customs and practices of his society he may believe what he likes. The movements of secession from Hinduism from the time of Gautuma have been as much of a social as of a religious character. Such sects as the Kabirpanthis and the Chhattisgarí Satnámis, were essentially socialistic upheavals. Their founders were of low caste; their members are mostly, if not solely, of low caste. The cardinal difference between Bráhmaism and Hin-

duism is more of a social than of a religious nature. The members of the Prárthaná Samájes of Bombay, though monotheists like those of the Bráhma Samájes of Bengal, are nevertheless Hindus, because they are still within the pale of Hindu society. The followers of Dayánanda Sarasvatí are as much monotheists as the Bráhmas. Both are equally against idolatry. But the A'ryas are Hindus because they respect the social organisation of the Hindus. Some of the Hindu customs and practices are variable. They have varied with time. They are not the same now as they were in the Vedic period, or even the period of the Manusamhitá. Beef was then an approved article of food; it is now to the Hindus what pork is to the Jews or Mahomedans. There is also considerable local variation; Hindu usages in Bengal are not exactly the same as Hindu usages in Bombay, Madras or the Punjab. Bengal Bráhmans delight in fish and certain kinds of flesh. But these articles of food are forbidden to Mahratta and North-Western Bráhmans. But, there are certain practices which are universal all over India; and the most important of these are connected with the institutions of caste and marriage. All these customs, variable or invariable, local or universal, derive their sanction from a mysterious body of works collectively known as the *Sástras*. The Sástras are on the lips of every Hindu, though but few know exactly what they comprise. Most of the important reformations in India have had as one of their important objects

based on the authority of the Sástras.

the confutation of the Sástras. Buddha, Kabir and Nának expressed but little regard for the authority of the Sástras. A large section of the educated Hindus claim to interpret the Sástras in the light of reason, and to disregard them altogether when they clash with their modern ideas of progress. As we shall presently see, they have no special creed. They are Hindus; they have not broken away with the parent religion as the Buddhists, the Kabir-panthis, and the Sikhs have done. The movement is, however, none the less important When we bear in mind how intimately the social organisation of the Hindus is connected with their religion, how social heresy is often severely punished in Hindu society, whereas religious heresy is as often overlooked, the movement assumes an importance deserving of special treatment. It is altogether a new one amongst the Hindus. There has been social heterodoxy before now, but never on such a large scale. The Neo-Hindu movement, as we shall call it, is a very widespread one. It counts amongst its followers educated men from all parts of India. It has already passed its inceptive stage. The Hindu reformers meet annually to confer together their plan of operations. In the next Book we shall treat of the reforms initiated by them. Suffice to say here, that they are of a far-reaching character comprising as they do reforms of the caste and marriage customs which are considered of greater importance by orthodox Hindus than any rite or form of worship.

The sástras rationally interpreted.

Numerical strength of the Neo-Hindus.

It is difficult to estimate the number of the Neo-Hindus. But it must be very large, comprising as it does, conjecturally of course, a good portion of the educated men all over the Empire. The dissemination of English education has spread ideas which hitherto have been the exclusive property of the thoughtful and cultured few. The idea of the brotherhood of man and similar ideas which strike at the foundation of the Hindu social polity have been known and preached in India from the remotest times. But it is owing mainly to English education that they now pervade nearly all ranks of the Hindu society ; and the wide diffusion of the Neo-Hindu movement is mainly referable to this cause.

Neo-Hindus, conservative and radical ;

With regard to the breach of social observances, the great majority of the Neo-Hindus, adopt a policy of caution,* and do not go beyond the point that would be tolerated by their society ; there are a few, on

* The President of the Sixth Social Conference, The Hon'ble Rámkáli Chaudhuri, made the following observations :—

"Now what are we to do in introducing reforms in our social condition? In our zeal for reform let us not lose patience. If we conceive what reforms we should have, let us not take action at once. We thereby alienate our less advanced countrymen from the ways we aspire to adopt, and our failure is the consequence. The first step in our procedure, as far as I am able to judge, is to create a widely spread public opinion in favour of reform. This, I know, requires an immense deal of talk, for which we are subjected to so much taunting criticism. But ignoring such taunts we should strenuously go on to convert gradually the minds of our countrymen. I know a great deal of time—perhaps

the other hand, consisting chiefly of persons who have been to the West either for travel or education, who are less cautious. The former may be distinguished as conservative, and the latter as radical Neo-Hindus. A very large number of the conservative Neo-Hindus openly break the caste rules about food and drink, * and the toleration of the Hindu society in this direction is gradually increasing.

the period of a generation or two—is required for such conversion. Our people—even of the lowest class—are, however, very intelligent: and the English education—thanks to the Government we are placed under—is doing us great help in this respect, and we are sure to succeed in this first step of our procedure."

(Report of the Sixth National Social Conference. Printed at Poona 1893).

* We are aware of numerous such instances, but shall content ourselves by citing a few of the more prominent ones. At the table of the late Rájá Digambar Mitra, who, for sometime, was a member of the Legislative Council of Bengal, the Mahomedan, the Christian, the England-returned Hindu were equally welcome. He "felt no caste scruples to send his son to England, or take him back into the family on his return." Rámgopal Ghose also abrogated caste as regards food. Yet they both celebrated the Durgá Pujá. "Life of Raja Digambar Mitra" by Bholanath Chunder. Calcutta. 1893 pp. 267, 269.) Justice Dwáraká Náth Mitra used to dine with the Governor General, the Lieutenant Governor, and other high officials. Yet as regards ceremonial observances he was a Hindu. He married after his elevation to the Bench and after he had declared himself a Positivist, and gave his daughter in marriage in the Hindu way. ("Life of Dwáraká Náth Mitter" by Dinabandhu Sanyal).

their attitude towards social reform;

Quite recently, the *Indian Social Reformer* (a Madras paper). setting forth the vegetarianism of Mr. A. O. Hume (one of the leaders of the National Congress) who, it declared, can well be compared to a Rishi, challenged the Hindus to recognise this fact by eating with him. The challenge was responded to by some thirteen Madrasi Hindus who joined together and invited Mr. Hume to a dinner. It was prepared by a Hindu cook, and served in thorough Hindu style on plantain leaves, which were arranged in two rows, Mr. Hume squatting on the floor along with the others and eating out of his leaf. He was, however, allowed the use of spoons and forks. Except in the matter of food, the majority of the conservative Neo-Hindus are very cautious in effecting social reforms, though many of them earnestly advocate them. At the National Social Conference held in Allahabad on 31st December, 1893, it was for instance resolved, "that in the opinion of the Conference neither distant sea-voyages nor residence in foreign countries should by themselves involve loss of caste." One gentleman proposed to add—"provided that no rules or regulations of the caste are violated." The amendment was lost, and the substantive proposition carried by a large majority.* Of this majority, however, but few would or could carry the resolution into practice. Similar unwillingness or inability to take

* "Report of the Sixth National Social Conference." Poona, 1893. p.p. 11-15.

immediate action is observable with regard to the following and several other resolutions which also were passed at the Conference:—

'That, in the opinion of the Conference, it is essential that the marriageable age of boys and girls should be raised, and that all castes should fix minima varying from 18 to 21 for boys and 12 to 14 for girls according to their circumstances, the final irrevocable marriage rice *(saptapadi* or *phera)* being postponed till the bride becomes 14 years old.'

their religious creed,

In religious belief a few of the Neo-Hindus are agnostics, and positivists. Some are monotheists. Many more are in a state of unsettled belief; a few years ago the number of such Hindus was much larger than at present. But a reaction has latterly set in. Men who began life as scoffers or Bráhmas are ending it by being staunch Vaishnavas. * Several of the foremost missionaries of the most advanced Bráhma sect in Bengal have reverted to Hinduism. The progress of Bráhmaism is slower than before. Keshab Chandra Sen, its most renowned exponent went back a long way towards Hinduism in his latter days. The New Dispensation is said to have been the result of the influence of an illiterate Hindu devotee of singular piety. The influence exerted by this man upon many of the educated

* Bijayakrishna Goswámi, for many years a most enthusiastić missionary of the Bráhma Samáj, has recently gone back to Hinduism. The writer is aware of numerous instances of a similar nature.

men of Bengal is a remarkable fact. Protápa Chandra Mozumdar the leader of a section of the Bráhma Samáj thus writes of him : "My mind is still floating in the luminous atmosphere which that wonderful man diffuses around him whenever and wherever he goes. My mind is not yet disenchanted of the mysterious and indefinable pathos which he pours into it whenever he meets me. What is there common between him and me? I, a Europeanized, civilized, self-centred, semi-sceptical, so-called educated reasoner, and he, a poor, illiterate, shrunken, unpolished, diseased, half-idolatrous, friendless Hindu devotee? Why should I sit long hours to attend to him? I, who have listened to Disraeli and Fawcett, Stanley and Max Muller, and a whole host of European scholars and divines; I, who am an ardent disciple and follower of Christ, a friend and admirer of liberal-minded Christian missionaries and preachers, a devoted adherent and worker of the rationalistic Bráhmo Somaj,—why should I be spell-bound to hear him? And it is not I only, but dozens like me who do the same. He has been interviewed and examined by many; crowds pour in to visit and talk with him."* Rámkrishna Paramhamsa is now worshipped as an *avatára* not by illiterate people, but by graduates and under-graduates among whom is a chemist † of local repute. One of Rámkrishna's disciples, Swámí Vivekánanda, took a prominent part in

* *The Theistic Quarterly Review*, 1879, reprinted as a pamphlet by the followers of Rámkrishna.

† This gentleman in his "Life of Rámkrishna" (Bengali) says, that before he came into contact with the Paramhansa he was an agnostic.

the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. He is reported to have created quite a sensation there by his religious fervour and eloquence. In the earlier days of English education the very idea of such a thing as practising *Yoga*, or becoming the follower of an illiterate Bráhman would have been laughed at with derision.

The first effect of English education at least in Bengal was to create a revulsion of feeling against the thraldom of caste and the domination of a hereditary priesthood. Three score years ago not a few of the English-educated Bengalis were aggressively hostile towards Hinduism. It was not enough for some of them to show their absence of caste-prejudice by taking beef; they must needs throw the bones into the houses of inoffensive Hindus. The ties that had bound them to their society were suddenly and violently broken; and the rebound was very great. To them Hinduism was the synonym for superstition and ignorance. They were mostly without any religious faith until Bráhmaism called a good number of them within its folds. That was thirty years ago. Within the last fifteen years another change has come at least over Bengal. Bráhmaism is now on the decline, and Neo-Hinduism is becoming the creed of educated India. *

* The Hindus of Bombay and Madras have not passed through the religious phases we have indicated above. They have always been more cautious and conservative than their co-religionists in Bengal. Their zeal for monotheistic worship, at least in Bombay, has not gone beyond Prárthaná Samájes, the members of which are to all intents and purposes Neo-Hindus of the conservative type.

The Neo-Hindus pass by almost insensible stages, on the one hand to the Bráhmas, and on the other to the orthodox Hindus. Those of them who are of the radical type and who are also monotheists differ from the Bráhmas chiefly in not congregating for worship. On the other hand there are Neo-Hindus like the late Justice Telang of Bombay who differ but little from the orthodox Hindus. Between these two extremes of Hinduism, there are various shades of religious belief and of readiness for social reform. *

Circumstances favourable to Neo-Hinduism; Oriental research;

The circumstances which have contributed to bring about the recent reaction in favour of Hinduism are various. The researches of Oriental Scholars like Colebrooke, Wilson, Max Muller, Weber, and Lassen and their presentation in popular and accessible forms by such writers as Rájendralála Mitra and Romesh Chunder Dutt may be noted as one of these circumstances. Most Hindus now know the history of their religion, at least in a general way. They know that

* There are men like the late Bamkima Chunder Chatterji, the greatest novelist that India has produced, who may be said to belong to the moderate section of the Neo-Hindus. Bamkima Chandra believed in the Divinity of Krishna. He was however, so far rationalistic, that he would interpret the Hindu Sástras in the light of his reason and education. He expressed himself strongly against the present system of caste. With regard to distant sea-voyage his pronouncement in its favour was still stronger.

Vedic or Upanishadic Hinduism was quite different from the Hinduism of the present day. While they are able now to rate at their proper value the Śástras which have hitherto been invested with the authority of revelation, they find that for their spiritual progress they need not go beyond the bounds of their ancestral religion. Hinduism is rather a collective name for a group of religions. The path pointed by Vaishnavism is different from the path pointed by Saivism ; both of these again, differ from the path pointed by Vedantism. Yet all who follow these and other paths are Hindus. There is probably no religion in the world which allows so much freedom of religious conviction and the literature of which is so many-sided as Hinduism. Educated Hindus whether they be pantheists, monotheists, agnostics, or positivists, whether they seek for Salvation in the path of Knowledge, of Faith, or of Love, can find light and guidance in some part or other of the rich literature of their ancestors which has now been placed within their reach by the labours of Sanskrit scholars. They can now take a comprehensive view of all religions and criticise them. *

* "My answer" says Dr. Bhandarkar "to the second class of persons spoken of before [Christian Missionaries] who have placed before us a religion which they say was alone revealed by God in all its parts at a certain period in the history of man, and who call upon us to accept it on that ground, also rests similarly on the basis supplied to us by the critical method. Christianity is not the only religion professed by man ; Hinduism, Buddhism, Mahomedanism, and a variety of other religions have flourished in the world, and are still flourishing. Are these the work of self-deception ? If we say so, we shall simply be playing into the hands of the opponents of all religion. What are the special claims

The Theosophical movement is also said to have directed the attention of the educated Hindus to their own religion. The Theosophical Society was founded at New York in 1875. The objects of the society are thus stated in one of its publications :—

Theosophy ;

First.—To form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour.

Second.—To promote the study of Aryan and other Eastern literatures, religions and sciences.

Third.—A third object—pursued by a portion only of the members of the Society—is to investigate un-

of one of these religions to be considered as the only revelation ? There is truth in all, and all have something objectionable which the light received from the others should enable us to discover and cast side. All have been revealed by God, but man, from the very weakness of his apprehension, has mixed a great deal of falsehood with the truth communicated to him by his Father. It certainly is not consistent with our ideas of God's love for man to think Him to have communicated that truth which it is so important for men to know, only at a late period in the history of the world, and only to a certain people. If religion is of supreme importance to man, we must expect that it should have been revealed to him in the very beginning, implanted by God in his very nature so that wherever he went he might carry it with him like his shadow. And this is what we actually find. Man has been carrying religious belief like his shadow wherever he goes ; religion is as widely spread as humanity itself. Thus, then, God's revelation to man was made not only at a certain period in the world's history, but it began with the dawning of human intelligence, and went on progressing through all ages, and it is going on still and will go on. God is ever with us, communicating more and more of His truth to us as our powers of apprehension become purer and keener.—Anniversary Address at the Puna Prárthaná Samáj. Miss Collet. "Brahmo Year Book for 1882" p. 51.

explained laws of nature and the psychical powers of man.

No person's religious opinions are asked upon his joining, nor is interference with them permitted, but every one is required, before admission, to promise to show towards his fellow-members the same tolerance in this respect as he claims for himself. It would seem that occultism does not form a part of the present programme of the Theosophical Society. The "phenomena" of Madame Blavatsky brought so many misfortunes on the society that she was eventually led to give them up; and there does not appear to be any indication of that kind of work being revived.

Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, the founders of the society, came to India about 1880, and within a few years succeeded in founding branches of the Theosophical Society at various places all over India. The present headquarters of the society are at Adyar, Madras. In its report for 1892, its Indian branches are classified under four heads. In the first class comprising those which are really doing active work there are five branches—Bangalore, Bombay, Cumbaconum, Ludhiana, and Surat. In the second class, which includes those that are "working fairly well," there are fifteen branches. Not less than seventy-one branches are mentioned as doing but little beyond paying their annual due; among them are Calcutta, Allahabad and Nagpur. Fifty-four branches are noted as "entirely dormant."* From these

* *The Theosophist*. Vol XIV. No. 4, January, 1893.

facts it would appear that Theosophy, in India at least. is already on the decline. But, from the number of the Theosophical Societies which sprung up in different parts of India, between 1880 and 1888, one would be inclined to suppose that the influence of Theosophy at one time was considerable.

Sanskrit learning;

The revival of Sanskrit learning since the establishment of the three Presidency Universities in 1858, has also been among the contributory causes of the growth of Neo-Hinduism. The English-educated scholars of pre-University times seldom learnt Sanskrit. The battle between the Anglicists and the Orientalists in the beginning of the present century was won by the former; and in the course of education prescribed by them, Sanskrit had no place. Before 1858, Sanskrit was taught only in the Sanskrit Colleges of Calcutta and Benares. But now Sanskrit is taught in all Colleges and higher-class Schools. Not a few of the English educated youths like the late A'nanda Ram Barua are good Sanskrit scholars. Their Sanskrit education has enabled them to take the key to the sacred treasures bequeathed to them by their ancestors from the hands of a coterie of learned Pandits. Their English education has enabled them to sift those treasures and select the valuable and useful from the now valueless and useless.

National feeling.

There has of late been apparent among the educated Hindus a feeling of nationality. It is clearly discernible even in those who have left their national costume, and who are not

unoften denounced as denationalised. In one form it is manifested in the National Congress ; in another form it is manifested in the rationalistic Hinduism of the educated Hindus. Feeling as they do now, that they belong to a great and historic nation, they are proud to attach themselves to the historic religion of that nation. They are even gradually assuming an attitude of superiority towards the other religions, Christianity included. At the late Parliament of Religions at Chicago there were several Hindus present ; and no one appears to have made a greater impression on the Americans than Swámi Vivekánanda. * The following is an extract from a Chicago newspaper published in the *Indian Mirror*, Dec. 7, 1893.

"Dr. Noble then presented Swámi Vivekánanda, the Hindu monk, who was applauded loudly as he stepped forward to the centre of the platform. He wore an orange robe, bound with a scarlet sash, and a pale yellow turban. The customary smile was on his handsome face and his eyes shone with animation. Said he :—

"Much has been said on the common ground of religious unity. I am not going just now to venture my own theory. But if any one here hopes that this unity would come by the triumph of any one of these religions and the destruction of the others, to him, I say, "Brother, yours is an impossible hope." Do I wish that the Christian would become Hindu ? God forbid. Do I wish that the Hindu or Buddhist would become Christian ? God forbid."

"The seed is put in the ground, and earth and air and water are placed around it. Does the seed become the earth, or the air, or the water ? No. It becomes a plant, it assimilates the air, the earth, and the water,

* His real name is Narendra Nath Datta. He is a graduate of the Calcutta University.

converts them into plant-snbstance and grows a plant. Similar is the case with religion. The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each religion must assimilate the others and yet preserve its individuality and grow according to its own law of growth.

If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world, it is this, that it has proved to the world that holiness, purity, and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character.

In the face of this evidence if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his own and the destruction of the others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart, and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion would soon be written, in spite of their resistance, Help, and not Fight, Assimilation, and not Destruction, Harmony and Peace, and not Dissension."

On another occasion, Swámi Vivekánanda spoke as follows:—"You, Christians, who are so fond of sending out Missionaries to save the souls of the heathen, why do you not try to save their bodies from starvation? You erect churches all through India, but the crying evil in the East is not religion—they have religion enough—but it is bread that these suffering millions of India cry out for with parched throats. They ask us for bread, but we give them stones."*

* The following extracts from New York newspapers are interesting :—

The *New York Critique* says:— "But eloquent as were many of the brief speeches no one expressed so well the spirit of the Parliament of Religions and its limitations, as the Hindu monk. I copy his address in full. but I can only suggest its effect upon the audience, for he is *an orator by Divine right*, and his strong intelligent face in its picturesque setting of yellow and orange was hardly less interesting than these earnest words, and the rich rythmatical utterence he gave them."

(Here follows speech in full.)

Again, says the same paper:—"His culture, his eloquence and his fascinating personality have given us *a new idea of Hindu civilization*. His fine intelligent face and his deep musical voice, prepossessing one

Christian preference for Hinduism

Not many years ago Hinduism, was a topic not of commendation but of condemnation amongst the educated Hindus in Bengal. But times have changed. The Hindus are now exhorted by newspaper editors † and

at once in his favour, he has preached in clubs and churches until his faith has become familiar to us. He speaks without notes, presenting his facts and his conclusions with the greatest art, and the most convincing sincerity and rising often to rich inspiring eloquence."

The *New York Herald* says:—"Vivekánanda is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After hearing him, we feel, how foolish it is to send Missionaries to *this learned nation.*"

† The following extracts from a leading article in the *Indian Mirror* newspaper, edited by a Neo-Hindu, who is also a Theosophist, may be given as a sample of current newspaper literature on the subject of the Revival of Hinduism :—

"WILL NOT THE HINDUS YET TAKE MORE INTEREST IN THEIR OWN RELIGION?

Now that Mrs. Annie Besant has arrived in India, and attention has been drawn to the proceedings of the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, it is time that the Hindu people should concern themselves a little more with their religion than they are accustomed to do. We publish in another column an account of an interview which a correspondent of the *Madras Mail* obtained from Mrs. Besant. Our readers will note that, on being definitely questioned by her interviewer, Mrs. Besant explicitly declared that she was a Hindu in her religious belief. Here is a most remarkable woman, highly accomplished and of great culture, discarding all the religious system of the West, and simply declaring her adherence to the Hindu religion. And yet the Hindus themselves by their indifference, seem to be ignorant what a priceless treasure they possess in their ancient faith. Hinduism took the Parliament of Religions at Chicago by storm, which may seem strange from the fact that the representatives of Hinduism were very few in

platform lecturers to pay greater attention to their own religion; and their exhortation gains point and force from the fact of some cultured foreigners of Christian birth showing a decided preference for Hinduism. Mrs. Annie Besant has recently been lecturing to enthusiastic audiences in various parts of India extolling the excellence of Hinduism. In one of her lectures she deprecated the tendency of modern Hindus towards the cultivation of Natural Science instead of the contempla-

number, while the Buddhist representatives were numerous. Of course, Christianity sent legions of delegates to proclaim its superiority over all other religious beliefs in the Chicago Parliament. Under such conflicting conditions, the representatives of Hinduism seemed to have most impressed the American mind.

* * * * * *

We see, the Americans interesting themselves more and more in the cardinal dogmas of the Hindu religion day by day, we see the most distinguished living Fnglish woman openly professing the same creed, and yet the Hindus themselves only languidly look on, as if their religion was a matter of the very slightest importance to them! We say, it is this indifference to the higher ideals of their religion that is mainly responsible for the degradation of the Hindu people.

* * * * *

Surely, if most intelligent and learned foreigners see so much to admire and adopt in the Hindu religion, the Hindus themselves might open their eyes, and betake themselves to Sanskrit study, for without the key of that language, the treasure-chest of Hinduism cannot be well opened. We, therefore, earnestly recommend our Hindu countrymen to reconsider their position, and to take more interest in their own religion, and to employ themselves in Sanskrit studies for the understanding of the truths of Hinduism at first hand.

* * * *

We do not want them to be Theosophists; that is a matter of their choice. But we decidedly want them to devote themselves to their religion."

tion and study of the spiritual world. She said, she came to India, not to teach her anything, but to wake her up—for she was sleeping the sleep of ages—and rouse her to a consciousness of the infinite wealth of knowledge which lay, so to speak, in her lap.

Decrease of superstition among educated Hindus.

Orthodox Hinduism is gradually losing its hold on educated Hindus. They are, as a rule, not brought up to any particular faith. No religious instruction is imparted in any of the numerous schools and colleges scattered over India except in the shape of Bible-teaching in some of the missionary schools. The same English education which makes them discard native superstitions also makes them discard foreign superstitions. Those who have come to look upon Krishna and Chaitanya as only great men will not be easily persuaded to look upon Christ as anything else. Many—I may say most of them—are in reality monotheists, but monothiests of a different type from those who belong to the Bráhma Samáj. They are, if we may so call them, passive monotheists. They are not idolators themselves, though they do not look upon idolatry with horror; nay, they even countenance it to some extent. Their attitude towards all other forms of faith is one of perfect toleration. But, as they are gradually partaking more and more of the religious catholicity of Hinduism, so also are they gradually imbibing more and more the social catholicity of Christianity. The influence of the Hindu environment is as much perceptible in them as that of the Christian environment.

The A'rya Samáj: Dayánanda Sarasvatí.

A large number of the Neo-Hindus have formed a sect called the A'rya Samáj. Pandit Dayánanda Sarasvatí, the founder this Samáj, was born in Kathiwar in 1824. As his father belonged to the Saiva sect, he was early taught to worship Siva. His mother, fearing for his health, opposed his observing the fasts enjoined on the worshippers of Siva; but as his father insisted on them, frequent quarrels arose between his parents. Meanwhile he studied Sanskrit grammar, learnt the Vedas by heart, and accompanied his father to various temples of Siva. His difficulties began when his father insisted on initiating him in the worship of the Párthiva Linga, a form of Siva. He says in his autobiography:—

"As a preparation for this solemn act I was made to fast; I had thus to follow my father for a night's vigil in the temple of Siva. The vigil is divided into four parts, consisting of three hours each. When I had watched six hours I observed about midnight that the temple servants and some of the devotees, after having left the inner temple, had fallen asleep. Knowing that this would destroy all the good effects of the service, I kept awake myself, when I observed that even my father had fallen asleep. When I was there left alone I began to meditate.

Is it possible, I asked myself, that this idol I see bestriding his bull before me, and who according to all accounts, walks about, eats, sleeps, drinks, holds a trident in his hand, beats the drum, and can pronounce curses on men, can be the great deity, the Mahádeva, the Supreme being? Unable to resist such thoughts any longer I roused my father, asking him to tell me whether this hideous idol was the great god of the scriptures. 'Why do you ask?' said my father. 'Because,' I answered, 'I feel it impossible to reconcile the idea of an omnipotent living God with this idol, which allows the mice to run over his body, and thus suffers himself to be polluted without the slightest pro-

test.' Then my father tried to explain to me that this stone image of the Mahádeva, having been consecrated by the holy Bráhmans, became, in consequence, the god himself, adding that as Siva cannot be perceived personally in this Kali-Yuga, we have the idol in which the Mahádeva is imagined by his votaries.

I was not satisfied in my mind, but feeling faint with hunger and fatigue, I begged to be allowed to go home. Though warned by my father not to break my fast, I could not help eating the food which my mother gave me, and then fell asleep.

When my father returned he tried to impress me with the enormity of the sin I had committed in breaking my fast. But my faith in the idol was gone, and all I could do was to try to conceal my lack of faith, and devote all my time to study."

When Dayánanda was 21 years of age his father wanted him to marry. But as he did not like to do so he ran away from home, and after travelling in various parts of India ultimately became a Sannyásí.

Dayánanda gradually found reason to reject the authority of all the sacred books of the Hindus except the Vedas. He began to preach against idolatry and formulate his new system of monotheism based upon the Vedas. In 1877, he visited Lahore and founded the A'rya Samáj. He also established similar Samájes in several other places in the Punjab. He died at Ajmere on the 30th of October, 1883.

Dayánanda considered the Vedas alone to be inspired. Prof. Max Müller says of him:

"To him not only was everything contained in the Vedas perfect truth, but he went a step further, and by the most incredible interpretations succeeded in persuading himself and others that everything worth knowing, even the most recent inventions of modern science, were

alluded to in the Vedas.* Steam-engines, railways and steam-boats, all were shown to have been known, at least in their germs, to the poets of the Vedas, for Veda, he argued, means Divine Knowledge, and how could anything have been hid from that?"*

The following account of the Arya Samáj is taken from the Punjab Census Report for 1891. †

"The members of the A'rya Samáj find the fantastical representations of world and of man which are put forward in the 18 Purânas to be inconsistent with Natural Science, and consequently reject the authority of the Purânas, looking on them as the outcome of ignorance and craft of comparatively recent generations of Bráhmans. The original and only authoritative Scriptures in the eyes of the A'rya Samáj are the four Vedas, and the professed aim of the A'rya Samáj is to restore the paramount authority of the Vedas by purging away the subsequent accretions which have brought about the popular Hinduism of to-day. Scriptures more recent than the Vedas and anterior to the 18 Puranas (such as the Bráhmanas, the six philosophic Darshanas, the ten Upanishads, etc.), are regarded as explanatory of the Vedas and authoritative only where they are not contradictory thereto. The Vedas themselves constitute the only infallible revelation. "The Vedas" writes Dayanand, "are revealed by God. I regard them as self-evident truth, admitting of no doubt and depending on the authority of no other book, being represented in Nature, the Kingdom of God." The bases of the Aryan faith are the revelation of God in the Vedas and the revelation of God in Nature, and the first practical element in this belief is the interpretation of the Vedas in conformity with the proved results of Natural Science.

In the interpretation of the Vedas the Arya Samaj finds itself at issue with the Sanskritists of Europe, whose translations represent the Vedas as the religious literature of a primitive pepole, and, like the literature

* "Biographical Essays" p. 170.

† Reprinted as a pamphlet by the A'rya Samáj.

of other primitive peoples, quite regardless of, and inconsistent with, scientific accuracy. The A'ryas contend that such a view arises from a mistaken literal translation of their scriptures, and that the earlier, and consequently more trustworthy, commentators having always refused to construe the Vedas in their literal sense, it is a mistaken view to suppose that they were originally composed with any meaning other than a metaphorical or derived one. Following these principles, the Samáj not only defends the Vedic Rishis from all imputations of Pantheism and Polytheism, but finds in their writings numerous indications of an accurate acquaintance with the facts of science. It holds that cremation, vegetarianism and abstinence from spirituous liquors are inculcated by the Vedas and inculcated to a large extent on purely scientific grounds. It holds that the great religious rite of the Vedic times the Agnihotra or hom sacrifice, is instituted with a view to rendering air and water wholesome and subservient to health, and because "it plays a prominent part in putting a stop to the prevalence of epidemics and the scarcity of rainfall." It is convinced that the latest discoveries of science such as those of electricity and evolution, were perfectly well-known to the seers who were inspired to write the Vedas.

While conceding this much to modern Natural Science, the A'ryas refuse to see in it anything tending to materialism or atheism. Retaining their confidence in the Vedas, they have avoided the radical materialism of some of the earlier opponents of popular Hinduism. The A'rya philosophy is orthodox, and based mainly on the Upanishads. The tenets of Dayánanda, though leaning rather to the Sánkhya doctrine do not fit in precisely with any one of the six systems; but these systems are all regarded by the A'ryas as true and a different aspect of the same principles. The three entities of Dayánanda's philosophy are God, the Soul, and Prakriti or Matter. Soul he regards as physically distinct from God, but related to Him as the contained to the container, the contemplated to the contemplator, the son to the father. Soul enters into all animals and there are indications of souls in the vegetable kingdom also. In most of its details the Aryan system retains the terminology of the traditional philosophy of Hinduism. It maintains above all things the law of metemsychosis and places the aim of virtue in *moksh* or escape from the law, but this *moksh* or beatitude is for an era (kalp) only, after the termination of which the soul resumes its wanderings. The

localization of the Hindu paradises, Parlok and Swarg, is rejected: heaven and hell lie in the pleasures and sorrows of the soul, whether these be in this life or in the life to come.

As a consequence of this doctrine it holds the futility of rites on behalf of the dead, and by this cuts at the root of that great Hindu institution, the *shradh*. Like other Hindus the Aryans burn the dead, but for alleged sanitary reasons they employ spices for the burning. At first they took the *phul* to the Ganges, but now they cast it into the nearest stream: They do not call in the "Acharaj," and they omit all the ceremonies of the *Kiryakarm*. At marriage they go round the sacred fire and walk the seven steps, like the Hindus, but omit the worship of "Ganesh." They generally employ Bráhmans at weddings but in several known instances these have been dispensed with. The Samáj finds an efficacy in prayer (Prárthana) and worship (upásana); but it greatly limits the number of ceremonies to which it accedes any meritorious power. It discourages entirely the practice of bathing in sacred streams, pilgrimages, the use of beads and Sandal-wood marks, gifts to worthless medicants, and all the thousand rites of popular Hinduism Only those rites (sanskárs) are to be observed which finds authority in the Vedas and these are 16 in number only. Idolatry and all its attendant ceremonies have, according to the A'ryas no basis in the Vedas and no place in the true religion. Ráma, Krishna and other objects of popular adoration are treated euphemistically as pious or powerful princes of the olden times and in their salutation to each other the Aryas substitute; the word 'Namaste,' for the 'Ram Ram' of the vulgar."

The A'rya Samáj holds weekly meetings at which, in addition to prayers and hymns chanted on the Sáma Veda system, lectures on Vedic and other subjects are delivered. The Samájes are independent of one another; but a large number of them have submitted to the guidance of a Pratinidhi Sabhá or representative Committee. The A'ryas while venerating the memory of Dayánanda Sarasvatí do not look upon him

or any one else as an infallible guru. The Dayánanda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore was founded by the members of the local A'rya Samáj some time ago. While preparing students for the University Examinations, the College pays special attention to instruction in Sanskrit and Hindi, and imparts a certain amount of religious training. There is generally one Samáj, in each district of the Punjab. There are also many A'rya Samájes in the North-West Provinces and the Bombay Presidency. According to the last Census the A'ryas all over India number 39, 952, of whom 22,053 are in the North-Western Provinces, and 15,539 are in the Punjab.*

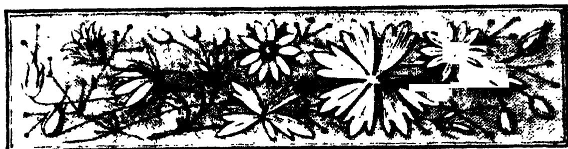
Prospect of the A'rya Samáj.

The A'rya Samáj is numerically much stronger than the Bráhma Samáj; but, we have not got sufficient data to judge whether it is making much progress, even in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab where it is strongest; and from the fact of its being weakest in Bombay, Madras, and Bengal where English education has spread most, it does not appear to agree very well with such education. Educated Hindus who reason against the revealed character of the religious literature of other peoples, will in fairness, not make an exception in the case of their own. The followers of the A'rya Samáj have a way of dealing with the Vedic literature, which is not likely to find favour either with the orthodox or the heterodox Hindus. They consider that the Samhitá portion alone of the Vedas is inspired,

* Census of India (1891), Vol. I.

and that their inspiration is self-evident requiring no proof. Dayánanda, the founder of the A'rya Samáj, was asked why he regarded the Samhitá alone as revealed and not the Bráhmanas. The reply was "Samhita is *perse* visible, and proved by perception." Bare, though bold, assertions like these are not likely to carry conviction.





CHAPTER IV

RECENT HINDU SECTS.

[A. D. 1758-1892]

Recent sects, unimportant, mostly Vaishnava,

The Hindu sects which have sprung up since the establishment of the British rule are not of any great importance. None of them can rank with the Rámánandis, the Kabirpanthis or the Sikhs. With two or three exceptions, which are either of an eclectic or monotheistic character, they are all Vaishnava Saivism has not given rise to a single sect worth noting. The popularity which it lost in the Puránic period, it has never regained since. The great majority of the sects affect the erotic worship of Krishna, which, as we have seen, came into existence towards the close of the Puránic period. Ráma inspired

only two of the sects. The founders of all the sects belonged to non-Bráhmanical castes, * and not a few to the very lowest among these. Ghási Dás the founder of the Satnámi sect of Chhattisgar was a Chámára (currier), Balaráma, the founder of the Balarámi sect, was a Hári whose social position is about the same as that of a Chámára; Rámasarana Pála, the real founder of the Kartábhajá sect was a Sadgopa. With the exception of the Deva Samáj and the Rámkrishna sect, all the other sects have been recruited almost entirely from the lower and ignorant classes. That they have been to a large extent influenced by a desire for social betterment for which orthodox Hinduism holds out no prospect, is evident from the fact that they nearly all abrogate caste if not altogether, at least in their religious houses and at their festivals.

founded by low caste men,

recruited from low castes,

Whether the sects profess Vaishnavism, monotheism or eclecticism, there is one feature common to nearly all of them *—viz. Guru-worship. Amongst Hindus, the Guru or spiritual guide from the remotest antiquity has been held in the highest respect. But the guru of the sects is something more than a spiritual guide, something more even than the Pope of Christendom—he is divinity

characterised by Guru-worship.

* With regard to the Rámkrishna sect, Rámkrishna was a Bráhman. But he did not found any sect; it is a follower of his, a Káyastha, who is organising one.

incarnate. Some of the sectaries place the guru above the Deity; when the God, they say, is in anger, the guru is their protector, but when the guru is in anger there is none to protect. The founders of several sects like the Kabirpanthis and the Satnámis taught the unity of the God-head, and abjured idolatry. But their original monotheistic character has been almost entirely lost sight of, and they have practically exchanged the worship of idols for the worship of gurus. Spiritually, they are worse off for the exchange. The guruship is sometimes elective, but oftener hereditary. In the former case it is probably not liable to much abuse. But hereditary guruship is often productive of the most mischievous results. The founders of even the most unimportant of the sects were pious and capable men; and they had at least some plausible claims to be worshipped by their followers. But it is monstrous that divine homage should be paid to their descendants or heirs as if sanctity is a thing which could be inherited. Yet there are numbers of men, ignorant though they are, who worship men whose only claim to such worship is consanguinity with pious, and in a small way, great men. Not unfrequently the gurus are more anxious about their own worldly welfare, than about the spiritual welfare either of themselves or of their flocks. The tours of the gurus of such large sects as the Satnámis of Chhattisgar are made with the pomp and grandeur of royalty. They

* The Spashtadáyakas among the Bengal Vaishnavas, an insigificant sect, do not recognise the divinity of the Guru.

are of course worshipped not merely with flowers but also with more substantial offerings. They look upon their followers as their subjects, and maintain a staff of officers for the collection of their dues. Their worldliness is not always their only or chief fault. Sometimes, their character is the very reverse of godly.

Charan Dásis.

This sect was founded about the year 1758 by Charan Dás. He preached the worship of Krishna and Rádhá. Like most other Vaishnavas, the Charandásis regard their guru as divine. Men and women of all castes are admitted into the sects and are eligible as gurus. "They affirm, indeed, that originally they differed from other sects of Vaishnavas in worshipping no sensible representations of the deity, and in excluding even the Tulasi plant and Sálagráma stone from their devotions: they have, however, they admit, recently adopted them, in order to maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Rámánanda, and their peculiarity in their system is the importance they attach to morality, and they do not acknowledge faith to be independent of works: actions, 'they maintain, invariably meet with retribution or reward: their moral code, which they seem to have borrowed from the Mádhwas, if not from a purer source, consists of ten prohibitions. They are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to offer violence to any created being, not

to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride."* The Bhágavata Purána and Bhagavatgitá are the recognised Scriptures of the sect. Charan Dás's first disciple was his own sister Sahaji Bái. She has written several works, both independently and in conjunction with her brother.

Delhi is the stronghold of the sect, which counts many wealthy Veniyás among its members.

Kartá Bhajás.

This sect was founded about the beginning of this century by an ascetic named Aulé Chánd.* Tradition has it, that he was picked up in a field by one Mahádeva of the Bárui caste, in the village of Ulá in the district of Nadiyá. Aúle Chánd is said to have then been about eight years old. After living in Mahádev's house for about twelve years, he left it to travel and preach in various parts of Bengal. When he was about twenty-seven years of age he had twenty two disciples all belonging to low castes. Among these disciples was Rámsaran Pál of the Sadgopa caste an inhabitant of Ghoshpárá near Naiháti.

There is a tradition that, while tending his flock, a religious mendicant suddenly appeared before Ram

* Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" (London, 1861) p. 179.

† Ramsaran Pal is said by Wilson to have been the founder of this sect (*op cit* p. 171). But see Akshaya Kumár Datta's *Upásaka Sampradáya* vol. I (2nd edition). p. 186.

* Professor Wilson (*op. cit.* p. 171) makes Ram Saran a "Gwálá," a mistake to which he was probably led by the similarity of Sadgopa, the caste to which Rámsaran belonged with Gopa (Gwálá).

Saran and asked for a drink of milk. Just as the holy man had finished his drink, a man came running to say that Rám Saran's wife was on the point of death. The mendicant told Rám Saran to take a jar of water from a tank close by and sprinkle it over his wife. In his haste Rám Saran spilt the water and returned to the mendicant for his advice. The holy man took a handful of mud from the place where the water had fallen, annointed Rám Saran's wife, Satimá, with it, and immediately cured her. The holy man is said to have vanished soon after, and been born again as Rám Saran's son named Rám Dulál. Satimá on her death was buried under a pomegranate tree near Rám Saran's house. A handful of the dust from the foot of this tree is believed by the Kartá Bhajás "to cure any disease and cleanse from any sin. Groups may be seen, prostrate and fasting for days." The tank called *himságar*, the water of which was recommended by Rám Sarans holy visitor for the cure of his wife, is still supposed to possess miraculous healing powers. "The blind, the dumb, and the lame crowd the stairs of the holy tank, and joyfully submit to jostling and blows in order to plunge within its water." *

The chief religious festivals of the Kartábhajás are the Dol and Rásjátrá which are celebrated at Ghoshpárá, the former in March or April, and the latter in October or November. Forty to fifty thousand people

* Hunter's "Statistical account of Bengal" vol. II. (Nadiya and Jessore) Lond. 1875.

are said to assemble at each festival. At these festivals Mahomedans and Hindus of all castes eat together. The annual contributions to the treasury of the Pál family at Ghoshpárá are said to amount to five or six thousand rupees.

To return to Aule chánd. He died in about A. D. 1769 near the village of Chágdah in the district of Nadiyá. He is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Vishnu like Krishna and Chaitanya. Aule made no distinction of caste or creed amongst his followers. He had Hindu as well as Mahomedan followers. He is said to have performed many miracles among which walking over the Ganges was one of the most notable. His ten commandments were. 1. Do not commit adultery. 2. Steal not. 3. Kill not. 4. Have no adulterous thought. 5. Do not wish for other's property. 6. Do not wish to kill. 7. Do not tell an untruth. 8. Do not use bad language. 9. Talk not meaninglessly. 10. Talk not uselessly.

The Kartá Bhajás disregard caste distinctions, at least in religious celebrations. The initiating mantra "Guru is true" is given after the following conversation between the guru and the neophyte :—†

Guru. Will you be able to follow this religion ?

Neophyti Yes.

Guru. You shall not lie, steal, or commit adultery.

Neophyti. I will not.

Guru. Say "Thou art true, and thine word is true."

† A. K. Datta *op cit.* p. 191.

Neophyti. "Thou art true and thine word is true."

When the disciple has made sufficient progress, he is taught the most important, or, as it is called the *Sixteen anna mantra* of the sect : 'O Great Lord Aule, my happiness is in thee alone, not a moment am I without thee, I am even with thee, save O Great Lord."

Another version of the *mantra* differs chiefly from the last in adding : "The guru is true, evil is false," *i.e.* all evils like disease can be got rid of by the grace of the guru.

After the death of Aule chánd, his soul was supposed to have passed into the body of his disciple, Rámsaran Pál who lived towards the close of the last century. He was succeeded on the *gadi* by his wife. The present occupant of the *gadi* is Isvarachandra Pál. He is the head guru and is called *Thákur* (god) ; and though he comes of a low caste even Bráhmans and Káyasthas are said to fall down at his feet, and eat the remnants of his food.

The secondary gurus, or as they are called Mahá-shayas are subordinate to the Thákur of Ghoshpárá to whom they have to give a share of what they get from their disciples. There are a few Mahomedan Mahásayas, whose Hindu disciples partake of the leavings of their food. Disputes sometimes occur about the jurisdiction of the Mahásayas which are referred for settlement to the Thákur.

Spashtadáyaka

This sect is confined to Bergal and is said to have been founded by Ruprám Kabiráj, a disciple of Krishna Chandra Chakravarti of Saidábád. The date of its foundation is unknown. The Vaishnavas belonging to it do not recognise the divinity of the guru. Male and female members of the sect live together in the same *Matha* or monastery professedly as brothers and sisters. They sing and dance together, overpowered by love for Chaitanya and Krishna. The female Spashtadáyakas shave their heads keeping only a slender tress. They are said to have had unrestricted access into *zenanas* in Calcutta sometime ago, to the inmates of which they used to impart religious instruction. At the time of H. H. Wilson the doctrine of the Spashtadáyakas were being largely diffused in Calcutta.* But their influence has declined of late.

Admission into the sect is made without distinction of caste. The sect marks are "a shorter *tilaka* than that used by the other Vaishnavas, and a single string of *Tulasi* beads worn close round the neck.

"The dead are buried in a sitting posture, with a cloth (*námábali*) stamped with the name Hari wrapped round the head; the arms are folded across the chest, a necklace is hung round the neck, and a cocoanut shell (*karamka*), wallet, and a staff (*danda*) are placed by the side."†

* H. Wilson, "Religious Sects of the Hindus" (1861), p. 170.
† Risley's "Tribes and castes of Bengal" Vol. II. p. 346.

Bául.

Like the Spashtadáyaka this is also a recent Vaishnava sect though its date of foundation is unknown. The Báuls do not shave or cut their hair. They are recruited chiefly from among the lower castes, and as a class, are believed to be highly immoral. According to the last census there were, in 1891, six hundred and sixty six male, and seven hundred and seven female Báuls in Bengal.* "Ládugopal, or infant Krishna, is the favourite object of worship; but, in most religious houses the *charan* or wooden pattens of the founder are also worshipped."†

Ny'árá, Sahaji.

The Nyárás and Sahajis ‡ differ but little from the Báuls. Their sexual morality at least in practice is believed to be very low. All these sects are confined to Bengal.

Sakhibhávaka.

About the middle of the present century this curious sect obtained some notoriety in and about Calcutta. The Vaishnavas of this sect express their devotion to Rádhá, the personification of the *Sakti* of Krishna, in a ridiculous and rather disgusting manner. In order to convey the idea of being as it were her followers and friends, a character obviously incompatible with the difference of sex, they assume the female garb, and adopt not only the

* Census of India (1891), Vol. III. p. 149.

† Risley, *op. cit.* p. 347.

‡ A. K. Datta. *op. cit.* p.p. 177-179.

dress and ornaments, but the manners and occupations of women.* The only place where they are met with in any number is Jaypur. There are many Sakhibhávakas who do not marry, as marriage would be inconsistent with their assumed female character.

Darwesh-Faquir.

A sect founded in 1850 by Udaya Chánd Karmakár of Dacca. "When a novice is admitted he receives a *kaupin* or loin cloth, a *khirka* or gown reaching down to the ankles, and a cocoanut shell (*kishti*) in which he is to collect alms; like the Aghoris and some of the Bául Sects, he is required to taste various disgusting substances, in order to show his superiority to ordinary prejudices. Darwesh-Faquirs never cut their hair or shave, and instead of washing with water, smear themselves and their clothes with mustard oil. Celibacy is professed, but not practised, and every akhárá or community of ascetics has several women attached to it, ostensibly to keep the place in order and cook the food. Nevertheless, they affect great austerity and pretend to be the strictest of the Vaishnava sects. Animal life is never taken, and it is deemed sinful to break off the branches or even the leaves of a tree. Before the tombs of the founders, and on receiving a present, a very elaborate obeisance is made by kneeling, touching the ground with the forehead, and smearing the chest and face with dust."†

A somewhat different account of the Darwesh sect

* Wilson *op. cit* p. 178.

† Risley *op. cit.* Vol. II. p 347.

is given by Akshaya Kumára Datta.* He ascribes its foundation to Sanátan Goswámi. Possibly, the sect we have noticed above is different and more recent.

Haribolá

The date of foundation of this sect and the name of its founder are unknown. But it is supposed to be a recent one. As its name signifies, singing the name of Hari is its distinctive tenet. Like the Chaitanya Vaishnavas and the Kartá Bhajás, they worship the guru as God. The majority of the Haribolás are householders; only a few are ascetics.

One important change introduced by the Haribolás deserve special mention. The ordinary practice for women in confinenment in this country is to be kept warm. But amongst the Haribolás, the mother and child are bathed. As soon as the child is born and for twenty-one days afterwards, offerings to Hari (called Harirlut) in the shape of sweets are scattered about on the ground to be picked up by the assembled people especially children. There are many Haribolás in Western and Lower Bengal.

Swámi Náráyan.

This sect arose as a protest against the voluptuousness of the Vallabhácháris. Its stronghold is in Gujrát. It was founded by Sahajánanda Svámí, who was born in Oude, in A. D. 1780. In the beginning of the present century, he left his birthplace and settled in Gujrát, where his piety and

* *Op. cit.* (Vol. I. 2nd edition), p. 180.

earnestness soon attracted a large following. He preached the worship of Krishna and Rádhá, and since his death in 1829, he has been worshipped by his followers as an *avatára*.*

Paltu Dási. This sect came into existence about the close of the last, or the beginning of the present century. Paltu Dás after whom the sect is called was a disciple of an ascetic named Gobin Saheb. Paltu's gádi is still in existence in Oude, where a great annual fair is held on the Rám Navamí day in the month of Chaitra. Paltu Das's successor on the gádi receives various presents from his followers on that occasion. The Paltu Dásis salute each other by saying "Satya Ráma" (Ráma is true). They worship Ráma, and are mostly found in Oude and Nepál.

A'pápanthi'. This sect was nearly synchronous with the last. Its founder was a goldsmith named Munnádás. His *gádi* exists in a place called Mádavá west of Oude. An annual fair is held there in the month of Agraháyana. Like the Paltudásis, the A'pápanthis are initiated in Ráma *mantra*.

Khusi Biswási. The founder of this sect † was a Mahomedan named Khusi Biswás, an inhabitant of the village of Bhágá near Devagráma in the district of Nadiyá. He was regarded as an incarnation of Chaitanya. No caste is recognised within the sect. Followers of all castes meet together.

* *Bombaichitra*, by Satyendra Náth Tagore, p.p. 412-414.

† It is doubtful if this sect is still in existence.

The Khusi Biswási guru is supposed to cure the sick by charms and amulets.

Balarámi.

The founder of this sect was Balaráma Hári (a very low caste), an inhabitant of the village of Meherpur in the district of Nadiyá. He died about A. D 1850, when he was about sixty-five years of age. Balaráma was a watchman in the employ of the Mullick family at Meherpur. The Mullicks had in their house an idol with gold ornaments which were stolen one night. They chastised Balaráma for his negligence. Balaráma took the punishment to heart and left home with a view to become an ascetic. He was evidently a man of great natural parts,* and gradually succeeded in gathering round him a few disciples who looked upon him as an incarnation of Vishnu.

During the Dol (or Holi) festival, Balaráma used to be worshipped by his disciples. The Balarámis ridicule idolatry, and recognise no distinction of caste. On the death of Balarám, his widow, a woman of examplary character and great intelligence, succeeded to the leadership of the sect. She died about twelve years ago. Since her death, there has been a schism in the

* On one occasion, Balaráma on going to the river to bathe saw some Bráhmans engaged in taking the river-water and offering it to the manes. Balaráma also began to do the same; on which one Bráhman asked "Balái, what are you doing?" Balaráma replied, 'I am watering my vegetable garden.' The Bráhman asked, "where is your garden? Balaráma rejoined, 'where are your ancestors to whom you are offering the water?' A. K. Datta *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 219.

sect owing to a dispute about the leadership. The numerical strength of the sect is about one thousand consisting exclusively of ignorant people.*

Satnámi (Northern India).

There are two distinct sects bearing this name one in Northern India, and the other in the Central Provinces. The former was founded towards the close of the last century by an inhabitant of Oude named Jagajibana Dás. His gádi exists at the village of Kotoá where an annual fair is held in autumn. He was the author of several works in the Hindi language. The creed of the Satnámis is a form of pantheism. They address God as "the true name" (Satnáma) ; hence their name. They are met with in Nepal, and in the districts of Benares, Cawnpur, Mathurá, Delhi, Lahore &c. Caste distinctions are observed by the Grihastha members of the sect, but not by the ascetics. The ascetics belonging to this sect, like various other ascetics, are required to taste several disgusting substances.

Satnámi (Central Provinces).

The chámárs form the largest caste in Chhattisgar. They mostly belong to the Satnámi sect. They are a fine, sturdy race of agriculturists, rather tenacious of their rights, and, as they are united, quite capable of holding their own against the Hindus who look down upon them with great contempt. They also sometimes

* For much of the information about this sect, I am indebted to my friend Devendra Nath Mukherji M. A., an inhabitant of Meherpur.

call themselves Rai Dásis after Rai Dás, "a chámar reformer and disciple of Rámánand who lived in the 15th century; the modern Satnámi creed is a revival the doctrines of Rai Dás preached by Ghási Das in the early part of the present century." Ghási Das, an unlettered but thoughtful chámár, was deeply impressed with the degraded condition of his community, who were strongly addicted to drink and other vicious habits. He gradually acquired considerable influence by his wisdom and high moral character, and gathered round him a handful of devoted followers. One morning he collected them, and telling them to assemble all the chámárs at a particular spot after six months, retired behind the hills in the South Eastern portion of Chhattisgar to meditate and hold communion with God. On the appointed day a large concourse of the Chhattisgari chámárs was brought together to receive God's word from Ghási Dás. The reformer slowly appeared with the rising sun and gave them the message: which was to the effect, that there is only one true God (the Sat Nám), that all men are equal, that the idols of the Hindus are false, and that meat, intoxicating liquors, and smoking are interdicted. The assembled chámárs received the message with great enthusiasm, and the Satnami sect was established. Ghási Dás became their guru and declared the office to be hereditary.

The chámárs gradually found out, that it was hard abstaining from all the good things of the world, and those who wished to indulge in smoking, formed them-

selves into a sub-sect called *Chungiá*.* The *Chungias*, however, appear to have unrestricted social intercourse with the more orthodox members of the community.

The dissemination of the Satnámi doctrines infused new life into the chámárs, and they rose to positions of comparative influence and respectability, which apparently made them an eye-sore to their Hindu neighbours, to whom the very name of chámár is a by-word for all that is degraded. Besides, the protest of the Satnámis against the idolatrous practices of the Hindus aggravated the enmity of the latter. Several attempts were made against the life of Ghási Dás, but none succeeded. But, his son and successor, Bálak Dás was, murdered in 1860. Affrays between the Hindus and the Satnámis now and then occur. Where the latter are in the minority, the former, would not allow the Satnámi guru to ride on an elephant and go in procession through their villages.

The guru goes on tour in great state, with elephants camels and a large following. The Satnámis prostrate themselves before him and give him presents according to their means. He has his deputies called Bhándáris scattered all over the country, who collect his dues: sometimes, villages are farmed out to them at fixed amounts. The Bhándáris represent the guru in all social ceremonies. †

* A Chungi is a leaf (preferably that of a Palás, *Butea frondosa* rolled into the form of a pipe in which tobacco is smoked: hence the name of the sub-sect.

† It is said that the bride associates with the guru or his representative before entering her husband's home. But the chámárs stoutly deny

The Hindus assert that the Satnámis do not act up to their doctrines. There are, of course orthodox and heterodox people amongst all castes, and some Satnámis certainly do not abstain from meat. The Satnámis salute by bowing low, lifting up their left leg, and exclaiming 'Sat Nám, Sat Nám!' Their worship consists in exclaiming these sacred words at sunrise and sunset. The dead are buried. Relations are fed on the third, fifth, tenth or fifteenth day. The Satnámis do not observe any class distinctions amongst themselves and are a very compact body. They have no social intercourse with Muchis who prepare hides or work in leather. As in other parts, carcases of animals contribute to the food of the latter.

Sáhebdhani.

This sect was founded not long ago by an ascetic called Sáhebdhani who used to live in a jungle adjoining the village of Dogáchhia in the district of Nadiyá. He had great reputation for sanctity and philanthropy. He had as his disciples one Mahomedan and a few Hindus among whom Dukhirám Pál was the most influential. After Sahebdhani's death, Dukhirám succeeded to the guruship of the sect. He was succeeded by his son Charan Pál. At present Charan Pál's son is the guru.

The Sáhebdhanis do not worship idols, nor do they venerate their gurus to the same extent as the Kartá

this, and assert it to be a calumny invented by their Hindu enemies. It is difficult to get at the truth in this matter: the bride appears to be presented before the guru or his deputy, and she has to make a present to this functionary.

Bhajás and the Chaitanya-Vaishnavas do. In their place of worship, they have a wooden seat besmeared with sandal wood paste and strewn over with garlands and flowers. Every Thursday, they (Hindu and Mahomedan alike) meet there and place their offerings consisting of cooked food of various descriptions in front of the seat, and after performing their worship partake of the food. Some of the sectaries offer money, and the fund thus collected is spent in the celebration of an annual festival at Agradvípa on the Bhágirathí.

The Sáhebdhanis admit Hindus as well as Mahomedans into their sect. The initiating *Mantra* to the Hindu is "*Klim*, the Lord of the poor is the Friend of the poor." To the Mahomedan, the *Mantra* is: "He is kind to the poor; He is the Friend of the poor."

The Deva Samáj.

Sivanáráyan Agnihotri, the founder of this Samáj, was born in 1850. He was educated at Rurki College, where he became a teacher of surveying in 1872. He subsequently became a teacher in the Lahore Government College. In 1879, he became a missionary of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj, and soon after gave up his post. Disagreeing with the Bráhmas he started the Deva Samáj on the Jubilee day, in 1887. The Samáj professes monotheism and advocates social reform like the progressive Bráhma Samájes. But it accepts Sivanáráyan as Deva *Guru*. The following extract from the *Conqueror*, the English organ of the Deva

Samáj, showing the nature of Sivanaráyan's claims needs no comment :—

"THE DEV GURU'S ESPECIAL MANIFESTATION, AND HIS POSITION, MISSION, AND WORK."

1. The Law under which the Great Unfolder of universe is working, ensuing thereby the ever-continuous development, progress and refinement of the various spheres of Creation, is called the Law of Evolution.

2. Under the operation of the Law of Evolution, in the course of Time, just as the material and inorganized things have gradually changed towards perfection : in the same manner, in the "life" manifestation, the Organized Vegetable Kingdom, the Animal Kingdom, and above all Man have all undergone a marvellous change, improvement, refinement and development.

3 As on this Earth the Physical Organism as a whole has attained perfection in the Physical Organism of Man, so has the Spiritual Organism reached perfection in the MANIFESTATION OF DEVAT in the person of DEV GURU.

4. Previous to the Manifestation of Dev Guru, such special persons have, from time to time, appeared as have, according to the requirements of their own age, by their extraordinary mental and moral Powers, *struggled and attained success* to a great extent, in leading humanity to a *better* condition *yet none of them have proclaimed the glad Tidings of creating in Man Ekta* (Union) with the creator and His various kinds of creation ; for, the Nature of *Devat*, required to fulfil the Gospel of EKTA, did not and, in conformiry with the Law of Evolution, could not be manifested in any person before this and which has now in the fullness of time been manifested in the person of DEV GURU.

5. Previous to the manifestation of DEVAT in DEV GURU, no doubt, the various spheres of Creation viz., the Material, the Vegetable, the Animal and Man's kingdoms, as also the Supermundane worlds, and above all the Infinite Creator Himself did exist but none of the humanity possessed that high life and capacity which is necessary for duly realizing and practically establishing those heavenly and most noble blessed and beneficent relations which should bind one with the other. Thus the world was destitute of the proper recognition of EKTA, its

invaluable light and life and the treasures of numerous heavenly blessings arising therefrom, but with the advent of DEV GURU the treasures of heavenly light and life have been unlocked unto Mankind."*

The Samáj conducts three newspapers, of which two are vernacular and one English. Its head-quarters are at Lahore, and there are branches at Rawalpindi, Hoshiarpur, Patna, Rurki, and several other places. The missionaries number 12, and the members and sympathisers about 190.†

Rámkrishna Sect.

This sect, which, as far as we are aware, has not got any name as yet, has come into existence within the last three or four years. It has for its special object the worship of the late Rámkrishna Paramhamsha. He was born in the year 1835. His usual place of residence was Dakshinesvara on the Hooghly close to Calcutta. Here he spent most of his time in meditative devotion in a shady grove by the river side. He died in 1886.

Rámkrishna exercised great influence upon Keshab Chandra Sen and many other men of light and leading in Bengal. Since his death about twenty of his most devoted followers,‡ all educated young men, have become ascetics. They have got a *Matha* at Alambazar near Dakshinesvara. Here a photograph of Rámkrishna and his slippers covered over with flowers are worshipped

* *The Conqueror*, October, 1893.

† *The Census of India*, Vol. XIX. (The Punjab and its Feudatories) p. p. 179-181.

‡ One of these, Swámi Vivekánand, was a delegate at the Chicago Parliament of Religions.

twice a day. Besides these ascetic followers, there are others who are householders. The latter led by Rám Chunder Datta, Lecturer of Chemistry, have instituted the worship of Rámkrishna at Kákurgáchi, a suburb of Calcutta, where his ashes are preserved in a shrine. It should be observed, that during his life-time, Rámkrishna repudiated even the title of *Guru*, and evinced a strong dislike to exceptional honours being paid to him. Rámkrishna's birthday anniversary is annually celebrated by his followers with great *eclát* at Dakshinesvara on Sunday following the day of his birth. At Kákurgáchhi an annual festival is celebrated on the *Janmáshtami* day.

The eclecticism of Hinduism was well exemplified in the life of Rámkrishna. Protáp Chandra Mazumdár thus wrote of him while he was alive: "He worships Shiva, he worships Kálí, he worships Ráma, he worships Krishna and is a confirmed advocate of Vedantist doctrines. He accepts all the doctrines, all the embodiments, usages and devotional practices of every religious cult. Each in turn is infallible to him. He is an idolator, and is yet a faithful and most devoted meditator of the perfections of the one formless, infinite Deity whom he terms *Akhanda Sachchidánanda*. Nor is his reverence confined within Hinduism. For long days he subjected himself to various disciplines to realise the Mahomedan idea of an all-powerful Alla. He let his beard grow, he fed himself on Moslem diet, he continually repeated sentences from the Koran. His reverence for Christ is also deep and genuine. He bows his head at the name of Jesus,

honours the doctrine of his sonship, and we believe he once or twice attended Christian places of worship."

Rámkrishna had no book-knowledge; he may be said to have been almost illiterate. But, observes Protáp Chandra Mazumdár.

"If all his utterances could be recorded, they would form a volume of strange and wonderful wisdom. If all his observations on men and things, could be reproduced, people might think that the days of prophecy, of primeval unlearned wisdom have returned. But it is most difficult to render his sayings into English. We here try to give some stray bits :—

1. So long as the bee is outside the petals of the lily, it buzzes and emits sounds. But when it is inside the flower, the sweetness hath silenced the bee. It drinks the nectar, and forgets sounds, and forgets itself. So the man of devotion

2. Put your *ghara* (earthern pot) inside the brook of clear water. There is bubbling, there is noise, as long as the vessel is empty. When it is full, the bubbling ceases, the disturbance ceases. In the silence and fulness the vessel lies in the depth of the element. So the heart in devotion.

3. Boil your sugar well in a living and active fire. As long as there is earth and impurity in it the sweet infusion will smoke and simmer. But when all impurity is cast out, there is neither smoke nor sound but the delicious crystalline fluid heaves itself in its unmixed worth, and whether liquid or solid, is the delight of men and gods. Such is the character of the men of faith.

4. Through the stream of the troublous world I float a frail half-sunk log of wood. If men come to hold by me to save their lives, the result will be this: they will drown me without being able to save themselves. Beware of *gurus*.

5. Unshod, and with bare feet who venture to walk upon thorns and sharp stones? Shod with faith in Hari, what thorn or sharp stone can harm you?

6. Hold the post well driven into the ground with your hand, and then you can quickly revolve round and round without falling. Have faith in a fixed and strong principle, and then though your movements

may be many and rapid. no harm will ever befall you. Without principle every movement is a step towards fall."

Kudápanthi

This sect was founded at Hattras (District Agra), about the middle of the present century by a blind Veniyá of the name of Tulasi Dás.

The Kudápanthis do not recognise caste distinctions. Anybody can become a guru. There are gurus at Hattras, Lucknow, Agra and several other places in the North-Western Provinces.

The Kudápanthis do not worship idols. They meet together in the evening, irrespective of caste and sex, when they have music; and passages are read from the works of their founder as well as of Nának, Kabir, Raidás and other reformers. The meeting ends with a feast in a hut (*kudá*): hence the name of the sect.

Like the Bengal Vaishnavas, they look upon the guru as divine.

Kukás.

The Kukás * (or "shouters") are so called, because during their religious exercises they fall into a state of frenzy and pray in a loud voice. The sect was founded about 1846, by Bólak Sing, a Sikh money-lender of Hasro (Rawalpindi District). His main object was to break the power which the Bráhman had acquired over his coreligionists, and to reintroduce the circumambulation of the Granth

* The Census of India, Vol. XIX. The Punjab and its Feudatories (p p 168-171).

instead of the sacred fire. After his death, one of his disciples named Rám Singh (son of a carpenter) began to preach his doctrines vigorously. Rám Sing claimed to be an incarnation of Guru Gobind Sing, and taught his followers to believe in the speedy overthrow of the British rule. In 1872, there was a mutiny of the Kukás in consequence of which Rám Sing was deported. He died at Rangoon in 1888. He has been succeeded by his brother Budh Sing.

Mr. E D. Maclagan, Superintendent of the Census operations in the Punjab, returns the number of the Kukás at 11, 146. The Kukás are supposed to avoid meat and spirits of all kinds; and they allow intermarriage.





CHAPTER V.

THE BRÁHMA SAMÁJ.

Monotheistic sects, in pre-British period;

Since the Buddhist-Hindu period there have risen from time to time many monotheistic sects amongst the Hindus. They have, however, like the Kabirpanthis and the Chhattisgarh Satnámis, mostly degenerated into guru worshippers. They still discountenance idolatry, they still disregard caste-distinctions, at least to a great extent; when questioned they would profess belief in one invisible Deity; practically, however, the guru is their sole Deity, at least for the great majority of them.

in British period.

Of the indigenous monotheistic sects which have come into existence since the establishment of the English rule, but which do not own English influence in any way, there is only one, the Rámsanehi sect, which so far as we are aware, has preserved the purity of its monotheistic faith.

Rámcharan the founder of this sect was born in

Ramsanehi. * A. D. 1719 at the village of Surasena in Jayapur. He strongly opposed idolatry. The Bráhmans of his village persecuting him on that account he left home and after travelling in various parts of Hindusthán settled in the state of Udayapur. The king of this state being incited by Bráhmans began to persecute Rámcharan. He, in consequence, took shelter with the Rajá of Sháhpur, who had sent him an invitation. The Ramsanehi sect was founded by him two years afterwards. Rámcharan died in 1798.

As is the case with most other sects, there are lay as well as monastic members. The latter must lead a life of celibacy and strict asceticism, and devote themselves to study and the cultivation of such virtues as charity, mercy, &c. They are strictly enjoined not to take money presents. They must not sing, dance, smoke, or take intoxicating liquors. They are strict vegetarians, and carry their scrupulosity about destroying animal life to the same extreme as the Jains.

Rámcharan had twelve chief disciples, a number which is kept up to the present day. They are each assigned a duty in the economic and educational arrangements of the religious house of the sect : one of them is in charge of the stores, another looks after the clothes and blankets which are presented by the

* For information regarding the Ramsanehi sect I am indebted to Akshayakumár Datta's "Upásaka Sampradáya."

laity, a third watches the conduct of the other members of the order, a fourth specially chosen for his sanctity imparts religious instruction to women, and so on.

If any member of the order be charged with a serious offence he is brought to Sháhpur, and tried by a Panchayet composed of eight out of the twelve head disciples. If found guilty, the lock of hair left on his head is cut off, and he is excommunicated.

To become a monk one has to change his name and shave his head with the exception of a slender lock. The head of the monks who has got his *gadi* at Shahpur is called a *Mohanta*. According to the number of the lay members in a village or town two or more of the monks look after their spiritual welfare. Lest the monks should form local connections detrimental to the impartial discharge of their duties, they are not allowed to stay at one place for more than two years.

All castes are admitted into the sect. The Rámsanehis are strongly opposed to idolatry. Their creed leans towards Pantheism. They worship the Deity under the name of Ráma. Their place of worship is called Rámadvára. Besides Sháhpur, there are Rámadváras at Jayapur, Jodhpur, Nágod, Udayapur, Chitor and various other places. The service is conducted thrice a day. The morning service is the most important being joined in by the entire congregation. It concludes with hymns sung by women. The evening service lasts for an hour and is attended only by men.

The Rámsanehis celebrate an annual festival in the

month of Fálgun which they call *Phuldól*, though it has no connection whatever with the Hindu festival of that name. They are found in large numbers in Western and Northern India.

Another monotheistic sect * which was founded in Bengal about the same time as the Bráhma Samáj, but by an illiterate man of low-caste origin also deserves mention.

Rámballavi.

Rámballava the reputed founder of this sect was a disciple of Aule Chánd. But the real founder is said to have been one Krishnakinkara Dás who lived at Bánsberiá, in the district of Hooghly, about the middle of the present century. Though illiterate he was a man of great parts.

The Rámballavis venerated the scriptures of Hinduism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity. They had an annual festival on the Siva Chaturdasi in honour of their founder. During that festival passages from the Koran, the Bible, and the Bhagavatgítá were read in front of a Vedi (dais) dedicated to the Great Truth. Persons of all castes and creeds had their meals together; and it is said that even beef was eaten during the festival.

The Rámballavis had a very high standard of morality, regarded all men as equal and cultivated love and humility in their conduct towards one another. One of their hymns begins thus: "Kálí and Krishna (Hindu)

* The sect is now believed to be extinct.

God (English), Khodá (Mahomedan), there is no objection to any name; be not influenced by the dissensions among their followers."

The following may be given as an example of the prayer of the Rámballavis:

"O Lord! The prayer of thy servant is, that he may have strength to act according to thy will: thy will be done." *

Absence of Guru-worship in the Bráhma Samaj

The Bráhmas do not countenance guru-worship. Keshab Chandra Sen at one time was very near being made a guru; but he soon after openly disavowed all claims to be one. A Bráhma missionary of lesser note in the Punjab has recently been installed as guru by a small sect called the Deva Samáj. But he has ceased to be a Bráhma. The Sádháran Bráhma Samáj, which comprises the most influential body of Bráhmas at the present day, has taken special care to guard against, what taking the liberty of coining a word, may be called gurucracy.

The Bráhma Samáj more a social than a religious secession from Hinduism.

The Bráhma Samáj is more a social than a religious secession. † The points of contact between Bráhmaism and Hinduism are the monotheistic sections of the Neo-Hindus, such as the members of

* For part of the information regarding the sect, I am indebted to my esteemed friend Nagendra Nath Chatterji, a missionary of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj.

† There are many Bráhmas who perceive and admit their accordance with Hinduism in religious belief, as will be evidenced by the following among many extracts that could be made from their writings :

the A'rya and Prárthaná Samájes of Northern and Western India who are cautious and moderate in their social reforms. Among the Bráhmas progressiveness is measured by the thoroughness of social reform. Keshab Chandra Sen and his party seceded from the A'di Bráhma Samáj, because the latter were not prepared to go as far in the direction of social reform as the former. The Sádháran Bráhma Samáj separated from Keshab's Progressive Bráhma Samáj, because the latter was not progressive enough, because Keshab did and his adherents countenanced an act of social transgression, the marriage of his daughter in un-Bráhma form.

The A'di Bráhma Samáj has of late been well nigh re-absorbed into Hinduism, because it did not insist upon social reformation. The great majority of its members

"Brahmoism" says P. Runganadan Mudeliyar of the Southern India Bráhma Samáj, "is both a universal religion and a form of Hinduism. The veneration towards Brahma, the one Supreme Being, the central object of adoration in Hinduism, makes a man a Hindu in religious belief. Every Hindu addresses his favourite God as Brahma; His name is every where to be met with in the Srutis, the Smritis, the Darsanas, Puránas, and Tantras, in fact in all the Hindu Shastras: it is chanted forth in the hymns and formulas repeated at every Hindu ceremony.

The Bráhmo idea of Brahma being substantially the same as those of the Hindu in general, especially as those of the writers of the Upanishads, which every Hindu regards with veneration,—and since the Brahmos have a religious manual consisting of selections from the shastras only, and a form of religious service containing texts from the Vedas, also a ritual containing as much of the ancient form as could be preserved compatibly with the dictates of conscience,—and moreover, Bráhmoism being the legitimate result of the higher teachings of the Vedas, it is evident that while calling ourselves Theists, we can conscientiously call ourselves also Hindus in religious belief." Miss Collet. "Brahmo year Book" for 1882, p. 56.

are to all intents and purposes NeoHindus. The following reply to a charge made against the Samáj that it was a rse to social reformation was authoritatively given in ' o: "It [The A'di Bráhma Samáj] leaves matters of al reformation to the judgments and tastes of its lividual members. It reckons those who have taken a part in social reformation as well as those who have not to be all Brahmas if they profess themselves to be so It only lays greater stress upon renunciation of idolatry and purity of conduct than upon social reformaation. To the wisdom of this principle, those who bring the above charge against the Samaj cannot but accede.

The next charge brought against the Samaj is, that pholds the system of caste...The Samaj is not so illiberal as to maintain that, when a Brahma does not get matches for his offspring among men of his own aste he should keep them in a state of perpetual celibacy or that, by relapsing into idolatry, he should marry them with idolatrous rites to orthodox matches of his own caste. Bráhmaism is the dearest of all things and when caste comes into collision with religion. the former must give way to the latter When there is no such collision, a man cannot certainly be blamed for not widening the breach between himself and his couutrymen for the sake of a mere social distinction." *

* "The Adi Brahma Samaj, its views and principles." p.p. 5-6. Haris Chander Mukherji was one of the founders of the Bhowanipore Bráhma Samáj, yet he did not consider it inconsistent to celebrate the Durgá Pujá in his house. ["Life of Harish Chandra Mukherji" (Bengali), by Ram Gopal Sanyal. Calcutta, 1987 p. 53.]

According to the Census of 1891 the Bráhmas number altogether 3,051, of whom no less than 2,056 belong to Bengal. * This number, though very small, much smaller than that of the A'rya section of the Neo-Hindus is significant considering that the Bráhma Samáj has hitherto been chiefly recruited from the more advanced sections of the educated community. Quite recently, however, Bráhmaism has been showing signs of decline. The A'di Bráhma sect which was founded by Rájá Rám Mohan Roy and revived by Devendra Nath Tagore has now well nigh merged into Neo-Hinduism. The Progressive Bráhma sect started by Keshab Chandra Sen has now dwindled into a small body torn by internal dissentions. Several of the most zealous missionaries of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj, the strongest body of Bráhmas at the present day, have recently gone back towards Neo-Hinduism. The *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Samáj, makes the following very candid confession :

Signs of decline in the Bráhma Samáj

"There is no denying the fact that the condition of the Brahmo Somaj is very low at present. Both externally and internally it is weak, and its weakness is so great that nothing short of a strong faith in the power and greatness of truth and in the uplifting hand of God, can uphold a man in the arduous struggle for reform. * * Of the educated men

* "Census of India" (1891), Vol. X. In 1881 the number of Bráhmas in Bengal was 788. "The advance" observes the Census Commissioner "is believed to be due rather to more accurate enumeration than to any real progress." ("Census of India" 1891) Vol. III.

amongst whom the preaching of Brahmoism has been up to this time confined, the majority are either indifferent or positively opposed to our principles and practices. Secondly, the influence that the Brahmos once exercised over the literature of the country is gradually diminishing, and they are no longer looked upon as leaders in literature. Thirdly, the position they once occupied in every form of good work in the country. also is being slowly surrendered. Formerly it was noticed even in official reports that almost every form of good work, such as the founding of girls schools, or the starting of philanthropic or charitable societies had, in many instances, Brahmo workers at its bottom. But that co-operation of the members of the Samaj is no longer sought, and others have come forward to carry on such works without their help. Fourthly the influence on the morality of the people that the little body of the Brahmos once exerted, has also visibly declined. There was a time when the moulding of the moral and spiritual aspirations of the rising generation of educated young men was entirely in the hands of the Bráhmo Samáj, but their eyes have been diverted from Bráhmoism by a so-called revival of a form of neo-Hinduism. *

The *Interpreter*, the organ of a section of the New Dispensation church, thus writes :—

"It is a notorious fact that many of our fellow religionists have begun to show a strange fancy for Sanyasis, Fakirs, Sadhus and religious mountebanks of all sorts. This is largely owing to the defection of a well known Brahmo missionary, one of the earliest and best followers of Keshub Chunder Sen in times gone by. This gentleman, the lineal descendent of a Vaishnava saint, took the old Hindu devotee ways after he got estranged from his leader, and found no satisfaction elsewhere. His example led away a good many at first, and since then a regular epidemic has grown in the direction of superstitious reverence for the theatricalities of Hindu devoteeism. The disease is most prevalent in the Sadharan Samaj, but is slowly infecting every other section of the community. We think it is high time to draw notice to the evil, and if possible to provide against it.

* The *Indian Messenger*, Oct 17, 1886.

It must not be understood that we think our misguided Brahmo friends to be dishonest men. On the contrary we think their very honesty is the cause of their aberration. They honestly seek the satisfaction of their religious instincts and if the ministrations and teachings of the Bráhmo Somaj fail to give them that satisfaction they naturally look elsewhere, and wherever they find it, or the semblance of it, or even the profession of it, there they go. One peculiar symptom of the outbreak is that those who suffer from it almost always retain their intellectual, and partly their social adherence to the Bráhmo Somaj, the seldom say they have ceased to be Bráhmos, but their hearts. their spiritual affiliation, are with strange practices, with secret sects. * * Now opinions, constitutions, and social reforms are important in their way, but very much more important to a religious body are its spritual concerns such as faith, love, wisdom, insight, devotion, depth, holiness, and the magnetic personality of leaders It is precisely in these latter articles the Brahmo Somaj lacks. And mere speeches and professions do not supply that lack. Our ceaseless controversies, endless personal dislikes, worldly-minded activities stand in the way of spiritual attraction, and disgust our brethren. What matters it if one party wins when our best and most ardent men are alienated? The danger is growing every day." *

Though the writers here have probably written rather strongly in order to stimulate their co religionists to greater exertions, there is no denying the fact, that Neo-Hinduism has for sometime past been successfully competing with Bráhmaism, which has lost the favour it once enjoyed with the educated classes. If the signs of the time are to be depended upon, the prospect of Bráhmaism as a distinct religion in educated India does not appear to be much brighter than that of Christianity.

* The *Interpreter*, April, 1894.

Rám Mohan Roy, the founder of the Bráhma Samáj was born at Rádhánagar in the district of Hooghly (Bengal) in the year 1774 A D. His father was a petty Zamindar who had served under the Nawabs of Murshidábád. In his ninth year he was sent to Pátná to study Persian and Arabic. After he had acquired sufficient mastery over these languages, he went in his twelfth year to Benares to study Sanskrit. There he stayed for 4 years and imbibed the pantheistic ideas of the *Upanishads* which he studied deeply. Returning home he published a treatise against the idolatry of his coreligionists which caused a rupture between him and his father. He left home and wandered in various parts of India and Thibet. After 4 years of exile, he was recalled home by his father, where he stayed till his twentyfifth year learning English, studying the Hindu *Sástras* and carrying on religious controversies.

Early life of Rám Mohan Roy.

In 1800 he entered Government service and held various posts with distinction till he was made *Dewan* or head officer of the District Collector. While in this capacity at Rangpur he wrote various Persian tracts and translated parts of the Vedánta.

Rám Mohan in Government service;

In 1814, Rám Mohan Roy retired from Government service and settled in Calcutta devoting himself to religious culture and the investigation of truth. The same year he founded the A'tmiya Sabhá "for the worship of the one Invisible God as inculcated in the *Upanishads*" He entered into

in Calcutta.

vigorous contests not only with the Hindus, but, also with the Christian missionaries, and published his "Precepts of Jesus" which was followed by the three "Appeals to the Christian Public." He actively cooperated with the Unitarians of Calcutta and attended their Church. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary, was converted by him to the Unitarian faith.

The Bráhma Samáj.

Rám Mohan Roy gradually gathered a respectable following of Theists round him, and in 1828, rooms were hired in Chitpore Road, where he held prayer meetings every Saturday evening. The service consisted of recitation of Vedic texts, delivering of a sermon, and singing of hymns. The influential support which Rám Mohan now received enabled him, in January, 1830 to found the Bráhma Samáj. A large house, in Chitpore Road was purchased and the Samáj was endowed with a maintenance fund. The Trust Deed of the Samáj* clearly sets forth, that the Samaj was to be a "place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other designation or title peculiarly used for and applied

* It is dated the 8th of January, 1830 and is signed by Dwaraka Nath Tagore, Cally Nath Roy, Prosonno Coomar Tagore, Ram Chandra Vidyavagish, Ram Mohan Roy, Boikunta Nath Roy, Radha Prasad Roy, aud Rama Nath Tagore,

to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever." "No graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait or the likeness of anything" was to be admitted within the Samáj premises. The Trust Deed states, "that no sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer, or hymn be delivered, made, or used" in the worship at the Samáj "but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds." *

Rám Mohan as social reformer;

Rám Mohan Roy was not only a religious but also a social reformer. He wrote several treatises against the concremation of Hindu widows; and it was chiefly through his exertions that that horrible practice was abolished in December, 1829. "He also fought against the evils of kulinism and polygamy, and is said to have presented a petition to the Government for prohibiting polygamy by legislation."

as educationalist.

Rám Mohan's exertions were not confined to religious and social reforms. He took an active part in the educational movements of his time. He was greatly in favour of English education and wrote an able letter to Lord Amherst

* "The English works of Rájá Rám Mohan Roy," Calcutta, 1885. Vol I. pp. 492,493.

advocating it. He cordially helped Dr. Duff in starting a missionary school. He was also one of the principal promoters of the Hindu College. He wrote books on geography and grammar in Bengali, and for sometime conducted a Bengali newspaper called *Sambád Kaumadi.*

In November, 1830, Rám Mohan left for England.

Last years.

The chief objects which he had in view were to represent the grievances of the Emperor of Delhi who had appointed him his ambassador and conferred on him the title of Rájá, to give evidence before the select committee of the House of Commons upon the working of the Judicial and Revenue systems in India, and to present memorials to Parliament advocating the abolition of Sati. He was well received in England, and France. He submitted a written evidence of great value before the Commons Committee and had the satisfaction of seeing the appeal against the abolition of Sati preferred by orthodox Hindus rejected by Parliament. The climate of Europe however severely tried him, and he breathed his last at Bristol on the 27th September, 1833.*

* His remains, at first interred in a shrubbery, were removed ten years afterwards to a cemetery near Bristol, where Dwáraká Nath Tagore raised a tomb over his grave with the following inscription :

"Beneath this spot
Rest the remains of Rája Rámmohan Roy Bahadoor.
A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the Godhead,
He consecrated his life with entire devotion
To the worship of the divine spirit alone.

Rám Mohan Roy was unquestionably the greatest reformer that India has produced since the establishment of the British Rule. We shall close this brief sketch of his life with the following words from Prof. Max Muller's "Biographical Essays" * :—

"And yet I like to call Rám Mohan Roy a great man, using that word not as a cheap, unmeaning title, but as conveying three essential elements of manly greatness, *unselfishness*, *honesty* and *boldness*."

Devendranath Tagore.

The Bráhma Samáj languished from Rammohan Roy's death till 1842 when Devendra nath Tagore infused fresh life into it. He was born in 1818. Brought up in wealth and luxury, he went on, as he says, from the sixteenth to the twentieth year of his life "intoxicated with the pleasures of the flesh" unmindful of his "spiritual interests and dead to conscience and God." "Once" he says "on the occasion of a domestic calamity, as I

To great natural talents he united a thorough mastery of many languages, and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of the day.

His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and the zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man, live iu the grateful remembrance of his countrymen.

This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants.

He was born at Radhanagore in Bengal in 1774, and died at Bristol September 27th 1833 "

* *Op cit.* (1884), p. 31.

lay drooping and wailing in a retired spot, the God of glory suddenly revealed himself in my heart and so entirely charmed me and sweetened my heart and soul that for a time I continued ravished, quite immersed in a flood of light. What was it but the light of truth, the water of baptism, the message of salvation? .....After a long struggle the world lost its attractions, and God became my only comfort and delight in this world of sorrow and sin." *

The Covenant. In 1843, Debendranath Tagore introduced the "Bráhmic Covenant" which is as follows †:—

1st Vow. OM. I will worship, through love of Him and the performance of the works He loveth, God the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, the Giver of salvation, the omniscient, the omnipresent, the blissful, the formless, the One only without a second.

2nd Vow. I will worship no created object as the Creator.

3rd Vow. Unless disabled by sickness or tribulation, every day, the mind being undisturbed, I will engage it with love and veneration in God.

4th Vow. I will exert to perform righteous deeds.

5th Vow. I will be careful to abstain from vicious deeds.

6th Vow. If, through the influence of passion, I commit any sin then, wishing redemption from it, I will make myself cautious not to do it again.

7th Vow. Every year, for the propagation of the Bráhma faith, I will bestow gifts upon the Bráhma Samáj.

Grant me, O God! power to observe the duties of this great faith.

OM.

ONE ONLY WITHOUT A SECOND.

---

* "Some noted Indians of Modern Times" (Madra[illegible] 19.

† *Bráhma Dharma*, Calcutta 1876.

Debendranath, with twenty of his adherents, was the first to sign the "Covenant."

Under the leadership of Devendranath Tagore, the Samáj made rapid strides towards progress. A monthly periodical called the *Tattwabodhini Patriká* was started under the editorship of Akshaya Kumár Datta, one of the best Bengali writers of the time. The number of members of the Samáj rose from 83 in 1843 to 573 in 1847.

The Vedas and Upanishads not authoritative in the Bráhma Samáj.

Though Hinduism is professedly based upon the Vedas, they are but little known to the great majority of the Hindus. In 1845, four young Bráhmans were sent by Devendranath Tagore to Benares to study the Vedas. On their return to Calcutta two years later with copies of the work, a discussion ensued as to whether it was to be regarded by the Bráhma Samáj as authoritative. The decision of the majority was that neither the Vedas nor the Upanishads were to be considered in the same light as the Koran is by the Mahomedans and the Bible by the Christians; but such texts and precepts only were to be accepted as harmonised with the monotheism professed by the Samáj.

Its prosperity.

The Bráhma Samáj was now in the height of its prosperity which was largely due to the high social position and religious fervour of Maharshi Devendranath. His periodical residence on the Himálaya inspired him with grand sentiments. "Devendra's prayers" says Protáp Chandra Mazumdar, "were the overflow of great emotional impulses stirred by intense meditation on the beauties

and glories of nature. His utterances were grand, fervid, archaic, profound, as the feelings were which gave them rise" *

Keshab Chandra Sen's early life.

In 1857, Keshab Chandra Sen became a member of the Bráhma Samáj by signing the covenant. He was then nineteen years of age, and was still a student at the Hindu College. He had already given evidence of his energy and talents by promoting various organisations of which the Kalutolá Evening School founded in 1855 and the Good Will Fraternity in 1857, were the principal. The former was attended by young men from the neighbourhood of Kalutolá where Keshab Chandra's home was. He was the Rector of the School, and several of his friends and associates were teachers. The Good Will Fraternity was a religious institution, of which the object was partly theological and partly devotional. †

The Bráhma school, 1859.

The Bráhma school was founded in 1859, where weekly classes were held on Sundays. Keshab used to lecture there in English on the philosophy of Theism, and Devendra Nath in Bengali on the doctrines and theology of the Bráhma Samáj. The school at first met at the premises of the Kalutolá evening school mentioned above, a damp, dingy one-storied house. But it was

* "Life of Keshub Chunder Sen." Calcutta, 1891. p. 91.

† On one occasion the Fraternity was visited by Devendra Nath Tagore. Protáp Chandra Mazumdar, himself a prominent member, thus records his impression: "He was tall, princely, in the full glory of his health and manhood, he came attended by liveried servants, and sur-

soon removed to more spacious and comfortable quarters in Chitpore Road. The School held annual examinations and granted diplomas of merit.. It lasted for 5 years, and gave a good training to the Bráhma youth of whom several in after-life became missionaries.

Commencement of missionary work.

The same year saw Keshab Chandra a clerk at the bank of Bengal on a pay of Rs. 25. He did his work so well there, that within a year he was promoted and his pay doubled. Shortly afterwards, however he made up his mind to leave all secular occupations and devote himself exclusively to missionary work. Friends and guardians remonstrated; the Bank authorities held out bright prospects. But Keshab Chandra kept to his resolution; and in July, 1861, he resigned his post. He had already established his reputation by his tracts and lectures. In the summer of 1860, he had been to Krishnanagar on his first missionary expedition. Krishnanagar is an ancient town with a Bráhma Samáj the oldest in India, outside Calcutta, and a college which, thirty years ago, was one of the most flourishing in Bengal. Keshab's lectures drew large and appreciative audiences. Mr. Dyson, a Christian missionary at Krishnanagar, thought it necessary to deliver counter lectures. "Nothing" says P. C. Mazumdár "roused

rounded by massive stalwart Brahmos, who wore long gold chains, and impenetrable countenances. We who were very young men and not initiated in the Brahmo Somaj secrets at all, were highly elated and encouraged by such company, and it was inducement to us to follow with zeal our religious career." "Life of Keshub Chunder Sen," p. 60.

Keshub's nature so much as cpposition, and Mr. Dyson instead of being able to crush the rising influence of the young man, fanned the flame of his fierce energy. Keshub spoke till his lungs were about to burst, and medical men ordered him to stop. All Krishnagar sided with the Bráhmo reformer."* The theological controversy begun at Krishnanagar was carried to Calcutta, and created considerable sensation at the time.

Keshab as Minister of the Samáj

On the 13th April, 1862, Keshab Chandra was installed by Devendra Nath Tagore as *A'chárya* or minister of the Bráhma Samáj. The installation took place with great *eclat* and Keshab received the title of Brahmánanda, and was presented with a rich casket containing an ivory seal. The festivities and banquets accompanying the occasion were on a princely scale. Keshab and some of his friends desired that their ladies should participate in these festivities. But his relations, would not brook the idea of his wife going to the house of Devendra Nath Tagore, an excommunicated Hindu. He was, however, firm and resolute; and notwithstanding opposition of a very serious nature, took his wife to Devendranath's house on the installation-day. But that very evening, he got a letter signed by his uncle and elder brother, telling him that he must consider himself and his wife as excommunicated, and that they would not be allowed to re-enter his ancestral house. Devendránath received the couple most hospitably and treated them

* *Op. cit.* p. 72. For Keshab Chandra Sen's Life, I am chiefly indebted to Protáp Chandra Mazumdár's excellent biography.

with great consideration. By the end of the year, 1862, however, the dispute with his relations having been amicably settled, Keshab re-entered the family house.

Missionary tour in Bombay and Madras.

In February, 1864, Keshab started on a Missionary tour through Bombay and Madras. At both these places he was warmly welcomed and eagerly listened to. The Madrasis called him the "Thunderbolt of Bengal," so deeply impressed were they by his eloquence and enthusiasm.

In 1866, Keshab seceded from the Calcutta Bráhma Samáj, thenceforth called the *A'di* (or original) Bráhma Samáj. The circumstances under which this happened are thus related by his biographer:—

"In the cyclone of Oct. 1865, the old building of the Adi Samaj at Jorasanko was so far damaged, that the weekly Divine Service had to be removed thence to the dwelling house of Devendranath Tagore. While there, one Wednesday in November, it was so arranged that before the newly created upacharyas (assistant ministers, who had renounced their Brahminical thread) arrived, the two former upacharyas, who had been deposed *for retaining their sacred thread* by the authority of Devendranath himself were installed into the pulpit again. In order that this might be done without hindrance, the devotional proceedings were begun a few minutes earlier than the appointed time. When on arrival at the place of worship, Keshub and his friends witnessed this irregularity, they left the service, and warmly protested. Devendra Nath replied, that as the service was being held in his private house, he had the right to make what arrangement he liked. But Keshub's party insisted, that it was the public worship of the Brahma Samaj only transferred for a little interval to his house by the consent of the congregation, and if he chose to violate the rules of the ministry laid down under his own presidency, they must decline to join such service in future. Thus began the act of secession from the parent

Samaj at Jorasanko....... ..He [Keshub] proposed a separate day of public worship in the Samaj building, apart from the usual Wednesday service for himself and his friends. He repeatedly endeavoured to arrange united festivals during the anniversary. But to no purpose, Devendrâ had finally made up his mind and was inexorable. He feared that any continuance of relations with these young firebrands would lead to endless troubles in future. The secession alone could solve the difficulty," "Life of Keshub Chunder Sen," p. 94.

Since the secession the Adi Bráhma Samáj has been on the decline.

Foundation of the Bráhma Samáj of India.

Keshab commenced an independent career in 1866. He had the sympathy and co-operation of the great majority of the younger portion of the Bráhma community. At a meeting held on the 11th of November, 1866, the Bráhma Samáj of India, or, as it was afterwards called, the Church of the New Dispensation was founded.* Keshab secured the *Indian Mirror* newspaper, which he had started in 1861 in conjunction with Manomohan Ghose as the English organ of the Bráhma Samáj. He also started a vernacular journal called the *Dharma Tattva*.

The members of the new Samáj wanted to make

* The resolution adopted by the Meeting was; "Whereas the trustees of the Calcutta Bráhma Samáj have taken over to themselves the charge of the whole property of the said Samáj, and the connections of the public with the said property have ceased, and whereas the money subscribed by the public should be spent with the consent of the public, it is resolved at this meeting that the subscribers or Members of the Bráhma Samáj be formally organised into a Society, and that subscriptions be spent in accordance to their wishes for the propagation of Bráhmaism."

Keshab its head. But he declined. He caused a resolution to be passed, "that the Bráhma Samáj of India had no human head, God alone was its head." He undertook to be Secretary. The membership of the Samáj was open to all. "Selections from all the scriptures of all nations of the world were compiled to form its text book of devotional lessons, and for the first time extracts from the Bible, Koran, Zendavesta, and the Hindu Sástras stood side by side as the scriptures of the Bráhma Samáj." The motto of the Samáj composed in Sanscrit by Pandit Gour Govinda Ray was:—"The wide universe is the temple of God. Wisdom is the pure land of pilgrimage. Truth is the everlasting scripture. Faith is the root of all religion. Love is the true spiritual culture. The destruction of selfishness is the true asceticism. So declare the Bráhmas." Eight of the most devoted of Keshab's followers were formed into a body of missionaries. They took the vow of poverty. "Every one resigned his place and prospects of life, offered his life-long services to the Church, and willingly threw himself into the midst of all manner of privations. They daily took out a few pieces of copper from the leader's writing box to buy their necessaries," and they spent their time in prayer, study, meditation, religious conversations and other occupations suited to a missionary life.

Lecture on Jesus Christ.

In March, 1866, Keshab delivered his lecture on "Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia." He described Christ's Mission to be to reform and regenerate mankind, and said, that "Christ was above ordinary humanity."

"Was not Jesus" he asked "an Asiatic? I rejoice, yea, I am proud —that I am an Asiatic. In fact, Christianity was founded and developed by Asiatics in Asia. When I reflect on this, my love for Jesus becomes a hundredfold intensified. I feel Him nearer my heart, and deeper in my national sympathies. Shall I not say, He is more akin and congenial to my Oriental nature, more agreeable to my Oriental habits of thought and feeling?......In Christ, we see not only the exaltedness of humanity, but also the grandeur of which Asiatic nature is capable. The more this fact is pondered, the less I hope will be the antipathy and hatred of European Christians against Oriental nationalities, and the greater the interest of the Asiatics in the teachings of Christ."

The lecture caused some misunderstanding and not a little misrepresentation as regards his relation to Christianity, to remove which he delivered five months later, his lecture on "Great men" in the Town Hall of Calcutta. In that lecture, he clearly defined his views with regard to Jesus Christ whom he classed with great men, men however who are above ordinary humanity. "It is true" said he "they are men; but who will deny they are above ordinary humanity? Though human, they are divine. This is the striking peculiarity of all great men. In them we see a strange and mysterious combination of the human and divine nature, of the earthly and heavenly."

Keshab at Monghyr.

In March, 1868, Keshab Chandra started on a missionary tour to the North-Western Provinces and Bombay, and after delivering various lectures on social and religious subjects returned to Monghyr. He stirred up the religious feeling of that ancient and picturesque little town to such an extent, that, "some proposed to

have seen supernatural sights concerning him; some connected him with Jesus as the elder and younger sons of the Father." Some prostrated before him, and called him "lord," "master" and "saviour."

Songs were sung about him, of which the following is an example :—

> "Awake, oh inmates of the neighbourhood, awake,
> There has come in your midst, a *yogi*, a lover of
> Brahma, full of tenderness;
> His throat always glorifies the name of Hari,
> And his heart is the abode of the perfect God."

The almost divine honours that were paid to Keshab at Monghyr provoked hostile comment. Not to speak of such men as Kabir and Chaitanya, many a man with far less pretensions to sanctity such as the founders of various sects mentioned in the last chapter, had before the time of Keshab, and have even since then, been looked upon as incarnations and paid divine honours. So there was nothing very unusual about such honours. Had Keshab wished to be a guru like Rám Saran Pal, the founder of the sect of Kartábhajás, or like Sivanáráyan Agnihotri, the founder of the Deva Samáj, he could easily have done so, and secured a numerically respectable following of half-educated and uneducated men and women. But the Bráhma Samáj consisted in 1868, as it still consists, chiefly of English-educated men, who would, in that case have ceased to recognise his leadership. When the charge of accepting divine worship was formally brought against Keshab, he explicitly denied that he had any claim to it. But a

few of the more enthusiastic among his followers still imputed to him claims which he himself did not recognise; and two Bráhmas, one of them a missionary of long standing, left him because he did not do so? It would be observed that, though Keshab denied his right to divine worship, he did not actively discourage it, on the ground, as stated by his biographer, "that he would be guilty of grave sin if he cruelly turned out any brother" for being so weak and credulous as to take him to be an incarnation.

The Samáj building

The Brahma Mandir, of which the foundation stone had been laid in January, 1868, was formally opened in August, 1869. "The building is established" Keshab said, "with the object of paying reverence to all truths that exist in the world. This temple is founded with the object that all quarrel, all misunderstanding, all pride of caste may be destroyed, and all brotherly feeling may be perpetuated. Those A´cháryas (ministers) who will give their precepts from the pulpit of this Mandir, should be looked upon by all as sinful men. They give precepts because being able to do so, they have been charged with that duty. The names and the language that are applied to God shall never be applied to any human being in this temple."

Keshab in England.

In February, 1870, Keshab started for England where he met with a warm welcome. A *soiree* was given in his honour by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

Keshab's public engagements became daily more and more numerous. He was every where received with cordiality.* Besides preaching from Baptist, Unitarian, and Congregationalist pulpits, he took part in the proceedings of various Societies, such as the Peace Society, the Ragged School Union, and the Female Suffrage Society. At a great Meeting held at St. James Hall, he defined his attitude, and that of the Bráhma Samáj towards Christ and Christianity. Speaking of the Bible he said he had found in it what had helped and nourished him. But Christianity, according to him, held a different language from that of Christ; it was split up into various sects, which placed salvation in various externalities and not in "Christ in the heart." On the 12th September, 1870, a farewell meeting was convened at the Hanover Square Rooms, at which no less than eleven denominations of Christians were represented. He had since his arrival in England spoken at upwards of seventy different public meetings to upwards of forty thousand people, and had created a very favourable impression about the Bráhma Samáj movements. On his return to India, Keshab busily engaged himself for several years in various social reforms.

* The *Punch* published the following lines :—

"Who among all living men
Is this Keshub Chunder Sen?
Is he big as a bull, or small as a wren,
This Keshub Chunder Sen."

Marriage of Keshab's eldest daughter.

In February, 1878, it was announced that Keshab's eldest daughter, not yet 14, was to be married to the Mahárájá of Kuch Behar, not yet 16. The announcement caused great sensation amongst the members of the Bráhma Samáj of India. They protested strongly. Their objections were: First the marriage was not to be celebrated in accordance with the Bráhma Marriage Act, which had been passed chiefly through his exertions, and which required the age of the bride to be at least 14 and that of the bride-groom at least 16; secondly, idolatrous ceremonies were, in all likelihood, to be introduced; thirdly, the Maharaja was not a member of the Bráhma Samáj, and should not marry the daughter of its leader.

In reply to such objections it was stated that the ceremony was not to be marriage, but only a formal betrothal, that the Mahárájá had declared himself a Bráhma, and that idolatrous rites would not be introduced. These assurances were made in perfect good faith. The principal Pandit of the Kuch Behar State who came to Calcutta to settle the details of the marriage ceremony agreed that there was to be a Bráhma Divine Service, and that a few essential Bráhma rites and a few Hindu rites but of a non-idolatrous nature were to be observed. The Pandit as well as the agent of the British Government who was administering the Kuch Behar State during the minority of its Mahárájá, agreed that neither the bride-groom nor the bride

was to take part in any idolatrous ceremony, and that no symbols of idolatry were to be kept at the place of marriage. The opponents of the marriage however, predicted that idolatrous ceremonies would be observed at the time of celebration; and their prediction turned out to be correct. Just two days before Keshab was to leave for Kuch Behar with his daughter and friends, he received a telegram from Kuch Behar, that Bráhma ceremonies would not be allowed at the marriage. Another message to the same effect came in the morning of the day on which the bridal party was to leave Calcutta. Notwithstanding these messages, however, the party left. *

* Even Keshab's friend and biographer admits, that he "did not act sagaciously here." He says, however, that "from the beginning Keshab had seen the hand of God in this affair." "The spontaneity of the Government offer" Keshub wrote after the marriage "and its wholly unexpected character, the prospect of influencing for good a large population, an entire Native State, mutual approval of the parties, the noble character of the Maharaja, all serve to confirm my conviction that the match was really providential." Whether providential or not, the match was certainly the immediate cause of the practical dissolution of the great organisation at which he had been labouring for nearly twenty years.

The line of defence adopted by Keshub was, that what he had done, he had done under inspiration from above. In an address delivered in January, 1879, he said:—

"Men have attempted to prove that I have been guided by my own imagination, reason, and intellect. Under this conviction they have from time to time protested against my proceedings. They should remember that to protest against the cause I uphold is to protest against the dispensations of God Almighty, the God of all Truth and Holiness."

"In doing this work, I am confident I have not done any thing that is wrong. I have ever tried to do the Lord's will, not

Arrived at Kuch Behar, Keshab strongly protested against the breach of the agreement which had been come to in Calcutta. A long controversy followed, but all the concession that Keshab could obtain from the Kuch Behar officials was, "that *the bride's party only* might take no part in idolatrous ceremonies." Keshab accepted this concession, and the marriage took place in essentially Hindu form.

Opposition to the marriage.

The opponents of the marriage now insisted upon calling a public meeting to remove Keshab from his position as secretary and minister of the Bráhma Samáj. A meeting of the congregation was accordingly called on the 21st March, 1878. The proceedings were very disorderly, almost riotous. Keshab's opponents went away with the idea that he had been formally deposed; his friends and adherents however, thought differently. The former, under the impression that Keshab had been constitutionally expelled, concerted a plan of going to the Brahma Mandir on the following Sunday and making themselves masters of it. Keshab and his friends, however, had anticipated them and posted a number of their adherents at the Mandir, who, as soon as the opponents appeared in view sent for the Police who drove them away. The assailants

mine. Surely I am not to blame for anything which I may have done under Heaven's injunction. Dare you impeach Heaven's Majesty? Would you have me reject God and Providence, and listen to your dictates in preference to His inspiration? Keshub Chunder Sen cannot do it, will not do it. I must do the Lord's will. Man's creed, man's counsel, I will not follow, but will trust and serve the Lord."

kept up the siege till late, at night, when being repeatedly repulsed they retreated in despair. They started a rival prayer meeting; and on the 14th May convened a public meeting in the Town Hall to take steps for the establishment of a new Bráhma Samáj. The result of the meeting was the Sadhárán Bráhma Samáj.

Establishment of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj.

The secession of the great majority of the better educated members of the Bráhma Samáj left Keshab practically without any check on what he did and what he said. Those who remained with him were mostly his friends and adherents whose support he could always reckon upon. All but unfettered now, he struck out a path bolder than what he had followed hitherto. He had come into close contact with a great Hindu devotee, Paramhamsa Rámkrishna; and the contact had a powerful effect on him. Rámkrishna cherished the conception of God as mother with very great tenderness. His friendship and example "converted the Motherhood of God into a subject of special culture" with Keshab, whose attitude towards Hinduism was now completely changed. In 1880, Keshab thus wrote in the *Sunday Mirror* which was the organ of his Samáj at the time:—

Influence of Paramhamsa Rámkrishna.

"Hindu idolatry is not to be altogether overlooked or rejected. As we explained some time ago, it represents millions of broken fragments of God. Collect them together, and you get the indivisible Divinity. When the Hindus lost sight of their great God, they contented themselves with retaining particular aspects of Him, and representing them in human shapes or images. Their idolatry is nothing but the worship

of a Divine attribute materialized. If the material shape is given up, what remains is a beautiful allegory or picture of Heaven's dispensations. The Theist rejects the image, but he cannot dispense with the spirit of which that image is the form. The revival of the spirit, the destruction of the form, is the work of the New Dispensation. Cheer up, then, O Hindus, for the long lost Father from whom ye have for centuries strayed away, is coming back to you. The road is clear enough ; it lies through your numerous Puranas and Epics. Never were we so struck with the divinity of the eclectic method as when we explored the gloomy regions of mythological India. The sermons now delivered in the Brahma Mandir are solely occupied with the precious truths discovered therein, and our own occupation is merely to gather the jewels as we go on. We have found out that every idol worshipped by the Hindu represents an attribute of God, and that each attribute is called by a particular name. The believer in the New Dispensation is required to worship God as the possessor of all those attributes, representedd by the Hindu as innumerable or 330 millions. To believe in an undivided deity without reference to those aspects of His nature, is to believe in an abstract God, and it would lead us to practical rationalism and infidelity. If we are to worship Him in all His manifestations, we shall name one attribute Saraswati, another Luckshmi, another Mahadeva, another Jagatdhatri, &c., and worship God each day under a new name, that is to say, in a new aspect." *

The New Dispensation.

In 1881, Keshab Chandra Sen announced the advent of the New Dispensation. The following extracts from Keshab's writings will elucidate the character of the new movement :—

"The New Dispensation is subjective. It aims at synthesis, and it aims at subjectivity. It endeavours to convert outward facts and characters into facts of consciousness. It believes that God is an ob-

* "Life of Keshub Chunder Sen" (1891), p. 215.

jective reality, an Infinite Person, the Supreme Father. In the same manner it believes in the objectivity of all prophets and departed spirits, each a person, each a child of God. But the recognition of the objective side of truth is not the whole philosophy of theology. There is a subjective side as well. This latter demands an equally faithful recognition; nay it ought to excite much warmer interest. For subjectivity is of the first importance to the wants of the soul. For who among us does not believe in the outward and objective God? And yet how few anong professing Theists realise Divinity in their own hearts? God is not only a Person, but also a character. As a person we worship him; His Divine character we must assimilate to our own character. True worship is not completed till the worshiper's nature is converted so as to partake of the nature of Divinity. Worship is fruitless it it does not make us heavenly and divine. The transfer of the outward Deity to subjective consciousness is the maturity of faith, the last fact of salvation. * * * *

In regard to the spirits of departed saints the same argument holds good; if you simply admit their entity. of what avail is it to you? You have no doubt heard of such a thing as the communion of saints. What is it? Is it the superficial doctrine of objective recognition, or is it the deeper philosophy of subjective fellowship? You must guard yourselves against the evils arising from the mere objective recognition of the world's prophets and saints. Nothing is so easy as to say, O Jesus, O Moses. This apprehension of the external reality of great spirits is not communion There is Christ, here are we; and between us there is a great gulf. There is no attempt to bridge the gulf, and bring about closer relations. Hence is it that Jesus, though good and true, affects not our lives till we realise him within. The Christ of older theologies is the barren outward fact, the dead Christ of history and dogma. But the Christ of the New Dispensation is an indwelling power, a living spirit, a fact of consciousness. It is this philosophy of subjectivity which underlies the Pilgrimages to Saints, as they are called. We have been asked to explain what we mean by these pilgrimages. They are simply practical applications of this principle of subjectivity. As pilgrims we approach the great saints, and commune with them in spirit, killing the distance of time and space. We enter into them, and they enter into us. In our souls we cherish them, and

we imbibe their character and principles. We are above the popular error which materialises the spirits of departed saints, and clothes them again with the flesh and bones which they have for ever cast away. Nor do we hold these human spirits to be omnipresent. We do not say of them that they fill all space, and are here, there, and everywhere. We believe they still exist, but where they are we cannot tell. Where-ever they may be, it is possible for us, earthly pilgrims, if we are only men of faith and prayer, to realise them in consciousness. If they are not personally present with us, they may be spiritually drawn into our lif and character. They may be made to live and grow in us. . . . This is a normal psychological progress to which neither science nor theology can take exception. Here is the subject, mind, there is the object—a prophet or saint. The subject, by a mysterious though natural process, absorbs the object." *

In January, 1883, Keshab delivered an address on "Asia's Message to Europe," in which he said: "In

* "Life of Keshub Chunder Sen," p.p. 223-224.

With the New Dispensation several new practices were introduced of which one was called the New Dance. The following is a specimen of the songs accompanying it :—

"Chanting the name of Hari the saints dance.

Dances my *Gouranga* (Chaitanya) in the midst of devotees, drunk with the nectar of emotion, with tears of love on his eyes, Oh! how charming the sight.

Moses dances, Jesus dances, with hands uplifted, inebriated with love, and the great *rishi* Narad dances playing on the lyre.

The great *Yogi* Mahadev, dances with joy ; with whom dances John with his disciples.

Nanak, Prahlad, and Nityanand all dance; and in their midst are Paul and Mahomed.

Behold! Hari, inebriated with his own love, dances in the company of his devotees and utters "Hari, Hari."

With the Lord Hari in the middle, the saints dance in a circle throwing their arms round each other's necks.

Hearing the glad tidings of the New Dispensation, dance both the heaven and earth and utter "Hari, Hari."

science there cannot be sects or divisions, schisms or enmities. Is there one astronomy for the East and another for the West? Is there an Asiatic optics as distinguished from European optics? Science is one; it is one yesterday, today, and for ever; the same in the East and the West. There can be but one science; it recognises neither caste nor colour nor nationality. It is God's science, the eternal verity of things. If God is one, His Church must be one."

Keshab's death.

In April, Keshab was ordered by his medical advisers to leave Calcutta for Simla. He returned to Calcutta about the end of October. for nearly a month and a half after his return, he showed signs of improvement; but as winter set in, he grew worse. His principal complaint was a severe pain about the loins, but every organ appeared to be diseased. In the last week of December it appeared in the *New Dispensation* paper, that "the minister had suffered another relapse, and the state of his health was critical." On the 8th January, 1884, Keshab breathed his last. His body was carefully washed, dressed in pure white silk, and wreathed with garlands of sweet scented flowers. After the body had been laid on the pyres, it was lighted by Keshab's eldest son. The ashes were preserved in an urn, and deposited a fortnight later, when the *sráddha* ceremony was performed. An obelisk of marble with the symbolic device of the New Dispensation (cross, crescent, trident, and Vedic Omkár) marks the spot.

Just as the decline of the Ádi Samáj dates with the establishment of the Bráhma Samáj of India, so the decline of the latter dates with the establishment of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj. Keshab's genius and resolution, however, kept up his Samáj. The New Dispensation movement appeared even to give it a new start. Keshab left the Samáj in a fairly prosperous condition. At the end of 1883, five years after the schism, no less than fifty out of one hundred and seventy-three Bráhma Samájes adhered to the principles of the New Dispensation. The income of the Samáj for that year was about nineteen thousand rupees. *

The New Dispensation Church after Keshab's death.

But, Keshab's death hastened the downfall of his church. We have already seen, that when the Bráhma Samáj of India was founded, a number of young men, friends and adherents of Keshab formed into a body of missionaries. One of the most prominent among them, Pandit Bijay Krishna Goswami joined the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj in 1878. The rest were ordained Apostles of the New Dispensation in March, 1881. They formed what is called the Apostolical Durbár which was presided over by the minister. Just before Keshab's death the Durbár consisted of twenty two missionaries, the best known among whom was Protáp Chandra Mazumdár. He was Keshab's associate almost from his childhood. He was Assistant Secretary to the Bráhma Samáj, and acted as

Protáp Chandra Mazumdár.

* Report of the church of the New Dispensation up to December, 1883. Appendices A and B.

Secretary in Keshab's absence. When Keshab Chandra died, Protáp Chandra was away on a missionary tour in Europe and America. On his return, he found, that the Apostolic Durbár had passed the following resolution:

"We believe, that our Minister existed and shall ever exist in the bosom of God as the Minister of the New Dispensation. The relation we bear to him is not transient but everlasting. To preserve, demonstrate, and declare to the world the parmanent relation of the Minister of the New Dispensation, the President's seat in the Durbár. and his pulpit in the Sanctuary and Tabernacle shall remain vacant."

The Vedi dispute.

Protáp succeeded Keshab in the leadership of the New Dispensation. But the Apostolic Durbar disputed his claim to occupy the pulpit. The controversy continued for years. On one occasion in 1888, Protáp ventured to sit on the pulpit. The act was looked upon as sacrilege, and an attempt was made to drag him out forcibly. He sat until some order was restored, when he rose and proceeded to his house where he conducted the Divine Service. * The

* The following extract from an address delivered by Protáp Chandra Mozumdár in 1888 will show the extent to which the New Dispensation church was torn by dissensions at the time, dissentions which do not appear to have been settled yet:

"Every sect, every community, every church has its organisation. We in the Bráhmo Samaj have also tried to organise our movement, though, I am sorry to say, with no conspicuous success. The present condition of anarchy in our section of the Bráhmo Samáj at all events proves that my remark is well founded. The disgraceful party spirit,

Vedi question has now been settled by allowing the minister who conducts the service to sit upon it, but not on the carpet on which Keshab sat. The settlement, however is not considered final.

Recent dissentions.

Quite recently (beginning of 1894) there have been further dissentions in the New Dispensation Samáj. Some of its influential missionaries and members have ceased attending the services held on Sunday evenings because they cannot have the minister of their choice, Bhái Gaurgovinda Ráya, in place of Bhái Trailokyanath Sányál, who has hitherto been acting as minister.

Organs of the Samáj.

In 1883, just before Keshab's death, the following were the organs of the New Dispensation Church:

1. *The Dharma Tattva* (Bengali), a fortnightly journal devoted to the discussion of religious topics.

2. *The New Dispensation* (English).

3. *The Liberal* which had taken the place of the *Sunday Mirror*.

4. *The Sulabh Samáchàra* (Bengali), a weekly pice paper, started for the education of the masses. It had at one time, a circulation of about 8000 copies. In 1883, its circulation is stated in the Bráhma Samáj Report for that year to have been two to three thousands.

ill-feeling, the quarrels, and scandals, the utter absence of authority in all affairs of importance, show unmistakably that we stand in sad necessity of some regular constitution to guide ourselves. What is it to be? is it to be unbridled democracy, the reckless despotism of one individual, or the irresponsible power of a prelacy? All these principles have at different times clamoured for mastery in the Bráhmo Samáj."

Since Keshab's death, the *Liberal* has been incorporated with the *The New Dispensation*, and the *Sulabh Samáchára* has ceased to exist. Protáp Chandra has started a monthly periodical of his own called the *Interpreter*.

The Sádháran Bráhma Samáj.

This Samáj was established on the 15th May, 1878 with the concurrence of 29 Provincial Samájes, and supported by the written declaration of 425 Bráhmas. The following are the conditions of the ordinary membership of the Samáj :—

Conditions of its membership ;

1. The applicant must be above eighteen years of age.

2. He must agree to sign the covenant of the Samáj containing the four principles of the Bráhma faith :-

(1) *Its immediacy* or freedom from all doctrines of mediation or intercession.

(2) Its *independence* or freedom from the fetters of infallible books or men.

(3) Its *catholicity* or its broad sympathy for all truth wherever found, and its warm appreciation of the great and good of every land.

(4) Its *spirituality* or freedom from all external forms and ceremonies.

3. His private character must be pure and moral, for breach of morality in private life makes a member liable to forfeiture of membership.

4. He must agree to pay at least 8 annas in the year towards carrying on the work of the Samáj.

The following are the principles of the Samáj

Its principles,

"(1) There is only one God, who is the Creator, Preserver and Saviour of this world. He is Spirit, infinite in power, wisdom, love, justice and holiness, omnipresent, eternal and blissful.

(2) The human soul is immortal, and capable of infinite progress, and is responsible to God for its doings.

(3) God must be worshipped in spirit and truth. Divine worship is necessary for attaining true felicity and salvation.

(4) Love to God, and carrying out His Will in all the concerns of life, constitute true worship.

(5) Prayer and dependence on God and a constant realization of His presence, are the means of attaining spiritual growth.

(6) No created object is to be worshipped as God, nor any person or book to be considered as infallible and the sole means of salvation, but truth is to be reverently accepted from all Scriptures and the teachings of all persons without distinction of creed or country.

(7) The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man and kindness to all living beings.

(8) God rewards virtue, and punishes sin. His punishments are remedial and not eternal.

(9) Cessation from sin, accompanied by sincere repentance, is the only atonement for it, and union with God in Wisdom, Goodness and Holiness is true salvation." *

* Annual Report of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj for 1891, p. 5.

The Government of the Samáj is vested in 5 officers who are elected annually viz. a President, Secretary, 2 assistant Secretaries and Treasurer and an executive committee also elected annually which, in 1891, consisted of 13 members. Missionaries are appointed by the executive committee whose instructions they follow as far as they can conscientiously do so. In 1891, there were four missionaries, viz. Pandit Sivanáth Sástri, and Babus Nogendra Nath Chatterji, Navadwip Chandra Das, and Sasibhusan Bose.

Its constitution.

Organs.

The Prayer Hall of the Samáj was consecrated in January 1881. Almost immediately after its establishment, the Samáj issued a fortnightly Bengali journal called the *Tattva Kaumadi*. Its English organ the *Indian Messenger* was started in September, 1883.

Numerical strength and Finance.

The Sádháran Bráhma Samáj has certainly more life than the other Samájes. The number of its members in 1891 was 1677, of whom 1539 were Bengalis, 41 Madrasis, 32 Khasias, 28 Mahrattas, 10 Nepalis, 10 Punjabis, 9 Assamese, 5 Uriyás, 2 Beharis, and 1 Mahomedan. In Northern India, including Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Assam, the North-west Provinces, the Punjab, Sindh, and Central India, there are 193 Bráhma and Prárthaná Samájes, of which the great majority are in sympathy with the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj. The Financial condition appears to be prosperous, the receipts in 1891 amounting to about Rs. 5000, and the disbursements to about Rs. 4362. *

* Annual Report of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj for 1891.

Recent secession of several missionaries.

But the recent secession of three of its prominent missionaries appears to some extent to have crippled the Samáj. Bijaykrishna Goswami was connected with it from its foundation.* He has now, however, severed all connection with the Samáj.

Pandit Siva Náráyan Agnihotri was another zealous missionary. The following notice of his work is taken from the report of the Samáj for 1882-83:—†

"Pandit Siva Náráyan Agnihotri, who has recently given up his secular work, in order to be able to devote himself entirely to his mission work, had to spend the whole year at Lahore, only once visiting Rawul Pindi, during the vacation of his school. Yet he usefully employed his time, as usual, in propagating the principles of the Samáj in various ways. Besides conducting divine service as one of the ministers of the Local Samáj, he took part in several religious and social meetings, delivered public lectures on different subjects, and published a number of

* His work in 1882 is thus described in the annual report of the Samáj for that year.

"Pandit Bijay Krishna Goswami made Mission tours to different stations in the country, and preached Bráhmoism in the following places during the course of the year:—Rámpurhat, Burdwan, Jalpaiguri, Siliguri, Sirajgunge, Darjeeling, Saidpur, Pubna, Berhampur, Bánsbáriá, Rámpur Boáliá and Bágháchrá. Besides these missionary visits, he also ministered unto the spiritual wants of the Calcutta congregation, by regularly conducting the usual weekly service of our prayer Hall."

† Miss Collet's "Brahmo Year-Book" London, 1883.

books and papers, for the propagation of Theism." Siva Náráyan is now the Dev guru of a Samáj of his own called the Deva Samáj which has been noticed already. Another missionary, Pandit Rám Kumar Vidyáratna, who also was connected with the Samáj from its foundation, resigned in 1891.

Educational work 1891.

The educational work of the Samáj in 1891 was carried on through several institutions. The Bráhma Báliká Sikshálaya, the (Bráhma Girl's School) made fair progress, having on its rolls a monthly average of 73.5 pupils against 50.0 during the previous year. Besides the usual standards of study, lessons were given in music, drawing, needle-work and elementray science. The receipts of the School amounted to Rs. 2830, and the disbursements to Rs. 2226. A Boarding Institution for Bráhma girls was established. The Sunday Moral Training School under the management of a mixed Committee of ladies and gentlemen, made good progress. There were 75 boys and girls on the roll, the average attendance being 55. Besides morality and religion, the pupils were instructed in music and elementary Science. The number of students on the roll of the Theological Institution, were 19 in the English, and 16 in the Bengali department. The Banga Mahilá Samáj (The Association of Bengali ladies) held 16 sittings during the year at which papers were read. The average attendance at the meetings was about 15, the number of members being 35.

Bráhmaism in Southern India.

In Southern India, there were in 1891, twenty one Bráhma and Prárthana Samájes. The oldest of these is the Southern India Bráhma Samáj. During Keshab Chandra Sen's visit to Madras in 1864, a monotheistic society under the name of the Veda Samáj was established. Its attitude was one of compromise towards Hinduism, as will appear from the third of its covenants given below :

The Veda Samáj.

1. I shall worship, through love of Him and the performance of the work He loveth, the Supreme Being, the Creator, the Preserver, the Destroyer, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second ; and none of the created objects, subject to the following conditions.

2. I shall labour to compose and gradually bring into practice a Ritual agreeable to the spirit of pure Theism, and free from the superstitions and absurdities which at present characterise Hindu ceremonies.

3. In the mean time I shall observe the ceremonies now in use, but only in cases where ceremonies are indispensable, as in marriages and funerals ; or where their omission will do more violence to the feelings of the Hindu community than is consistant with the proper interests of tne Veda Somaj, as in *Sráddhas*. And I shall go through such ceremonies, where they are not conformable to pure Theism, as mere matters of routine, destitute of all religious significence—as the lifeless remains of a superstition which has passed away.

4. This sacrifice, and this only, shall I make to existing prejudices. But I shall never endeavour to deceive any one as to my religious opinions and never stoop to equivocation or hypocrisy, in order to avoid unpopularity.

5. I shall discard all sectarian views and animosities, and never offer any encouragement to them.

6. I shall as a first step gradually give up all distinctions, and amalgamate the different branches of the same caste.

7. Rigidly as I shall adhere to all these rules, I shall be perfectly

tolerant to the views of strangers and never intentionally give offence to their feelings.

8. I shall never violate the duties and virtues of humanity, justice, veracity, temperance, and chastity.

9. I shall never hold, or attend, or pay for nautches, or otherwise hold out encouragement for prostitution.

10. I shall encourage and promote to the best of my power the re-marriage of widows, and discourage early marriages.

11. I shall never be guilty of bigamy or polygamy.

12. I shall grant my aid towards the issue, in the vernaculars of elementary prayer-books, and religious tracts; and also of a monthly journal, whose chief object shall be to improve the social and moral condition of the community.

13. I shall advance the cause of general and female education and enlightenment, and particularly in my own family circle.

14. I shall study the Sanskrit language and its literature (especially theological), and promote the cultivation of it by means not calculated to promote superstition.

About 1869, Sridharálu Naidu was appointed Secretary to the Veda Samaj. "He had not" says Miss Collet "the advantages of position and education which had been possessed by his predecessors, but he appears to have had a much stronger grasp of theistic principles, and not feeling satisfied with the half measure of a 'Veda Samáj,' he at length succeeded in converting the society into the Bráhma Samáj of Southern India." *

Converted into the Bráhma Samaj of Southern India.

The following covenants replaced the old ones of the Veda Samáj :—

1. I will worship, through love of Him and the performance of the works He loveth, the Supreme Being, the Creator, the Preserver, the

* *The Modern Review*, January, 1884, quoted in "The Bráhma Samáj and other modern eclectic systems of religion of India" (Madras, 1890)

Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the Blissful, the Good, the formless the One only without a second, and none of the created objects.

2. I will look for Divine wisdom and instruction to the Book of Nature, and to that Intuition and Inspiration of God which give all men understanding. I do not consider any book or any man as the infallible guide in religion, but I do accept with respect and pleasure any truth contained in any book or uttered by any man without paying exclusive reverence to any.

3. I believe in the immortality and progressive state of the soul and in a state of conscious existence succeeding life in this world and supplementary to it.

4. I will daily direct my mind in prayer with devotion and love unto the Supreme Being.

5. I will endeavour strictly to adhere to the duties and virtues of humanity, justice, veracity, temperance, and chastity.

6. Believing as I do in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man, I will discard all sectarian views and animosities, and never offer any encouragement to them.

7. Should I through folly commit sin, I will edeavour to be atoned unto God by earnest repentance and reformation.

8. Every year, and on the occasion of every happy domestic event of mine, I will bestow gifts upon the Southern India Bráhmo Samáj.

Sridharálu Naidu.

Sridharálu Naidu worked enthusiastically and unremittingly for the propagation of Bráhmoism in Southern India. He made missionary tours to Bangalore, Mangalore and various other places. He was a very poor man. But "he never complained, he never asked, he never even acquainted his friends in Calcutta with his circumstances. Alone he suffered, defended, prayed and worked, and God alone watched the deep trial and sorrows in the midst of which he lived." "At last" says Miss Collet "the end came. In January

1874, he went to visit some of his relatives at Pondicherry, near which town there was a temple—probably Chillambram—which he wished to see, in order to ascertain whether it would be suitable as a model for the "Brahmic Hall" which he wanted to erect in Madras. On this journey he was thrown out of a carriage, the horse having taken fright,—and terribly injured. He was taken to Pondicherry hospital, but no skill could save him, and after lingering for about twelve days he died, calm and faithful to the last. He left behind him a touching letter in English, headed, 'Memo: to friends in the last hour,' and signed 'K. Sridharálu, Pondicherry, the 15th January 1874.' In his letter, addressed to twelve friends, he requested them to take care of his family, and gave his advice on the affairs of his Church, which evidently lay very near his heart. It may be noted that while the funerals of the previous Madras Secretaries were conducted in regular Hindu style, with those idolatrous funeral rites which, even in their Veda Samaj Covenant, they had not the courage to renounce, Sridharálu Naidu distinctly wrote with his own hand;—'My funeral should be simple, with only Brahmic prayers.......I die a devoted Brahmo.' Thus closed one of the purest lives ever given to the service of God."

Work of the S. I. Bráhma Samáj 1892.

From the report of the Southern India Bráhma Samáj for 1892, we learn, that Divine Service was regularly conducted every Thursday and Sunday evening. Six new Members joined the Samáj during the year.

The prayers and sermons are stated in the Report to have been doing excellent service "in clearing and preparing the ground for the seeds of Theism." The Managing Committee, however, have to repeat "though not without keen regret, its old complaint that in this small Church of God there prevails such an appalling amount of spiritual indifference and practical irreligion that often a very serious doubt arises whether Theism has been correctly understood by not a few of those that style themselves Theists. Both within and without this Committee there is an urgent need of study, contemplation, prayer, purity, humility, and charity" Under the auspices of the Samáj a provincial Theistic conference was held in December 1892. The conference has strongly urged upon all the Samájes in the Madras Presidency the necessity of (1) issuing a Theistic Annual, (2) reviving and regularly publishing the *Fellow-Worker*, and (3) appointing and maintaing a missionary.

Monotheism in Western India.

There are in Western-India 164 Prárthaná Samájes, the oldest of which is the Prárthaná Samáj of Bombay founded in 1867. In 1882, it had 102 Members. The Puná Prárthaná Samáj established in 1870 also holds a prominent position in the Bombay Presidency.

The monotheists of Western India, at least the great majority of them, are what may be called monotheistic Neo-Hindus. Their position is somewhat like that of the members of the A'di Bráhma Samáj

of Calcutta. They have given up idolatry, but not caste, at least as regards marriage. In 1882, for instance, there was only one marriage in the Bombay Presidency in accordance with the Bráhma Marriage Act. But in Bengal, there were eleven such marriages.

END OF VOLUME I.



A HISTORY OF HINDU CIVILISATION DURING BRITISH RULE

BY

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VOL. II

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TO THE MEMORY OF

I'SVARA CHANDRA VIDYA'SA'GARA,

WHO SPENT HIS LIFE

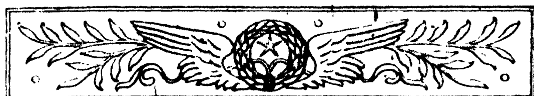
IN THE CAUSE OF INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS,

AND WHO DEVOTED HIS ENERGIES AND RESOURCES

TO HELPING

THE POOR AND THE DISTRESSED,

I INSCRIBE THIS VOLUME.



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BOOK II.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

CASTE-SYSTEM.

No caste among Rigvedic Aryans,

The Rigveda shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that until towards the very close of the Rigvedic period, the Indo-Aryans were strangers to any kind of caste distinctions among themselves.* Any one who had the gift and the talent to compose hymns which attracted the attention and commanded the admiration of his bre-

* We do indeed, in certain texts, meet with such expressions as *panchajaná*. But *panchajaná* can no more be interpreted to allude to the four *varnas* and the Nisháḍas, than to Gandharvas, Pitris, Devas, Asuras and Rákshasas. The very existence of these two interpretations of the term, would shew that they were mere suppositions put forward by Bráhmanical writers long after the composition of the Vedic hymns. (See Muir's "Sanscrit Texts," Vol. I., pp. 176, *et seq.*)

thren, might be honoured with the appellation of 'Bráhman,' that is, a sage, an offerer of prayer. Any one who rose to distinction in the profession of arms might be eulogised under the epithet of 'Kshatriya'—that is, a man possessing power. But 'Brahman' or 'Kshatriya', wise man, or powerful man, he was a 'vis',' that is, one of the people.*

There are however, indications in the Rigveda of a gradual differentiation of two very vaguely defined orders—the Bráhmanas and the Rájanyas. The term Bráhman, which in the earlier part of the Rigvedic period could be applied to any member of the Aryan community who composed hymns and offered up prayers, became restricted towards the latter part of the period to signify a kind of priest. † Later still, the descendants of these priests were, though in only a few passages, ‡ distinguished under the appellation of "Bráhmanas"—a derivative word signifying the sons of a Bráhman. There is, however, nothing to

* Muir's "Sanscrit Texts": Vol. I. (1868) p.p. 240, *et seq.* "If then" says Prof. MaxMuller "with all the documents before us, we ask the question, Does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with a decided 'No'"—"Chips from a German Workshop" Vol. II. (1868), p. 311.

Speaking of the Rigvedic period, Weber says: "There are no castes as yet, the people are still one united whole, and bear but one name, hat of *Visas*"—"Indian Literature" (translation) p. 38.

† 'Bráhman' (m.) is evidently connected with 'Bráhman' (n.) prayer. There were Vedic poets of regal origin, such as Trasadasyu, Devápi, &c.

‡ See Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," Vol. I., (1868), pp. 258 ff.

shew that the Bráhmans as yet formed an exclusive order.

From the extreme paucity of texts in which the word 'Kshatriya' is appropriated to the nobility, as well as from the all but entire absence of the term 'Rájanya' * which is the alternative designation of that order, and which is related to 'Rájan,' a king, in the same way as 'Bráhmana' is to 'Brahman,' a priest, we may safely infer that the Aryan princes and their relations had not yet come to be separated from the body of the people by anything like a clear line of demarcation. The name assigned to the third caste is 'Vis,' or its derivative 'Vais'ya.' But throughout the Rigveda, except in one of the very latest hymns, (*viz.* the Purusha Súkta) the whole of the Aryan colony, kings, priests, and all, are included under the name 'vis,' people.

Two ethnic castes, Aryan and non-Aryan.

But, before the last notes of the last hymn were chanted by the last of the Rigvedic bards, his brethren had established a caste system—a system composed of two well-defined, exclusive, ethnological castes. Before the Aryans came to India, there had been several waves of non-Aryan immigration. † As the Aryans spread eastward from the banks of the Indus, they came in collision with the aborigines, who naturally enough, opposed their advance, fought them, disturbed their sacrifice and harassed them in endless ways. For such

* This term "Rájanya" occurs only in one hymn, the Purusha Sukta.
† Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar," Introduction pp. 108 ff.

acts, which no doubt seemed to the Aryans acts of doubtful courtesy, they called their adversaries, "Dasyus" ('robbers"), "Rakshas" ("evil spirits,") &c. They are described as irreligious, impious, and the lowest of the low; they are also in some texts contemptuously called *black-skinned*—a very significant epithet, as the Sanskrit term for 'Caste' primarily means colour, which points to an original difference of colour as the cause of caste. Thus, during the Rigvedic period, there were, if we may so express ourselves, two 'colors'—the fair (Aryan), and the black (Dásyu or Dása). So long as these two classes were related to each other as belligerents there could be no question of caste. But the Aryans ultimately succeeded in conquering and subjugating their opponents; and instead of exterminating the conquered tribes, or reducing them to a condition of slavery, they followed a policy characterised by comparative mercy and humanity. The aboriginal tribes—now called Súdras*—were incorporated with the Aryan society though on the hard condition. that they should occupy the lowest position in it.

Thus was formed a mixed society composed of two perfectly distinct ethnological castes. This amalgamation of the Aryans and non-Aryans originally differing in many essential respects from each other, is the key to the most important phenomena in the history of ancient India The numerical strength of the A'ryas

* In the Atharvaveda, the A'ryas are not only contrasted with Dásas or Dasyus, but also with Súdras.

was probably vastly inferior to that of the aborigines; but the intellectual and moral superiority of the former was in almost inverse ratio. They exerted enormous influence, not only on the Northern aborigines whom they mostly conquered, but also on the Drávidians of the South, among whom they settled on perfectly amicable terms, but who, nevertheless, tamely acknowledged their supremacy, and voluntarily consented to occupy the social position assigned to them.

Bráhmana period.

As time rolled on, the hymns which the bards of olden times had sung became more and more antiquated. Our Aryan ancestors had great faith in them. Those hymns had led their forefathers to victory, and had brought down countless blessings from above. The art of writing had not yet been invented; and the hymns were very numerous and very long. There were over a thousand of them; and each would, on the average, fill one page of an octavo volume. This was not all; every hymn must be recited in a particular manner—every word, every syllable must be pronounced in a prescribed way. Besides, many idioms of the ancient hymns gradually became obsolete. The Aryan territories gradually covered a considerably wider area; population increased; considerable progress was made in arts and manufactures. Every Aryan was expected to have gone through hymns once. But very few of those who were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life could

afford room in their brains, for a thousand and odd long hymns, with obsolete idioms and expressions, so as to be able to reproduce them at notice. All these circumstances tended to create a class of men, the Bráhmans, who treasured up the hymns in their memory, and officiated at the sacrifices. The accumulation of wealth by the Aryans, who now began to call themselves Dvijas, twice born, furthered the division of labour amongst them, and afforded the Bráhmans opportunity for devoting themselves entirely to their pursuits. The Rigvedic poets belonged, as a rule, to the mass of the people. By far the greater number of their prayers were for cattle, grain, and similar earthly blessings—a fact which shews that they had, like the rest of their community, to struggle for existence. They could not afford much time for speculation—their attention was all but engrossed by temporal objects. But now the Bráhmans obtained leisure for speculating upon theosophical and philosophical subjects, and for elaborating and thus complicating, the sacrificial rites and ceremonies of their ancestors. Consciously or unconsciously, they also enveloped these ritualistic ceremonies in so dark a mystery that none but professional adepts could properly interpret them. Thus the poetical nature-worship of the primitive Indo-Aryans stiffened into a dry creed of sacrifice and penance (Bráhmanism). Liturgical treatises, known as the *Bráhmanas,* containing elaborate rules for the performance of sacrifices, were composed. The minutest rules were framed for penance, not only

Bráhmans

for mistakes committed and observed during the performance of a sacrifice but also for hypothetical omissions which might have slipped the observation of priests. Thus the liturgical literature became so very cumbersome, and the sacrificial ceremonies so very intricate, that the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were obliged to leave them to the care of the Bráhmans, who were thus created sole trustees, as it were, of the religious welfare of the twice-born classes, and from the nature and importance of their function occupied the highest social rank.

Kshatriyas.

The Kshatriyas or Rájanyas—composed of princes, their kinsmen and followers, became more and more specialised with the gradual extension of Aryan territories and the consequent increase in the number of petty principalities.

Vaisyas.

The mass of the A'ryas formed the third class, Vaisyas. During the earlier years of the Bráhmanic period, however, these three classes must have interlapped. They enjoyed many privileges in common, the most important of which were investiture with the sacred thread, the performance of sacrifice, and the study of the Sástras. The Súdras, however, who formed the fourth and lowest caste, were, as we would expect from the circumstances of their admission into the Aryan society, excluded from all these privileges. The duty prescribed for them was to serve the three higher classes. The inborn Aryan pride of birth and spirit of exclusiveness are reflected in the laws which were framed to keep the

Su'dras.

Su´dra as distinct from these classes as possible. His condition, however, was much better than slavery. He could choose his own master. The law against his accumulation of wealth could not have been strictly carried out, as in the very book where that law occurs, it is stated that his property should on his death be shared by his children. His master could punish him only as he could punish his son or pupil. And, it is even enjoined that he is to be respected by the Dvijas (A´ryas) in his old age.*

Later Vedic period.

It was not long before the ascendancy of the Bráhmans established during the last period was disputed by the other classes of the Aryan society. The legends representing a Bráhman hero (Ráma Jámadagnya) as having exterminated the Kshatriyas thrice seven times, and, subsequently, as himself vanquished by the Kshatriya Ráma, and various other legends, indicate in unmistakable language the contests that went on between the Bráhmans and Kshatriyas after the establishment of Bráhmanism. The complicated and elaborate sacrificial rites and ceremonies, which were the characteristic features of that religion, formed, as we have seen, the chief basis of Bráhmanic influence. But, the Upanishads now put forth the doctrine of the superiority of spiritual knowledge to sacrificial ceremonies.

* Manu II., 137.

The Bráhmans, however, wisely enough, were liberal and conciliatory towards their opponents. They boldly engrafted the doctrines of the Upanishads and of the systems of philosophy to which these works gave birth upon Bráhmanism itself. They still continued to exert very great influence. But an earnest endeavour was made to restrict this influence to the wise and learned amongst them.*

Gradual elevation of the Su'dras

Another principle feature of the period under review was the gradual elevation of the Súdra class. This was effected in a variety of ways. Outside the limits of the Aryan territories there reigned powerful aboriginal princes. As the population of the A'ryas increased they had to migrate and settle in the dominions of many of these, who, were either classed with the Su'dras, or described as fallen from some one or other of the three higher

* Vasishtha says: "(Bráhmans) who neither study nor teach the Veda nor keep sacred fires become equal to Súdras.

4. The king shall punish that village—where Bráhmans unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging; for it feeds robbers."

8. "Offerings to the gods and to the manes must always be given to a Srotriya alone. For gifts bestowed on a man unacquainted with the Veda reach neither the ancestors nor the gods.

9. If a fool lives even in one's house and a (Bráhman) deeply learned in the Veda lives at a great distance, the learned man shall receive the gift. The sin of neglecting (a Bráhman is not incurred) in the case of a fool."

11. "An elephant made of wood, an antilope made of leather, and a Bráhman ignorant of the Veda, these three have nothing but the name of their kind." "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XIV part 2 p.p. 16 *et seq.*

castes. But, however they may have been described by Bráhmanical writers, and whatever may have been the influence of Aryan civilisation upon them, politically and socially they were far superior to the original Súdras. A dynasty of Súdra kings became paramount in Northern India about the fourth century before the Christian era. Then, again, outside the pale of Hindu community there were a great many savage and semi-savage tribes. The Aryan authors manufactured fanciful genealogies for them, made them out to be 'mixed' or 'fallen' castes and assigned them a position below that of the original Su'dras. Thus the lowest caste, of the early and middle Vedic periods came to stand rather high in the social scale in the later Vedic period, for there were now scores of castes below it. The inter-marriage moreover, between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas, Bráhmans and Vaisyas, Bráhmans and Súdras, and between Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, Kshatriyas and Súdras, and so on, tended to bridge over the gulf that had once interposed between the original pure Aryan castes and the aboriginal Su'dras, not so much, if at all, by the establishment of distinct 'mixed' castes, as by that of divisions and subdivisions of the various castes.* In

* The theory of the mixed caste was first enunciated during the period under review. A great many of the so called "mixed castes" however, were clearly names of tribes and races with whom the Hindus came in contact as they spread in India, and as their intercourse with foreigners increased.

Vasishtha says :—

"1. They declare that the offspring of a Súdra and of a female of the Bráhman caste becomes a Chandála.

this intermixture of Aryan and non-Aryan blood, the loss in purity to the higher classes, was a clear gain to the lower. Thus the invidious distinction between the Aryans as a caste of conquerors and the Súdras as a caste of the conquered became less marked than before, and the stain that had once rested on the Su'dra as belonging to a race, separated almost by an impassable barrier from the higher classes, became less deep than before.

Buddhist-Hindu period: Increase of Brahmanic influence.

In the intermixture of Aryan and non-Aryan races which, as we have just seen, took place towards the close of the Vedic period, it was certain sections of the Bráhmans alone that succeeded or claimed to have succeeded in preserving the purity of their blood to any perceptible extent. They inherited the traditions of Aryan learning and Aryan civilisation. They had now the whole field to them-

2. (that of a Sudra and) of a female of the Kshatriya caste a Vaina.
3. (that of a Sudra and) of a female of the Vaisya caste, an Antyavasáyin.
4. They declare that the son begotten by a Vaisya on a female of the Bráhman caste becomes a Ramaka.
5. (The son begotten by the same) on a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Pulkasa.
6. They declare that the son begotten by a Kshatriya on a female of the Bráhman caste becomes a Súta.
8. (Children) begotten by Bráhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas on females of the next lower, second lower and third lower castes become (respectively) Ambashthas, Ugras and Nishádas.
9. (The son of Brahman and) of a Sudra woman (is) a Párasava."

("Sacred Books of the East" Vol. XIV pt. 2 pp. 94-95.)

selves. During the middle Vedic period their influence, as we saw, was indeed very great. But the extravagant pretensions of the Bráhmanic priesthood were, as we also saw, shortly after disputed by the other members of the Aryan community, especially the Kshatriyas. These as well as the Vaisyas had, from the very first, enjoyed many important privileges in common with the Bráhmans, and had served as the lever to Bráhmanical ascendancy; but now they, especially the Vaisyas, gradually became as sharply distinguished from the Bráhmans as they had been from the Ṣúdras. The secularisation of a good portion of the Bráhman community, which commenced with the movement of Rationalism in the later Vedic period still went on. But a limited section of them, having now pretty nearly all their own way, by manipulating the aboriginal forms of faith, and refining them with ideas borrowed from Aryan theology, philosophy and metaphysics, built up a huges uperstructure of idolatry and fetishism—the post-Vedic Hinduism.

The new priesthood.

Two of the most important results which followed the establishment of post-Vedic Hinduism were, first, the formation of a priesthood mainly from amongst the Bráhmans—a priesthood, however, of an entirely different character from that of the Bráhmanic period. Instead of assisting at great sacrifices, they performed the worship of gods, and goddesses in temples, under trees, by the riverside, and so forth. Secondly, the establishment of Hinduism elevated the position of the Súdras still further. There was no longer a religious distinction between them and

the Aryans: all became a confused mass of heterogeneous Hindus.

Condition of the four castes.

A good many of the Bráhmans were gradually compelled to take to occupations other than priestly. It was only a very limited section of them that still continued to perform the great public sacrifices in strictly Aryan principalities. A somewhat larger number of them formed the new priesthood just mentioned. But, by far the greatest majority of them, were anything but priests. In the Manu-samhitá we read of many Bráhmans who followed the occupations of the lower classes. There were Bráhmans who earned their living by selling meat, by low traffic, by dancing, by making bows and arrows, by taming elephants, horses or camels, and by tillage. There were Bráhman shepherds, Bráhman oilmen, and Brahman falconers.* The social position of such Brahmans could not have been far superior to that of some of the lower classes. It is declared in the Manu-samhitá that "Brahmans who tend herds of cattle, who trade, who practise mechanical arts, who profess dancing and singing, who are hired servants or usurers, let the judge exhort and examine as if they were Su'dras."† Similar was the fate of the second or Kshatriya caste; in fact, this caste, as a pure caste is supposed by some to have gradually verged almost on extinction. The Vaisyas, the mass of the original Aryan population, had, of course, from the very first, engaged in all sorts of occupations—they were agriculturists,

* Manu. III. 151 &c. † Manu. VIII. 102.

tradesmen, merchants, servants, artisans, and so forth. The gradual filling up of the gap between the Su´dras and the higher castes went a very long way to amelio rate the condition of the former; so that even in the dominions of the Aryans themselves, they could no longer have been a class of servants or a "servile" caste. Outside those dominions there were Aryanised or half-Aryanised Su´dra kingdoms; and it is inconceivable that Su´dra princes should not have employed their kinsmen in the higher grades of the public services, or should have forbidden them to follow any other occupations than those of servants and labourers.

'Mixed' and fallen castes.

With regard to the so-called 'mixed' and 'fallen' castes described in the Manusamhitá, the highest authority on caste, there are 57 of these mentioned, * with professions assigned to about half that number, and pedigrees manufactured for them all. The fact is, all the 'fallen' castes, and many of the 'mixed' castes, are mere names based on ethnological distinctions,

* The following is a list of the 'mixed' castes as given in the "Manusamhitâ" X. 8 ff.

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Brâhman	Vaisya	*Ambashtha*
Do.	Sûdra	Nishâda or Párasava
Kshatriya	Do.	Ugra
Do.	Brâhman	Sûta
Vaisya	Do.	*Vaideha*
Vaisya	Kshatriya	*Mágadha*
Sûdra	Vaisya	Ayogava
Do.	Kshatriya	Kshattri
Do.	Brâhman	*Chándála*
Brâhman	Ugra	A'vrita
Do.	*Ambashtha*	*A'bhira*

given to peoples such as the Chinese, the Greeks, the Uriyás, the Persians, the Kaivartas and the Chandálas

Bráhman	A'yogava	Dhigvana
Nishâda	Su'dra	Pukkasa
Su'dra	Nishâda	Kukkutaka
Kshattri	Ugra	Svapâka
Vaidehaka	*Ambashtha*	Vena
First three castes.	by wives of their same caste, but not performing sacred rites.	Vrâtyas.
From Brâhman Vrâtyas	... ...	Bhrijjakantaka *Avantya* Vàtadhâna Pushpadha Saikha
From Kshatriya Vrâtyas	... ...	Jhalla *Malla* *Lichchivi* Nata Karana Khasa *Dravida*
From Vaisya Vrâtyas	... ...	Sudhanvan A'chárya Kárusha Vijanman Maitra Sátvata
Dasyu	A'yogava	Sairandhra
Vaideha	Do.	Maitreyaka
Nisháda	A'yogava	Márgava or Dása or *Kaivarta*
Do.	*Vaideha*	Káràvara
Vaidehaka	Káràvara	*Andhra*
Do.	Nisháda	Meda
Chandâla	*Vaideha*	Pándusopáka
Nisháda	Do.	A'hindika
Chandâla	Pukkasa	Sopáka
Chandâla	Nisháda	Antyávasáyin.

Castes which are more or less clearly mere ethnic designations are given in Italics.

The 'fallen' castes mentioned in the Manusamhitá are the Paundrakas (the people of North Bengal), the Odras (Uriyas), the Kambojas (Kabulis), the Yavanas (Greeks), the Sakas (Turanian tribes), the Páradas, the Pahlavas (Persians), the Chínas (Chinese), the Kirátas (certain Himalayan tribes), and the Daradas. For 'Odras' Dr Bühler reads "Kodas" (Kols?) "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXV. p. 412 (foot note).

with whom the Aryans came in contact subsequent to the establishment of the hypothesis that there were but four castes at the creation; and there is abundant confirmatory evidence of this conclusion. The languages of some of the 'mixed' and 'fallen' castes, as, for instance, those of the Dravidians and the Chinese are as different from Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans, as Hebrew is from English. There is, however, no reason, why the loss of purity to an Aryan class should invariably be accompanied by such a radical change of language.

Then, again, there are 27 'mixed' castes, to whom professions are assigned. Of these, half-a-dozen,* that is very nearly one fourth, with of course, six different genealogies are mentioned side by side as subsisting by hunting. These were evidently tribes still unreclaimed from a condition of savagery, unless indeed we conclude that, by an inversion of the natural process of social evolution, so many tribes, following such a primitive occupation did not come into existence in India until the Aryan community had attained a tolerably high stage of civilisation.

We have already seen with what qualifications the popular notion that a particular profession is confined to a particular caste is to be accepted in the case of the four great castes. The characteristic feature of the caste-system was that while the higher

* Namely, 'Ugra' 'Kshattri' 'Pukkasa' 'Andhra' 'Meda,' and 'Sairandhhra,' of Manusamhitâ (X. 48—49).

classes could take to the occupations of the lower, the lower were forbidden to take to the pursuits of the higher. With regard to the minor castes, we find that many of them have become extinct, and that the professions of not a few have radically changed. A caste of men, who subsisted according to the Manusamhitá, by killing animals that live in holes, is transformed in later books, into one of encomiasts or bards; another of attendants on women is converted into one of traders; and so on.*

Puránic period: Decay of Hindu civilisation.

The more important changes which have brought the caste-system to its present condition have been chiefly effected within the last 6 or 7 centuries. It was in the twelfth century that the Mahomedans succeeded in conquering and occupying a large portion of India; and it is from that century that the decay of Hindu civilisation began. Every work in the Aryan or Hindu literature that has the stamp of genius or originality, whether on mathematics or medicine, philosophy or philolgy, was written before the close of the 12th century. The Hindus gradually forgot the principles

* 'Su'ta,' who is described as 'horse-trainer,' 'charioteer' in the Manusamhitá becomes 'carpenter' in the Amaracosha, and 'bard' in the Medinicosha. Similarly, 'Ugra' who is said to live by killing animals in Manu becomes a 'bard' or 'encomiast' in the Tantras; 'Magadha,' a 'travelling merchant' in Manu, is described as 'minstrel,' in later works. Another curious instance of radical change is presented by 'Vai lehaka,'' who is spoken of as 'an attendant on women,' in Manu, and as a 'trader,' in more recent books.

of the sciences in which their ancestors had acquired such high distinction; and several of those sciences were reduced to mere arts. Certain sections of the Bráhmans alone preserved the knowledge of the Aryan scriptures, on which the doctrines of Hinduism are professedly based, but which are sealed books to by far the greatest majority of the Hindus.

Increased influence of the Bráhmans.

Blind followers are always the most thoroughgoing and the most zealous. Outside the narrow and sacred precincts of an interested group of Bráhmans, there was no one now to dispute or even question their authority. Reformers like Kabir and Chaitanya rose now and then ; but they were few and far between. Whatever the Bráhmans now uttered or wrote was accepted as an infallible truth. If any Bráhman wanted to countenance a particular custom of a particular tribe, he had only to declare that it was sanctioned by the Sástras. But whether he was right or wrong, whether he had misinterpreted or not, very few were in a position to judge. Thus grew up to extravagant dimensions several horrible practices, such as that of "Sati," or self-immolation of widows. Thus sprang up an infinity of caste-rules and regulations, chiefly local, some universal, but mainly something more than merely conventional or customary.

It would appear that even as late as the Buddhist-Hindu period, the Káyasthas, the Vaidyas, the traders and the artisans had not yet been completely differentiated into distinct castes. They were still partly

integral portions of the great Vaisya and, possibly also, in part of the great Kshatriya castes. The industrial castes of the present day such as Teli (oil presser), Kumhár (potter), Kámár (blacksmith), Sutradhár (carpenter), Tánti (weaver), Nápit (barber) and Sonar (goldsmith) do not appear in the lists of castes given by Manu and Yájnavalkya; though we have territorial or tribal castes such as Kaivarta, Chandála, Drávida and Magadha.

The Káyasthas.

The function or occupation castes make their appearance during the period under review. There is no mention of Káyasthas in the Manusamhitá. * They are mentioned by Yájnavalkya and Vishnu but in a way such as to leave little doubt that they had not, at the time when those authors wrote, been crystallised into a distinct caste. Yájnavalkya enjoins the king to protect his subjects from deceivers, thieves, violent men, robbers and others, and especially from Káyasthas. Vyása says, that "a document is said to be attested by the king when it has been prepared in the king's office by the Káyastha appointed by the king and marked by the hand (or signature), of the head of the office".† From these passages, it would appear that towards the close of the Buddhist-Hindu period, the term Káyastha was applied not to a distinct caste but to men who were employed as

* Mention is however, made of Karans who now form a sub-caste of the Káyasthas.

† R. C. Dutt's "Civilisation in Ancient India" (1893), Book V. Ch. VIII.

scribes and tax-gatherers, men who, in all likelihood, belonged partly to the Vaisya and partly to the Kshatriya castes. The modern Vaidya or physician caste does not also appear in the more ancient Samhitás such as those of Manu and Yájnavalkya. Physicians are mentioned in those books but nowhere as a distinct caste, unless the modern Vaidyas are to be identified with the Ambashthas of the Manusamhita, an identification for which, however, there is not sufficient warranty. * Manu mentions physicians in the same category as meat-sellers and liquor-vendors, and Yájnavalkya classes them with thieves, prostitutes and others, whose food can not be taken.

The Vaidyas.

The other occupation-castes such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, &c. were not also in existence during the last period; various trades and professions are of course mentioned in the Manu, Yájnavalkya and other older Samhitas, but never in such a way as to give the idea that they formed well defined castes.

Other occupation castes.

How, then, have the numerous function-castes of the present day appeared? We have seen that during the latter portion of the Vedic period, the Bráhmans the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas, gradually separated out of the *Vis* the original Aryan community, on the principle of functional division.

Origin of the function-castes.

* Col. Wilford (Asiatic Researches, Vol. viii, 338) suggested the identification of the "Ambashthas" of the Manusamhitá with the Ambastæ of Arrian.

They were strictly speaking sub-castes of the great Aryan caste of the Rigvedic period. They enjoyed many privileges in common as distinguished from the Súdras, the second great caste of that period. The Vaisyas and to a smaller extent, the Kshatriyas pursued diverse occupations as scribes, physicians, traders, artisans and husbandmen. In time, special occupations being followed by particular families for generations, as they always would more or less be in a comparatively non-industrial society like that of the Hindus, there arose special occupation-castes. The principle of imitation must have had some influence on the formation of these castes. The fact of the original functional differentiation of the higher castes (Bráhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas) must have been traditionally handed down from generation to generation. What the higher castes had done to preserve their purity was done by the lower for the same purpose.

Various function-castes the result of the disintegration of the Vaisya and partly of the Kshatriya castes.

It is noteworthy in this connection that with the appearance of the profession-castes of the period under review, the Vaisyas and the Kshatriyas to some extent disappear.* Just as on the formation of the function-castes in the later Vedic period, the Bráhmans, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas—their

*With regard to the Kshatriyas the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari* says:—"There are now upwards of 500 different tribes of Kshatriyas, 52 of whom are in esteem, and 12 are better than the rest. But at present there are scarcely any Kshatriyas to be found, excepting a few, who *do not follow the profession of arms*." (The italics are mine).

common name, that of the A'rya, disappeared, so on the differentiation of the Káyasthas, the Vaidyas, the Kámárs the Kumárs &c., out of the Vaisyas (and partly also, I think of the Kshatriyas) their common designations also nearly disappeared; only a few, such as the Veniyás and the Káyasthas preserved the tradition of their once having been members of the great Kshatriya or Vaisya groups. †

Some of the castes which resulted from the disintegration of the Vaisya caste tended, as we have seen already to be merged in the Súdra class. In fact, with regard to many members of the socalled Súdra castes such as Barái (carpenter), Kámár (blacksmith), Teli (oil pressers) &c., it is difficult to tell whether they belong to the Súdra or the Vaisya class. The Vaidyas, the Veniyás and the Káyasthas are probably the only indubitable representatives of the great Vaisya class at the present day.

Increase of the Su'dra castes.

Throughout the periods of which we have been treating the Súdras increased in number such as no other caste increased, because every new tribe that came within the pale of Hinduism was classed with them.

This is with regard to the "Military" caste. As for the "Mercantile" caste, he says, "that there is a branch of this, the Benya caste, of which there are 84 subdivisions, among whom are mendicants, men of learning, artists, magicians, handicrafts, and sucn expert jugglers, that their tricks pass for miracles with the vulgar and impose even upon those who are wiser." *Ain-i-Akberi* (Gladwin's translation, 1800) Vol. II pp. 377—378.

† One of the traditions of the Káyasthas ascribes to them Kshatriya ancestry. In the *Káyasthakáriká*, a work issued by the Káyastha-kula-samrakshini Sabhá, the Kshatriya ancestry of the Káyasthas is maintained.

This process of increase is still exemplified in the cases of many aboriginal tribes. In Chhattisgar, in the Central Provinces, for instance, the Gonds (an unmistakably Dravidian tribe) who are settled in the plains are classed among low-caste Súdras. They have forgotten their own language and are often ashamed to own affinity with their brethren of the hills whom they hold in undisguised contempt. Like their Hindu neighbours, they eschew beef and pork. Some of them worship Hindu gods, such as Mahámái and Mahádeo, and entertain Bráhman priests. In a few cases, the Gond aspirants after Hindu distinction have risen higher than the Súdra caste. By their wealth and influence, they have got admission into the Kshatriya caste. But their number is extremely small. The farther one goes away from the plains the more are the Gonds found to be unaffected by Hindu influence and to approximate to the primitive type. The hill Gonds never have anything to do with Hindu gods or Bráhman priests. *

The Bengal castes.

The principal castes of Bengal with their numerical strength according to the Census of 1891 may be arranged as follows:—

(A) The Aryans.

1. *Bráhman.*	
(i) Bráhman proper *	2,801,118
(ii) Bábhan	1,222,674
(iii) Bhát	54,499
	4,078,291

* P. N. Bose, "Chattisgar; notes on its tribes, castes and sects," Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. LLX pt. 1, pp. 269 &c.

2. *Kshatriya.*

Rájput	... ...	1,509,354

3. *Vaisya* and pártly also *Kshatriya* (?)

Vaidya	... ...	80,273
Veniyá	.. ..	826,992
Káyastha	... ...	1,466,748
(i) Karana *	... ...	130,220
		2,504,233

(B) Doubtfully Vaisya, or Sudra, or Mixed.

Barái	...	466,582	(Includes Sutradhár)
Bárui	...	255,368	(Do Támbuli)
Chásá	...	670,757	
Gareri	..	106,424	
Goálá and A'hir *		4,266,075	
Káhár	...	621,176	*
Kámár	...	739,728	(Includes Lohár)
Kundu	...	520,409	
Kánsári	...	86,113	
Kumhár	...	746,084	
Moirá	...	419,800	(Includes Halwai)
Máli	...	151,962	
Nápit	...	956,156	(Includes Hajam)
Sadgop	...	571,335	
Sonár	...	273,293	
Tánti	...	801,576	
Teli	...	1,523,123	(Includes Kalu)
		13,175,961	

(C) Non-Aryan or **Sudra.**

Chámár	...	1,497,267	(Includes Muchi)
Dhopá	...	573,463	
Hári	...	465,294	
Jaliya *	...	396,559	
Jugi	...	406,473	
Kapáli	...	134,002	
Kewat	...	358,435	
Malla *	...	382,315	
Nuneya	...	318,441	
Pási	...	147,651	
Su'dra	...	234,659	
Sunri	....	825,264	(Includes Kalwar)
		5,739,823	

Bágdi	...	804,378
Bauri	...	550,897
Dhanuk	...	576,156
Dom	...	453,359
Dosadh	...	1,193,878
Gangauta	...	131,933
Kaibarta *	...	2,231,500
Kandra	...	140,950
Khandait	...	671,272
Koiri	...	1,195,186
Kurmi	...	1,312,628
Mal	...	97,774
Musahar	...	563,532
Bhar	...	45,427
Bind	...	136,336
Chaim	...	116,068
Chandál *	...	1,768,119
Gouri	...	201,460
*Kochh	...	1,983,177
Pad	...	418,587
Yiyar	...	193,531
		14,786,148

Caste partly ethnic and partly functional in origin.

The facts collated above clearly show that the caste-system of India is partly of ethnic and partly of functional origin. During the Rigvedic period, it was entirely of an ethnic character. Since then the number of Súdra castes has increased chiefly by ethnic accretions. Nearly all the undoubted or pure Súdra castes of Bengal at the present day are Hinduised aboriginal tribes. The Dosadh, the Bágdi, the Kaibarta, the Kochh, and the Chandál, for instance, are such tribes. Their cast of feature, their traditions, their geographical distribution chiefly confined as they are to particular tracts of Bengal, prove this. Some

* Castes which also appear in the list of the Manusamhitá. It is observable, that only seven castes are common to the two lists. *Vide ante* Vol. II. p 15. A'hir is a corruption of 'A'bhira' The identification of "Jaliyá" with Manu's "Jhalla" is doubtful.

of them may have had a slight infusion of Aryan blood, but that they are dominantly non-Aryan there can not be the shadow of a doubt. Some of the castes, however, are what may be called composite castes, that is to say, they include amongst them sub-castes some of which are as markedly Aryan as others are non-Aryan. The Goálá or A'hir is an instance of this kind of caste.*

Composite castes.

With regard to the functional castes it should be observed, that but few of them, with the exception probably of some artisan castes, have long maintained their

Functional castes, functional in a limited sense.

* "The large functional group known by the name Goala seems to have been recruited not merely by the diffusion along the Ganges valley of the semi-Aryan Goalas of the North-Western provinces, but also by the inclusion in the caste of pastoral tribes who were not Aryan at all. These of course would form distinct sub-castes, and would not be admitted to the *Jus Connubi* with the original nucleus of the caste. The great differences of make and feature which may be observed among Goalas seem to bear out this view, and to show that whatever may have been the original constitution of the caste, it now comprises several heterogenous elements. Thus even in a district so far from the original home of the caste as Singbhum, we find Col. Dalton remarking that the features of the Mathurabasi Goalas are high, sharp and delicate, and they are of a light brown complexion. Those of Magadha sub-caste, on the other hand are undefined and coarse. They are dark-complexioned and have large hands and feet. Seeing the latter standing in a group with some Singbhum Kols there is no distinguishing one from the other. There has doubtless been much mixture of blood. These remarks illustrate both the processes to which the growth of the caste is due. They show how representatives of the original type have spead to districts very remote from their original centre, and how at the same time people of alien race, who followed pastoral occupations, have become attached to the caste and are recognised by a sort of fiction as having belonged to it all along." Risley, "Tribes and castes of Bengal" Vol. I. p.p. 282-3.

functional character. The Bráhmans, for instance, as we have already seen, though in their origin a "priestly" caste soon ceased to be such. * In comparatively non-industrial societies where division of labour has not been carried to any considerable extent, professions have a natural tendency to become hereditary. The son enjoys exceptional opportunities of qualifying himself for the occupation of his father, and the father could not leave his son a more valuable legacy than the prestige of his name. It is not unusual to find in outlying villages and towns of India, certain trades and professions pursued by particular families for many generations together. But, this is more or less the case everywhere, where demand is limited, and where, therefore, competition for supply is also limited. In larger towns and cities, however, it is by no means exceptional to find the members of

* The author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*—gives 10 subdivisions of the Bráhman caste :—

1st—Comprises those who give charity, but do not receive it; learn but do not teach, &c.

2nd—Those who receive charity and teach, &c.

3rd—Perform priestly function for themselves as well as for others. They learn as well as teach, bear injuries with patience, observe temperance of every kind, &c.

4th—Those who are princes, &c.

5th—Merchants, tradesmen, cultivators, &c

6th—Those who do whatever appears advantageous to them.

7th—Mendicants who receive alms any one.

8th—Those who are bound by no rules, and like brutes do not know good from evil.

9th—Infidels.

10th—Vile wretches (*Chandálas.*)

Op. cit (Gladwin's translation) Vol., II pp. 375-376.

one and the same caste engaged in the most divergent occupations. Nothing is more common, for instance, than to find Bráhmans, who are supposed to constitute the "priestly" caste, serving as cooks, guards, &c., to lower caste people, even to Súdras, the so-called "servile" caste. By far the greatest majority of the "priests" are unquestionably cultivators, and various kinds of servants; and it is only a small fraction of them that perform the priestly function. There are not many royal families that can lay claim to Kshatriya descent. The founders of the well-known dynasties of Scindia, Holkar, Guickwar, &c., were adventurers, sprung from the lower subdivisions of the Súdra caste.

Summary of results. The conclusions to which the facts stated above lead us may be briefly stated as follows :—

I. During the Rigvedic period there were two great ethnic castes (Sanscrit *Varnas*). the fair, A'rya, and the dark, Dása (non-Aryan).

II. Shortly after the Rigvedic period two great occupation or functional castes, the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, were differentiated out of the first (Aryan) class. The remaining members of this class, forming the mass of the Aryan people or the *vis*, were denominated the Vaisya caste.

III. Since the Rigvedic period, the Súdra caste has been increasing—

(*a*) By fresh accessions of various Hinduised aboriginal or non-Aryan tribes.

(*b*) By the gradual confusion of the lower orders of the Vaisya with the higher orders of the Súdra caste.

IV. The disintegration of the great Vaisya and partly also of the Kshatriya caste into various smaller castes chiefly of a functional character was effected during the early portion of the Puránic period. This conclusion is based upon the following considerations :—

(*a*) The disappearance of the great Vaisya caste with the appearance of the functional castes of the Puránic Period. It is inconceivable that a caste which must have been the largest during the Vedic and the Buddhist-Hindu periods, should have become extinct in the Puránic period without leaving any progenitors behind.

(*b*) The legendary recollection by several of the castes, such as the Beniyá and the Káyastha of their Vaisya or Kshatriya origin.

(*c*) The coincidence in the occupations of many of the function-castes in the later periods with those assigned for the Vaisya caste in the works of the earlier periods.

English influence on caste; indirect.

The English influence on caste has been chiefly exerted indirectly through the numerous schools where English is taught, through railways and steamers and offices and factories. The slow and imperceptible, but continuous and incess-

ant, denudation effected by such agencies as rain-water, wind, and frost destroys and levels down land more efficiently than violent but occasional floods and storms. And the slow but continuous operation of the educational agencies set to work by the British in India has done more to weaken the foundation of caste within the last half-century than the occasional outbursts of reformative energy within the last twenty-five centuries.

but great.

We have now in India many medical schools teaching thousands of pupils on European methods. Men of all castes from the highest to the lowest are to be found among them; and dead bodies are annually dissected by the thousand. The question that the Hindu would lose his caste by touching a dead body never arises now-a-days. But it greatly perplexed the government and the public before the first Medical College of India, that of Calcutta, was founded in 1835. The Hindus of the time had forgotten the principles of their sciences. They knew not, that their ancestors had made discoveries in medical science which still extort admiration from European doctors. They knew not that in the work of Susruta, one of their greatest writers on medicine, dissection of the human subject is carefully enjoined for the teaching of anatomy. A committee was appointed by Lord William Bentinck in 1833 to consider the subject of medical education on modern methods. The commission took evidence for one year They visited Dr. Duff's School and the

Illustrations of this influence; caste and medical instruction.

following interesting incident is related by Dr. Smith in his "Life of Alexander Duff"*:—

"Timidly and after a roundabout fashion did the Apothecary General [President of the committee] approach the dreaded subject of dissection, for the first thing he learned and indeed saw was that the lads were chiefly Brahmans. He thus began, 'you have got many sacred books, have you not?' 'Oh yes' was the reply 'we have many shastras believed to be of divine authority'......'Have you not also medical shastras which profess to teach everything connected with the healing art?' 'Oh yes' they said 'but they are in the keeping of Vaidya caste; none of us belong to that caste, so that we do not know much about them.' 'Do your doctors learn or practice what we call anatomy?'...'We have heard them say that anatomy is taught in the shastras, but it can not be like your anatomy.' 'Why not?' 'Because respectable Hindus are forbidden by imperative rules of caste to touch a dead body for any purpose whatever; so that from examination of the dead body our doctors can learn nothing about the real structure of the human body.' 'Whence then have they got the anatomy which, you say, is taught in the shastras?' 'They have got it out of their own brains though the belief is that this strange shaster anatomy must be true or correct, it being revealed by the Gods; but we now look upon this as nonsense.' 'What then if the Government should propose to establish a medical College for Hindus under European doctors like the Medical College in Europe? Would you approve or disapprove of such a measure, or how would it be viewed by the natives generally?' 'We certainly who have been taught European knowledge through the medium of English would cordially approve but our ignorant orthodox countrymen would as certainly disapprove.' The Apothecary General was greatly surprised when the English educated youths of the school expressed their readiness to join the Medical College if Government would start it. 'What' he exclaimed 'would you actually be prepared to touch a dead body for the study of anatomy?' 'Most certainly' rejoined the head youth of the class, who was a Bráhman 'I for one, would have no scruples in the matter. It is all prejudice, old stupid prejudice of caste, of which I at least have got rid.'

* *Op cit.* Vol. I. pp. 214—216.

The first dissection.

The orthodox Hindu community though they could not find any thing in their Sástras which forbade dissection for anatomical purposes protested against the establishment of a Medical College which would lead to a breach of caste-rules. The protest was disregarded; the Medical College of Calcutta was opened on the 1st June, 1835. The first demonstration by dissection caused great anxiety. The College gates were closed to prevent forcible interruption of that awful act; and when the first student following his professor plunged his knife into the subject for dissection the action was looked upon as a remarkable instance of moral courage.

Hinduism has outlived, the removal of many caste-restrictions.

The cry of the orthodox Hindu society has ever been "Hinduism in danger." When in 1831, a few boys of the Hindu College attended a lecture delivered by a missionary on the moral qualifications necessary for investigating truth, the whole city was in an uproar. The College was closed the next day. A notice was put up threatening with expulsion students who should attend "Political and religious discussions." When it was decided to stop the practice of Satí. Hinduism was held to be in danger. When English educated youths first began to eat forbidden food, the same cry was raised. But indulgence in forbidden food no longer exposes one to excommunication.* Hinduism is based on too firm a foundation to be easily shaken;

* See *ante* Book I, Ch. III., also Book II., Ch. IV.

the removal of the thick jungle-growth of superstition and prejudice will ensure rather than weaken its existence.

Higher education in pre-British times was practically confined to the Bráhman. It is now open to all. The son of the despised shoe-maker and the son of the venerated priest have to sit on the same seats and receive the same instruction. The prizes inside schools and the prizes outside schools are open to all, irrespective of caste. The fact is, under existing conditions, the maintenance of strict orthodoxy is extremely difficult, we may almost say, well nigh impossible. In the school room, in the railway compartment and on board the steamer, caste-rules can not be rigorously observed, notwithsanding great privations which the Hindus often undergo to follow them. Before the water-works of Calcutta had been started, the drinking of the pipe-water was contemplated with horror by the orthodox Hindu community. Yet, how many members of that community get their drinking water from the Ganges? That the drinking of pipe-water, of bottled sodawater or lemonade, or of medicatad water from European dispensaries is against strict rules of caste does not enter into the head of 99 out of 100 Hindus at least in Bengal. How many before regaling themselves with sweets sold in our shops stop to enquire whether they are made of refined or unrefined sugar, and how the sugar has been refined? How many before using soap enquire whether fat or oil has entered into its composition?

Vedas taught and interpreted by Su'dras and Mlechhas.

The Vedas are the most sacred of the sacred books of the Hindus. The right of reading them at first reserved to the Aryan portion of the Hindu community gradually became restricted to the Bráhmans. Fifty years ago such an idea as a Súdra or a Mlechha reading the Vedas or even hearing them read—let alone commenting on or interpreting them—would have excited horror and indignation in the Hindu community. But now the Vedas are read, interpreted, and translated by Súdras and Mlechhas, who are not only tolerated but even helped by Bráhman scholars. The public recognizance of this heterodox practice has gone so far as to lead to the inclusion of the Veda in the course of studies in a University.

Intermarriage.

According to the present caste-customs intermarriage not only among different castes, but sometimes even among subdivisions of castes is forbidden. The Mudeliars of Madras are divided into as many as fifty sections, not one of which can intermarry with another. The case is somewhat similar among the Naidus, Pillais, and Reddis. In order to remove the evils arising from such restriction of marriage within narrow limits the Sixth Social Conference resolved 'that every endeavour should be made to promote re-union among subdivisions of castes, and inter-marriage among those sections which can freely dine together.'*

* "Report of the Sixth National Social Conference" p. 20.

When carried into practice this would be a step, though a very small one, towards intercaste marriage. English influence has helped to remove or relax caste-restrictions about food, drink, and sea-voyage; but the restrictions about marriage have scarcely been touched as yet. There are even Bráhmas and Christians who look upon intercaste marriage with disfavour.





CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Widow-marriage.

There is sufficient evidence to show that widow-marriage was allowed, and that the rite of Sati was unknown in the Rigvedic period. "Rise up woman"—so runs a text of the Rig-veda*—"thou art lying by one whose life is gone, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand, and is willing to marry thee." In later times, Arjuna married a widow and the issue of this union, Irávân, was considered as his legitimate son. Restrictions however were gradually placed on the marriage of widows "If a

Earliest references to it.

* R. V. X, 18, 8.

damsel at the death of her husband" says Vasistha "had been merely wedded by (the recitation of) sacred texts, and if the marriage had not been consummated, she may be married again."*

By the time of the Manusamhitá widow-marriage had fallen into disrepute. The duties of widows are thus prescribed in that work ; "Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man, let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband."† There are however, passages which show that widow-marriages still took place ‡ and it is probably to discourage them that Manu declared himself so strongly in the passages just cited. Like Vasishtha, however, he permits a virgin widow to remarry. "She is worthy," says Manu, "to perform with her second husband the nuptial ceremony."§

Falls into disrepute.

In the earlier centuries of the Christian Era till probably the 8th century, widow marriage though in

* Vasishtha samhitá "Sacred books of the East", Vol. XIV p. 92.

† Manu V, 157, 158.

‡ In one place we are told of husbands of remarried women (III,166) and sons of remarried widows are not unoften alluded to (III. 155, 181 ; IX, 8, 175, 176).

§ Manu, IX, 176,

disfavour, was still not rare among the higher castes. Parásara, one of our latest legal athorities, distinctly sanctions it, "if the husband of a woman be impotent or be lost or dead, or if he should be excommunicated or became an ascetic." But by the eleventh century, widow marriage among the higher castes would appear to have become altogether obsolete. "If a wife loses her husband by death," says Alberuni "she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things, either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself."* Widow-marriage has been prohibited in Hindu society ever since the time of Alberuni. It must be clearly understood, however that the prohibition refers chiefly to the higher classes. Widow-marriage has always been more or less prevalent among the lower classes.

Widow-marriage prohibited.

As will be seen from the following table, nineteen per cent of the total Hindu female community of India are widows. The percentage is double that of England but on the other hand, only 1·5 percent of Hindu women of the age of twenty and upwards are unmarried, as against 25 per cent in England; so that "if marriage is a good thing for woman as is alleged on all hands" observes a writer in the *Nineteenth Century* "the much more married condition of the Indian population is some set off as against the defects of their system of marriage."†

* Alberuni's "India," [Translation by E. C. Sachau], Vol. II. p. 155.
† J. D. Rees. "Nineteenth Century", Oct. 1890.

The civil condition of Hindu females according to the Census of 1891 :—

		Unmarried	Married	Widowed
Under 5 years.	..	13,627,498	222,111	10,165
Age 5 to. 9	...	10,834,298	1,853,039	51,876
„ 10 to 14	...	3,855,893	4,724,372	140 734
„ 15 to 19	...	728,880	6,302,998	280,942
„ 20 to 24	...	203,216	7,631,838	545,405
„ 25 to 29	...	121,134	7,403,094	903,231
„ 30 to 34	...	99,171	6,431,420	1,493,907
„ 35 to 39	...	56,434	3,793,858	1,364,732
„ 40 to 44	...	58,012	3,482,418	2,491,052
„ 45 to 49	...	26,067	1,531,569	1,488,208
„ 50 to 54	...	32,517	1,407,544	2,709,916
„ 55 to 59	...	12,377	492,664	1,052,083
„ 60 & over	...	36,238	737,507	4,782,163
„ not stated	...	37,066	38,833	8,717
		29,728,801	46,053,265	17,323,131

Treatment of widows in the North-west and Bombay;

The hardships to which a high-caste Hindu widow is subjected vary locally. They appear to be most severe in the North-West and the Bombay Presidency. A Bombay gentleman (Kashi Nath Govind Nath) thus described her sufferings at the Social Conference of 1892 :

"He [the barber] shaves her. She weeps, she shrieks but all is in vain ! For a year more, for shame's sake she cannot venture out of the house, she is looked upon as the most unfortunate wretch that has incurred God's displeasure. Her sight is ominous. If she happens to come in front of you when you are going out, you consider that an ill luck, and pause a few minutes till the pestilence disapppears. Then the only ambition open to her is to go to Benares and die or drown herself in the sacred Ganges. I think self-immolation, which Lord

W. Bentinck stopped with a mighty hand. was a pleasure when compared to her life of everlasting punishment."

In Bengal, the widow is treated with greater consideration. "English people" says the Rev. Lal Behari Dey "have somehow or other got the idea that a Hindu widow receives harsh and cruel treatment from the relations of her husband. This is not true. There are no doubt, exceptional cases, but as a general rule, Hindu widows are not only not ill-treated, but they meet with a vast deal of sympathy. Old widows in a Bengali Hindu family, are often the guides and counsellors of those who style themselves the lords of creation......Old widows, provided they have intelligence and good character assert, on account of their experience in life, their superiority over men younger than they. As to the privations of life a little too much is made of them. Besides the one supreme privation of having the fountain of their affection sealed up, the others, of which foreign writers make so much are not worth speaking about. The most considerable of these minor privations is that only one meal is permitted them in twenty-four hours. But this restraint will cease to be regarded as a privation when it is considered that widow's meal is usually larger in quantity and heavier in weight than that of a married woman, that the meal is taken in the afternoon, not many hours before sleep; that most widows are sleek and stout, and that many of the strong and able-bodied peasants of the North-Western Provinces, and the Hindu sepoys of

in Bengal;

the Bengal army, take only one meal in twenty-four hours."*

In Madras also widows do not appear to be particularly ill treated. Sir Ramasawmy Mudeliar says, "that as far as his experience goes the Hindu widow is generally treated very kindly, her unfortunate condition creating a feeling of sympathy and kindness." Raja Sir T. Mádhava Row says, "that the Hindu widow is not treated badly, but kindly and considerately, that she is not the drudge and the slave of the other members of the family as is sometimes represented." Mr. J. D. Rees concludes his article on "Meddling with Hindu marriage" with the following opinion of a cultured Madrasi gentleman, who, once a lawyer in good practice, has retired from business, and "occupies himself in reading, thinking, and writing:"

in Madras.

"That the Hindu widow is generally badly or cruelly treated I deny. Hindus, being mild and merciful from the accumulated habitudes of countless ages, are acknowledged to be most indulgent even to their prisoners. Who, then, can charge them with cruelty to widows, who are naturally among the most deserving of their relatives? 'Strike not with a flower' is the Hindu's rule of conduct in the treatment of the females in his power. Where authority is exercised by those who are or ought to be admitted to know and love ourselves, it is sacrilege to complain of 'tyranny', for the authority in such cases bears the seal of God Himself. Widows are generally provided for out of their husband's or

* "Govinda Samanta" Vol. I. (1874) p. 195.

children's property. If they have children, their children cherish them ; if they have not, such unburdened ladies, being 'nuns by the choice of God,' are often prized as the guardian angels of our households, for they ever give far more than they can possibly take in the shape of voluntary temporal service and holy religious example. Far from being oppressed by their brothers, brothers-in-law, uncles, or other relatives, into whose houses they are eagerly received, they are often even permitted to monopolise all authority therein."*

Widow-remarriage ; Vidyáságara

The first important step towards the removal of the restrictions against widow-marriage was the publication in 1855 by the late Isvara Chandra Vidyáságara of his work on Widow-marriage in Bengali. In it he showed by copious citations from the sacred books of the Hindus, that widow-marriage had never been authoritatively prohibited, but, on the contrary, it was sanctioned by even such comparatively recent law-givers as Parásara. The book created a sensation in Hindu society such as no other book had ever before done in Bengal. The first edition consisting of two thousand copies was sold off in less than a week. A second edition of three thousand copies and a third one of ten thousand copies were also soon exhausted.† Considering how limited the reading

* The *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1890.

† Life of Iswar Chandra Vidyáságar by Sambhu Chandra Vidyáratna p. 114.

public of Bengal must have been forty years ago, such sales indicate the intensity of the interest which was felt in the subject. The book evoked a considerable amount of hostile criticism which was ably answered by Vidyáságara.

Widow-marriage legalised.

Vidyáságara's efforts at reformation did not stop with exegetic disquisitions. Under his lead a memorial signed by two thousand Hindus was presented to government for the recognition of widow-marriages, and an Act legalising such marriages, was passed on the 13th July, 1856.

In the case of the Satí rite, many Europeans like the missionary Carey had repeatedly moved Government against it, and the rite was finally abolished at the initiation of the Government. The widow-marriage movement, however, was entirely an indigenous one. It had and still has, the sympathy of a large number of the educated Hindus.' Yet such is the force of custom, that within the thirty-seven years that have elapsed since the passing of the Widow-marriage Act, it is doubtful if more than a hundred widow-marriages in accordance with that Act have taken place, and not a few of them were due to the personal exertions of Vidyáságara. He became heavily involved in debt on account of the expenses connected with them, but refused assistance from others. The first widow-marriage was celebrated by him on the 7th December, 1856. Three more marriages followed in quick succession. Vidyáságar set an example in his own family by marrying his son to a widow. But Hindu society refused and still refuses to recognise widow-marriages: all who contract them are excommunicated.

There are however, indications of the adoption of more liberal views by the Hindu society in the near future. In Bombay quite recently Dr. Bhandarkar gave his widowed daughter in marriage. It is reported that the Sankaráchárya of the Sáraswata Bráhmans has excommunicated him, his daughter, and her husband. But the decision has not been accepted by a considerable portion of the community, and it has not yet been publicly announced at a caste meeting. *

Later agitation.

In 1884, a Parsi gentleman, Mr. Behramji M. Málábári circulated a note on enforced widowhood, in which he suggested legislative action for its suppression. The Government of India came to the conclusion, that the "Legislature should keep within its natural boundaries, and should not, by overstepping those boundaries, place itself in direct antagonism to social opinion." Nevertheless, the Government thought that there would be no serious objection to amend the Widow Marriage Act of 1856 "as to the forfeiture of property of a widow on re-marriage" and to supply machinery "by which a Hindu widow, who fails to obtain the consent of her caste fellows to her re-marriage, may nevertheless marry without renouncing her religion." "But" added the Government resolution "although, there is much to be said in favor of each of these suggestions, the Governor-General in Council, as at present advised would prefer not to interfere, even to the limited extent proposed, by legislative action until

* Report of the Sixth National Social Conference. Appendix A.

sufficient proof is forthcoming that legislation is required to meet a serious practical evil, and that such legislation has been asked for by a section, important in influence or number, of the Hindu community itself."

Widow marriage still in disfavour.

Widow marriage is greatly encouraged by the Bráhmás. In 1882, out of thirteen Bráhma marriages, no less than five were re-marriages. Widow-marriage, however, appears still to be unpopular even among the educated community. Whereas twelve hundred and eighty two members of the Puna Social Reform Association pledged themselves to discourage child-marriage, but few have pledged to promote the marriage even of child widows. * Widow marriage is forbidden in the A'rya Samáj, though a widower and a widow are allowed to live together by mutual consent until the birth of two, or at the most four children to be divided among them. At the National Social Conference held at Bombay in October, 1890, "of ten speakers five were against the very lame conclusion arrived at, to the effect that the time had arrived for an enquiry into the working of the Widow-Marriage Act, with a view to suggest further improvements." † The Sixth Social Conference could only resolve "that the disfigurement of child-widows, before they attain the age of 18 and even after that age, without the consent of the widow recorded in writing before a Punch and a Magistrate be discouraged, and caste organisations

* Report of the Sixth National Social Conference Appendix, p. 13.

† *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1890 p. 671.

be formed to arrange for social penalties to be inflicted on those who aid in disfiguring child widows without their consent."

The Seventh Social Conference, however, pronounced more decidedly in favour of the re-marriage at least of child-widows. The Conference noted with great satisfaction that during the past year more than eleven re-marriages took place in the Punjab, Madras and Bombay, and recommended that all facilities should be provided by the several local associations to encourage the re-marriage of child-widows.

Homes for widows.

Several Homes have been lately started for Hindu Widows. One of these founded by Punditá Ramá Bái in 1889 is called Sáradá Sadana, or Home for High Caste Child-widows. In March 1891, there were in it thirty child-widows of whom the greater number had been rescued from misery and suffering. Another Home of the kind was founded about the same time at Baránagar near Calcutta by Sasipada Bannerji. The following is an account of five years' progress of this Home: *

"The first Hindu widow admitted in the Baranagar Institution was on the 2nd February 1888, and in these five years, though the work has not made very rapid progress, it is no small satisfaction to see that the influence of the novel experiment has been felt far and wide in the country. Girls have come to the Home from Calcutta, 24 Pergunnahs, Hooghly, Burdwan, Pubna, Faridpur, Barisal, Mymensingh, Sylhet, &c., and every year the number of Hindu widows is increasing. That the influence (however small) of the new current is not merely on the

* *The Indian Magazine*, September 1892.

surface of Hindu society may be inferred from the fact that married Hindu ladies from the Zenana and of position now and then pay private visits to the Home, with a view to see for themselves how it was managed, and on one occasion they were so pleased with it that they sent some pecuniary help. These little matters show the real current of the movement.

The line of work and the teaching are also approved by the Government Inspecting Officers, who have in their several visits expressed their satisfaction with the progress shown by the girls. The instruction is not confined to books, but the boarders are taught cooking, sewing and useful household work."

Early marriage,

In the Rigvedic Period, girls would appear to have had some voice in the selection of their husbands. In one text of the Rigveda, it is said that many women are attracted by the wealth of those who seek them; "But the woman who is gentle and handsome selects, among many, her own loved one as her husband."* There are also other texts which show that girls were not married at a very tender age. In one passage, Visvávasu, the god of marriage is asked to go to some maiden who has "attained the signs of the age of marriage," "whose person is well developed" and "unite her to a husband."† Even as late as the time of the Manusamhitá, the practice of early marriage does not appear to have been quite established. The marriageable age for men is declared

not very prevalent in Vedic times;

* Rigveda, X, 27, 12.

† Rigveda, X, 85, 21-22.

to be thirty or at the lowest twenty-four, though that for women is given as twelve or even eight.* It is enjoined, that if an excellent bride-groom presents himself, the daughter may be given in marriage "though she have not attained the proper age."† We are, however, expressly told elsewhere, that "a girl having reached the age of puberty, should wait three years, but at the end of that time she should herself choose a suitable husband. If, being not given in marriage, she herself seeks a husband, she incurs no guilt, nor (does) he whom she weds."‡

an established practice about the time of Yájnavalkya.

By the time of Yájnavalkya early marriage for girls had become an established custom. He says, that the guardian of a girl becomes guilty of causing miscarriage if he has not given her away when her menses appear. § Later still Parásara delivered himself on the subject still more strongly: "The mother, the father, and the elder brother of a girl go to hell on seeing her menstruant while yet unmarried. The Bráhman who, perplexed by ignorance, marries such a girl, is the husband of a Súdra woman; no one should speak or eat with him." ||

It should be observed, that Hindu civilisation was still progressive when Manu and Yájnavalkya wrote;

* Manu III, 1-4; IX, 94.

† Manu IX, 88.

‡ Manu IX, 90-91.

§ Yájnavalkya, I., 64,

|| Parásara, VII., 6-7 Institutes of Parásara (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 63.

so that the custom of early marriage, was not due to the degeneracy of the Hindus, as is usually supposed. Its origin may be accounted for partly by the sacramental conception of the nuptial tie, * partly by a high (though somewhat exaggerated) regard for female chastity, and partly by the exigencies of the joint family which require a wife to be brought up to suit it. But even as late as the time of Parâsara, the evils incidental to child-marriages were to some extent minimised by the provisions for re-marriage of child-widows. There is every reason to believe, that the remarriage at least of child-widows was permitted until the decay of Hindu civilisation which began in the 11th century.

Akbar forbids child-marriage.

Of the Mahomedan emperors, Akbar took some steps for the prevention of early marriages both amongst the Hindus and the Mahomedans. He forbade boys to marry before the age of 16, and girls before 14, "because the offspring

* "The idea of conception and birth as a taint, and the effect of sin in prior life, and the idea that purification is necessary, is the outcome of aspiration for immortality, and of the belief that as long as one's sin remains unexpiated, one is born again in this world. The consequent necessity for the purificatory rite led to the recognition of marriage, which is the only rite prescribed for women as indispensable. This is the conventional religious ground on which marriage became imperative on women belonging to the regenerate classes. The rational ground is also disclosed, though as it were incidentally, by those texts which direct their fathers to give their daughters in marriage before they attain their maturity, lest they may yield to temptation." (Justice Mathuswâmy Iyer quoted by Mr. J. D. Rees in the *Nine-teenth Century*, October, 1890).

of early marriages is weakly." * But the mention of these orders is of the most casual character, and it is doubtful how far they were obeyed either by the Mahomedans or the Hindus.

Evils of infant marriage;

The evils of infant marriage such as is customary with the higher class Hindus are obvious—physical deterioration especially of the girl mother, birth of sickly and numerous children, too early family-responsibilities on the boy father, often proving detrimental to his prospect in life, domestic infelicity,† and the increase in the number of child-widows. The evils, however, have sometimes been exaggerated. It should be borne in mind, that early marriage in its most obnoxious form is prevalent only amongst the higher caste-Hindus whose position usually enables them to minimise the evils of child marriages, at least to a great extent. It would probably be no exaggeration to say, that in the greater majority of cases they have proved as happy as adult marriages. It is urged

* Elliot's "History of India" Vol VI. p. 69.

† The case of Dádáji *vs.* Rukmábái which created quite a sensation a few years ago well illustrates one of the evils attending child marriage. Such cases, however, are happily rare. Rukmábái was married to Dádáji when she was eleven years of age. Dádáji for sometime remained at the house of his father-in-law, Dr. Sakharam Arjun, who paid for his education. After a while, however, he left his studies and returned home to his uncle's where he did nothing to earn a livelihood. After sometime he sent an invitation to Rukmábái to come and live with him. As, however, he had no ostensible means of respectable livelihood, and for other reasons, Rukmábái refused to go to him. The result was, that Dádáji brought a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights. The verdict was ultimately given in favour of Dádáji ("Life and Life-work of Malabari, p. 223").

by the advocates of early marriage, that a child wife suits the conditions of Hindu joint family better than an adult wife on account of the greater pliability and adaptability of the former. In the lower castes, infant marriage is certainly not the rule. As will be seen from the figures extracted from the last Census-Report,* out of 26,659,030 Hindu boys under the age of ten, 700,825 were married and 28, 253 widowed; and out of 26,568,987 girls under the age of ten, 2,075, 150 were married, and 62,041 widowed.† So that only 26 boys out of every thousand, and 76 girls out of every thousand were married before they attained the age of 10. Considering that even in these cases of child-marriage, consummation is usually deferred until the attainment of puberty, and in some parts, as in the Panjab, for several years after, the evils of such marriage are in reality, not so great as is supposed by a certain section of social reformers.

* Civil condition of Hindu males (Census of 1891).

	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
Under 5 years	13,123,360	88,327	5,019
age 5 to 9	12,806,592	612,498	23,234
,, 10 to 14	8,817,583	1,992,251	59,152
,, 15 to 19	4,681,205	3,191,106	96,618
,, 20 to 24	2,598,589	5,016,566	180,956
,, 25 to 29	1,398,122	6,774,094	302,574
,, 30 to 34	729,969	7,038,667	420,257
,, 35 to 39	359,750	5,154,615	392,316
,, 40 to 44	282,630	5,463,514	593,415
,, 45 to 49	142,717	2,970,218	427,323
,, 50 to 54	136,582	3,300,763	664,141
,, 55 to 59	60,740	1,265,368	343,589
,, 60 and Over	129,422	3,033,121	1,328,464
,, not stated	48,197	41,274	3,740
	45,315,458	45,942,382	4,840,798

† For the civil condition of Hindu females *vide ante*.

Causes of the decrease of child-marriage among the educated community.

Under the influence of the Western environment, child-marriage is gradually becoming less common, at least among the educated community. The struggle for existence is becoming harder every day; and the joint family system which made it lighter is breaking down. Young men, who are gradually being allowed a voice in the matter which concerns them so intimately, are averse to undertake marital duties and responsibilities until they are in a position to discharge them properly. When they do marry, they show a decided preference for grown up girls. There is also another cause which operates against child-marriages. Among the higher castes in some parts, it has of late become customary for the bride-groom or his parents to exact as much as possible from the guardians of the bride. The latter, therefore, wait as long as they ever can, trying to get the most eligible match for the lowest consideration. Besides, it is becoming customary with parents to educate their daughters as long as they possibly can, because educational qualifications make them more eligible as brides.

Native Marriage Act.

Marriage among the Bráhmas (except the Ádi Bráhmas, is regulated by the "Native Marriage Act" which was passed in 1872, and which fixes the minimum marriageable age for boys at 18, and for girls 14. The Bill as introduced into the Governor-General's Council by Sir H. S. Maine was intended in substance to be a "Civil Marriage Bill, having

howerer, the peculiarity, that the persons availing themselves of the new power must not be Christians to whom a special system of marriage registration applied\, and must expressly object to be married with the rites of any one of the recognised native religions. With religious ceremonial it would not be concerned" It was meant to include such Neo-Hindu as would object to marry according to ordinary Hindu rites. The orthodox Hindu community took alarm. They complained that the proposed law would strike at the foundation of their social organisation, as it would allow a Hindu to marry whomsoever and howsoever he pleased. The opposition was so strong, that the operation of the Bill had to be narrowed to the Bráhmas. The marrying parties were required to formally declare that they "did not profess the Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian, Parsee, Buddhist, Sikh, or Jaina religion." This stopped the opposition of the orthodox Hindus. But there were many Neo-Hindus who objected to the declaration. For, though mostly monotheists and going the full length with the Bráhmas in respect of social reform, they could not, if they sought the protection of the Act, conscientiously make the declaration.

Adult Marriage in the A'rya Samáj.

The members of the A'rya Samáj denounce child-marriage. The prescribed ages for marriage are for men from 25 to 48 and for women from 16 to 25. The following directions about marriage are given in the *Satyartha-Prakásh*:—*

* Quoted in a tract on Religious Reform (Madras, 1890).

"The photographs of all pupils in the boys' school who are old enough to be married, are to be sent to and kept by the Principal of the girls' school, and photographs of the marriageable girls to be in possession of the Principal of the boys' school. When either Principal thinks that one of the pupils should be married, let him, or her, choose from among the photos in hand the one, the original of which would seem by appearance best suited for the match. Then let this photograph be sent to the Principal of the other school, accompanied by a description of age, height, character, family property, &c. If both Principals agree that the marriage is desirable, the photograph and description of the young man are presented to the young woman and the photograph of the young woman is presented to the young man. If all is favourable, the parents are to be notified, and the marriage is to take place. The parents may carry on these negociations if they wish to do so."

State interference deprecated.

In 1884, the circulation of a note by a Parsee gentleman, Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, invoking State-aid for the discouragement of child-marriage evoked an interesting discussion of the subject. The evils of child marriage were, as they had long been, generally admitted. But State-interference was also as generally deprecated. All the Local Governments expressed themselves against legislative action; and the Government of India in 1886, agreeing with them left the matter "to the improving influences of time, and to the gradual operation of the

mental and moral development of the people by the spread of education."

The Consent Act.

In 1890, the occurrence of a case in Bengal in which too early consummation had led to the death of a girl-wife again led to the discussion of the subject of early marriage by the Indian Press. The Government were strongly urged to take steps for the prevention of cases like that just alluded to; and the Consent Act which raised the age of consummation to 12 was the result.

Early marriage and Reform Associations.

The following resolution passed at the Sixth National Social Conference shows that the educated Hindus are well impressed with the evils of child marriage and that they are endeavoring to remove them: "That in the opinion of the Conference, it is essential that the marriageable age of boys and girls should be raised, and that all castes should fix minima varying from 18 to 21 for boys and 12 to 14 for girls according to their circumstances, or that the final irrevocable marriage rite (*saptapadi* or *phera*) should be postponed till the bride becomes 14 years old". *

* It is worthy of note that the resolution was seconded by an orthodox Hindu unacquainted with English. He said in Hindi:—"The early marriage has ruined our country. Many people think that there is great merit in marrying girls in their infancy. But there is no foundation for it in the Shastras. Damayanti, Sita, Draupadi, Rukmini and others were married at an advanced age. If I had time, I would have shown that marriages at an advanced age are in accordance with the approved texts of the Hindu Shastra."

At Puna, there is an Association called the Social Reform Association which appears to be working more energetically than similar Associations in other parts. Through its exertions, seventeen hundred and thirty-nine persons had pledged themselves to various reforms by 1891. Of these 1258 are Bráhmans, 126 Parbhus, Kayasthas and Kshatriyas, 33 Vaisyas, 59 Marhattas 16 Bráhmas, 6 A'ryas, 10 Sikhs, and 12 Jains; while 88 have described themselves as Hindus without specifying the sub-division, and 131 have not given their castes.

Classifying them according to their occupations, 630 are Government servants, 143 students, 123 Barristers and Pleaders, 119 merchants, contractors or artizans, 21 pensioners, 20 doctors, 9 Professors, 136 Imamdars and land holders, one Chief, 3 Sirdars, 3 Dewans and Karbharies, 4 Judges, including a Covenant Civilian, and 67 Priests. The remaining 460 either belong to other professions in small numbers, or have not specified them.

Nine-hundred and forty-four of the pledgists have agreed not to get their sons married below the age of 16; 244 below that of 18; 175 below that of 20; and 2 have promised to leave it to their sons to marry or not as they please. Nine-hundred and eighty one persons have undertaken not to get their daughters married before the age of 10; 188 before the age of 12; 112 before the age of 14; while one has undertaken to keep his daughter unmarried till the 18th year of her age.*

* Report of the Sixth National Social Conference (1892). Appendix p.p. 11-12.

In enlightened States such as Baroda, Maisur, and Travancore, the cause of social reform is making steady progress. The Mahájan of Baroda, an influential guild of merchants and tradesmen representing about thirty castes, passed the following resolutions in 1892;

(1) "No parent or guardian, shall marry a girl before she completes her 10th year.

Proviso—If a girl is to be married before that age permission of the Mahajan should be previously obtained, through the caste to which belong the parties concerned.

(2) The bride-groom shall be older than the bride, at least he shall not be younger than the bride.

(3) Those who infringe these rules, shall be punished by the caste. If the caste fails to do its duty, or if the decision of the caste is disregarded by the parties concerned, the Mahajan should take notice of them.

(4) The Nagarshet, or the Head of the Mahajan, is authorised to apply to the Government for help, in recovering fines, if the guilty parties refused to pay them."

At a Meeting of the Representative Assembly of Maisur held in 1892, the Dewan announced that the Maisur Durbar proposed to prohibit by legislation the marriages of girls below 8 years, and of men over 50 years with girls below 14.

Polygamy.

Polygamy * does not appear to have been uncommon among the Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic Period. There are hymns in

* This subject is placed here for convenience of treatment. As it has no intimate connection with religion, its proper place is in the next Book.

the Rigveda in which wives curse their fellow-wives. * But in the later Vedic period monogamy appears to have become the rule. "If he has a wife" says A'pastamba "who is willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties, and who bears sons, he shall not take a second." "He who has unjustly forsaken his wife" says the same auther "shall put on an ass's skin, with the hair turned outside, and beg in seven houses saying, Give alms to him who forsook his wife." † The Manusamhitá allows a second wife only in certain specified cases: "A wife who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred *to her lord*, who is incurably diseased, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife; "a barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year; she whose children are all dead, in the tenth; she who brings forth *only* daughters, in the eleventh; he, who is accustomed to speak unkindly, with out delay; "but she, who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent." ‡

A Dvija is also allowed to take wives from the classes below him, taking care to settle the precedence, honour, and habitation of these wives according to their castes. But it is the wife from his own caste, that could help

* R. V. X. 145.

† A'pastamba, II. 5, 11, &. I. 10,28,19. ("Sacred Books of the East" Vol. II. pp.125, 89).

‡ Manu, IX. 80-82

a Dvija in performing religious ceremonies; and the issues of the inferior wives are styled Apasadah. * Yájnavalkya, a later authority than Manu, also authorises a second wife under eight circumstances only; the vice of drinking spirituous liquors, incurable sickness, deception, barrenness, extravagance, the frequent use of offensive language, producing only female offspring, manifestation of hatred towards her husband.†

Polygamy in its most offensive form prevails at present amongst certain classes of the Bráhmans only in Bengal. Ballála Sen, king of Bengal, who reigned about the close of the eleventh century, conferred the honour of *Kaulinya* on men possessing the following nine qualifications: (1) Good behaviour, (2) Meekness, (3) Learning, (4) Reputation, (5) Performance of pilgrimages, (6) Faith in God (7) Fixed profession, (8) Devotion, (9) Charity.‡ There were at the time of Ballala fifty-six families of Brahmans in Bengal, descendants of five Bráhmans whom his ancestor A´disur had brought from Kanauj. Only nineteen gentlemen belonging to eight of these families § were found to possess all the qualifications just mentioned.

Kulinism in Bengal.

* Manu III. 12-15, IX. 85 X. 10.

† Quoted by Ram Mohun Roy—"English Works," Vol. I. p 365.

‡ The Sanskrit equivalent of this word, *dána*, is ordinarily explained to mean alliances with, or gift of daughters to, nobles.

§ The best known of the eight families are: Bandyopádhyáya, Chattopádhyáya, Mukhopádhyáya, Gángopádhyáyá and Ghoshála.

They were called Kulíns. Thirty-four of the Bráhman families were found deficient in one qualification only. They were called Srotriyas and ranked just below the Kulíns.

In course of time, with the degeneracy of the Hindus which commenced with the establishment of the Mahomedan supremacy in the twelfth century, all the qualifications which constituted a Bráhmán's title to kulinism were lost sight of, and in the sixteenth century, the Kulins were reclassified through the exertions of Devibara Ghatak on the basis of their purity of descent from the original Kulíns.*

Re-classification of Kulins by Devibar.

* The following incident is said to have led Devibar to undertake the work.

"One day, a Kulin Brahmin, named Jogeshwar Pundit, went to the house of his cousin, Devibara. His aunt only was at home. Jogeshwar made obeisance to her, and enquired about his cousin, who had gone elsewhere. The good woman blessed Jogeshwar, and requested him to take tiffin, telling him that she would prepare food for him. Jogeshwar replied that the family with which she had been connected by marriage was so low that it was a degradation to a Kulin like him to even wash his feet at that house. So saying, he requested his aunt not to prepare any food for him, as he would be polluted by partaking of the food cooked by her. He could, however, cook the food himself, but, by so doing, he would show disrespect to her. The only course left for him was to go away without taking his meal. So saying, he left his cousin Devibara's house. His aunt felt much aggrieved. She considered herself insulted by Jogeshwar, and she remained in a dejected mood. After a short time Devibara returned home. Seeing his mother depressed, he enquired of her the cause. She then narrated to her son all that had transpired. On hearing this Devibara became greatly incensed, and resolved to injure not only his cousin Jogeshur, but the whole class of Kulins."—*Indian Magazine and Review*, October, 1892.

Devibar travelled about the country taking notes of the family connections of the Kulíns. He then convened a meeting of *ghataks* (match-makers) and at his suggestion the Kulíns were reclassified according to purity of descent. The other qualifications for Kaulinya such as learning and piety, were at the time possessed but by few; and there was no tribunal then competent to judge them.

Evils of Kulinism

Alliance with the Kulíns is much sought after by Bráhmans of lower ranks. The Kulíns suffer in social prestige by it and become what are called Bhanga Kulíns.* They are therefore, handsomely compensated for such alliances; and the more needy among them find it very profitable to form matrimonial connections with non-Kulíns. Once fallen (Bhanga) they can not fall any lower; so they go on marrying until marriage becomes quite a trade with them. They are known some times to have married no less than four wives in the course of one day. Sometimes all the unmarried daughters and sisters of one man are given in marriage to one and the same Bhanga. Cases are known of Bhangas having married as many as one hundred wives. Marriage is sometimes resorted to by them as the sole means of subsistence. They are not of course required to support their wives who remain with their parents. Not only so; the Bhangas would not even

* Literally, Kulins whose Kulinism has been 'broken'.

visit their wives except for a consideration. When they want money, they have only to go to their fathers-in-laws' houses. It is no wonder, that such marriages, if indeed they can be called marriages, lead to crimes of the most heinous nature such as abortion and infanticide. In rare instances they result in prostitution. Such marriages are opposed to all principles of morality and to dictates of common sense; and it need hardly be said, they are nowhere sanctioned in the Hindu Sástras. Under normal conditions of matrimony which would oblige a polygamist, to live with and maintain his wives and children, polygamy works its own cure; and elsewhere than Bengal, the practice is practically confined to Rájás and Mahárájás. Even amongst these, there is now a tendency towards monogamy; there are several feudatory chiefs who have contented themselves with one wife. But the Bhanga Kulíns of Bengal have not to maintain and live with their wives; on the contrary their wives are a source of income to them. Consequently, the only limit to the number of their marriages is the extent to which an absurd and vicious custom can blind parents to the happiness of their daughters.

Steps for the suppression of Kulinism.

One of the earliest effects of the influence of the English environment was to open the eyes of the Hindus in Bengal to the enormity of the evils attendant on polygamy such as we have described above. Rámmohan Roy wrote strongly against it. But no organised steps were taken for its suppression until 1866, when a peti-

tion signed by the Mahárájá of Burdwan and twentyone thousand other Hindus of Lower Bengal was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, praying for an enactment to prevent the abuses attending the practice of Kulinism. The Government, however, could not see their way to legislation on the subject.

In 1871, I'svarachandra Vidyáságara revived the agitation on the subject, and published a list of one hundred and thirtythree Kuli'ns belonging to seventysix villages who had wives ranging from five to eighty. Quite recently a vernacular newspaper of Calcutta (the *Sanjivani*) has been publishing lists of polygamous marriages. The information collected from four hundred and twenty-six villages shows five hundred and twenty polygamists of whom one hundred and eighty have three wives each, ninety-eight four each, fifty-four five each, thirty-five six each, twenty-six seven each, twenty eight each, ten nine each, nineteen ten each, nine eleven each, 12 twelve each, five thirteen each, eleven fourteen each, four fifteen each six sixteen each, two seventeen each; one has nineteen wives, three have twenty wives each, one has twenty-one wives, two have twenty-two wives each, one has twenty-three wives, four have twenty-five wives each, one has twenty-six wives, one has twenty-seven, one has twenty-eight, one has twenty-nine, four have thirty wives each, two have thirty-two wives each, one has thirty-four wives, one has thirty-five, one has thirty-six, one has fifty, one has sixty-seven and one has one hundred and seven wives.*

* Among the polygamists, the following deserve special notice :—

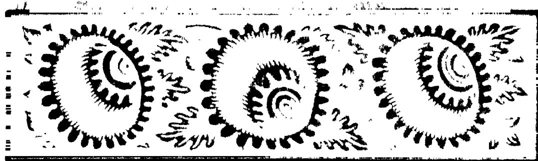
A boy of 15 years has four wives, 1 boy of 16 years has three

With the spread of education, the public opinion against polygamy is becoming stronger every day. The National Social Conference composed chiefly of Neo-Hindus of the conservative type has been passing resolutions condemning it ; and the more orthodox Hindus forming the Dharma Mandal have also been devising means for its suppression.

Out of 1739 members of the Puna Social Reform Association who have taken pledges, only 272 have not taken the pledge not to marry a second wife in the life-time of the first and the pledge does not apply to three lady members. Of the remaining 1474 persons, two promise never to marry again, and 1432 have taken the pledge absolutely, while 30 have done so under certain circumstances, which as stated by some of them, are want of issue by the first wife, her incapacity or her consent.

wives, 1 boy of 16 years has 7 wives, 2 young men 20 years old have 8 wives each, 1 young man of 22 has 17 wives, 1 of 32 has 20 wives, and 1 of 37 has 35 wives. Pologamy among educated men is rare, only three cases of such polygamists are cited, and they have not more than four wives each.—Report of the Sixth National Social Conference (1892). pp. 22-23.





CHAPTER III.

SATI *

When or how the practice of Satí began is not exactly known. A passage in the Rigveda which was supposed to sanction it was found, on examination, to have been, in the words of Prof. MaxMuller, "mangled, mistranslated, and misapplied." †

Earliest references.

* Literally, *Satí* means a chaste woman. In Anglo-Indian literature the term is usually applied to the practice of the concremation of widows.

† The passage (Rigveda X, 18, 7) runs thus :

"May these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers enter their houses with collyrious butter. Let these women, without shedding tears, and without any sorrow, *first* proceed to the house, wearing valuable ornaments."

In this passage, the Sanskrit word for first, "agre," was altered into "agne". See Rájendralála Mitra, "Indo-Aryans," Vol. I., pp. 147, *et seq.*; R. C. Dutt, "A History of Civilisation in Ancient India (1893) Vol. I. p 74. Wilsons "Essays on the Religion of the Hindus" (London, 1862) pp. 270. *et. seq.*

The earliest authentic mention of the practice of Satí is by Aristobulus, who "speaks of it as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila." *

But the oldest Smritis such as the Manusamhitá and Yájnavalkya Samhitá do not sanction Satí. It is, however, alluded to or recommended by many of the later authorities such as Atri, Vishnu, Hárita, Usanas, and Parásara.† In the Manusamhitá, the widow is enjoined to lead a life of ascetic austerity. She should "emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtues which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one only husband."‡ This passage while showing that the practice of Satí was still far from common proves the exaggeration to which the sentiment of female chastity had been carried already. The step from such a life as the widow is here directed to lead to concremation was

* Elphinstone's "History of India" (1874), p. 265.

† Passages from Angíra, Hárita, and Vishnu are quoted by Rám Mohan Roy (" English Works," Calcutta, 1885, Vol. I. pp. 297-299):

"As long as a woman shall not burn herself after her husband's death, she shall be subject to transmigration in a female form." (Hárita).

"After the death of her husband a wife must live as an ascetic, or ascend his pile." (Vishnu)

‡ Manu V. 157-158.

a long step. Still it was only a step; and it is not unlikely that the successors of Manu took it to prevent any possible violation of the sentiment they valued so highly. It is noteworthy that the practice has been most prevalent in the higher and more civilised castes. Widow marriage prevailed among the lower classes in ancient times, as it does now.

Later references

Satí would appear to have been well established about the time of Varáhamihira who died towards the close of the sixth century A. D. He "praises women in his Astronomy, because they enter the fire on losing their husbands while men go and marry again on losing their wives." Alberuni who wrote in the eleventh century says: "If a wife of a Hindu loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things, either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventually is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives."*

Whatever the origin of the Satí rite may have been, all the authorities insist upon its being voluntary. The widow must "*voluntarily* ascend and enter the flames to destroy her existence allowing her, at the same time, an opportunity of retracting her resolution, should her courage fail from the alarming sight or effect of the

* Alberuni's "India" translated by E. C. Sachau Vol. II. p. 155.

flames; and of returning to her relatives, performing a penance for abandoning the sacrifice, or bestowing the value of a cow on a Bráhman."* What, however, was originally recommended to be voluntary, in practice gradually became, in many cases, more or less compulsory.† The exhortations of priests and relations left the widow but little freedom of choice. Even drugs were sometimes employed to stupify her into consent.

Preventive measures taken by Akbar.

Several of the Mahomedan Emperors, however, discouraged Satí, and adopted measures to prevent its abuse, as far as possible. Akbar appointed inspectors in every city and district, who were to watch carefully over all cases of widow-burning, and to prevent any woman being forcibly burnt. A case is mentioned in the *Akbar-nama*‡ which strikingly illustrates Akbar's humanity and love of justice. On the death of Jai Mal (an officer in his service) his wife was unwilling to burn, but her son Udai Singh, with a party of his bigoted friends, resolved upon the sacrifice. The matter came to the Emperor's knowledge, and his humanity made him fear that if he sent messengers to stop the proceedings, some delay might occur, so he mounted his horse, rode with all speed to the place, and saved the widow.

* Ram Mohun Roy's "English Works," Vol. I. p. 356.

† "After the bodies have been reduced to ashes, the Bráhmins take whatever is found in the way of melted gold, silver, tin, or copper, derived from the bracelets, earrings, and rings, which the women had on; this belongs to them by right." "Travels in India" by J. B. Tavernier, London, 1889, Vol. II. p. 213.

‡ Elliot's "History," Vol. VI. p. 69.

Sati ceremonies.

Raghunandan a distinguished expounder of Hindu Law, who lived in the sixteenth century thus describes the ceremonies of the concremation of widows:

Fire having been applied by the son or other relation according to the rules laid down in the *Grikya* rituals followed by the family, and the funeral pyre having blazed forth, the virtuous widow, wishing to accompany her husband, having bathed, and having put on a pair of cloths washed clean, with the *kusa* grass in her hand having sipped water by the tips of her fingers, with her face turned towards the east or the north, and having taken in her hand the *tila* seed, water and three *kusa* grass, when the Bráhmins have pronounced *Om Tat Sat*, meditating on *Narayana*, should say: 'Namo today, this month, this day of full or new moon, I ,of such a *gotra*, of this name, desiring to attain the glory of the heavens to be obtained by acting like *Aroondhatee*, to dwell in the regions of bliss, rejoicing with my husband as many years as there are hairs in the human body, to purify the three families of my mother, father, and father-in-law, to be glori fied by the *Apsaras* as long as fourteen Indras last, to enjoy the company of my husband and to purify my husband from the sins of Brahmin-murder, ingratitude and betrayal of friends, do ascend the flaming funeral pyre of my husband: (In the case of postcremation instead of 'I ascend the flaming funeral pyre of my husband,' the widow should say, 'I follow my husband in death by entering the flaming pyre). With this solemn declaration, she should then make the following invocation, "O ye eight Lokapalas! O thou the sun, the moon, the air, the fire, the atmosphere, the earth, the water, the Being who resides in the heart and knows it, the death, the day, the night, the twilights both evening and morning, and the religion! Be ye witness, I follow the body of my husband by ascending the flaming funeral pyre." (in the case of postcremation, instead of 'I follow the body of my husband' the widow should say 'I follow my husband in death,') and go three times round the fire of the flaming pyre, and then, while the Bráhmins recite the following *mantra* of the Rigveda: "Let these women, not widowed, having good husbands, having applied clarified butter in their eyes for collyrium, without tears in their eyes, without any disease, fit for

all attention, being wives, ascend, after this, their proper place," and also the following *mantra* from the Pooran. "Let these women who are pious, devoted to their husbands, and handsome, enter the fire with the body of their husbands," she uttering yea yea (to these recitations should ascend the flaming funeral pyre." *

A determined case of Sati.

Many cases of Sati during the British period have been recorded by eyewitnesses. One of the most determined is the following recorded by Sleeman : †

'On Tuesday, 24th November, 1829, I had an application from the heads of the most respectable and most extensive family of Bráhmans in the district, to suffer this old woman to burn herself with the remains of her husband, Omed Singh Opuddea, who had that morning died upon the banks of Nurbudda. I threatened to enforce my order, and punish severely any man who assisted, and placed a police-guard for the purpose of seeing that no one did so. She remained sitting by the edge of the water without eating or drinking. The next day the body of her husband was burned to ashes in a small pit of about eight feet square, and three or four feet deep, before several thousand spectators, who had assembled to see the Sati. All strangers dispersed before evening, as there seemed to be no prospect of my yielding to the urgent solicitations of her family, who dared not touch food till she had burned herself or declared herself willing to return to them. Her sons, grand-sons and some other relations remained with her, while the rest surrounded my house, the one urging me to allow her to burn, and the other urging her to desist. She remained sitting on a bare rock in the bed of the Nerbudda, refusing every kind of sustenance, and exposed to the intense heat of the sun by day, and the severe cold of the night, with only a thin sheet thrown over her shoulders. On Thursday, to cut off all hope of her being moved from her purpose, she put on the Dhujja, or a coarse red

* "The English works of Raja Rammohan Roy" Vol. I. p.p. 353-354.

† "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official," (1844) Vol. I., p.p. 23 *et seq.*

turban, and broke her bracelets in pieces, by which she became dead in law, and for ever excluded from caste. Should she choose to live after this, she could never return to her family. * * * She had resolved to die. 'I have' said she 'tasted largely of the bounty of the Government having been maintained by it with all my large family in ease and comfort upon our rent-free land and I feel assured my children will not be suffered to want; but with them I have nothing more to do; our intercourse and communion here end. My soul is with Omed Sing Ôpuddea and my ashes must here mix with his. Again looking to the Sun—'I see them together,' said she, with a tone and countenance that affected me good deal, 'under the bridal canopy, alluding to the ceremonies of marriage; and I am satisfied that she at that moment really believed that she saw her own spirit and that of her husband under the bridal canopy in Paradise.

"I tried to work upon her pride and he fears. I told her that was probable that the rent free lands by which her family had been so long supported might be resumed by the Government as a mark of its displeasure against the children for not dissuading her from the sacrifice; that the temples over her ancestors upon the bank might be levelled with the ground, in order to prevent their operating to induce others to make similar sacrifices; and lastly, that not one single brick or stone should ever mark the place where she died, if she persisted in her resolution. But if she consented to live, a splendid habitation should be built for among these temples a handsome provision assigned for her support out of these rent-free lands, her children should come daily to visit her, and I should frequently do the same. She smiled, but held out her arm and said, 'My pulse has long ceased to beat, my spirit has departed, and I have nothing left but a little *earth* that I wish to mix with the ashes of my husband. I shall suffer nothing in burning, and if you wish proof, order some fire, and you shall see this arm consumed without giving me any pain?' I did not attempt to feel her pulse, but some of my people did, and declared that it had ceased to be perceptible. At this time every native present believed that she was incapable of suffering pain; and her end confirmed them in that opinion.

"Satisfied myself that it would be unavailing to attempt to save her life, I sent for all the principal members of her family, and consented that she should be suffered to burn herself if they would enter into

engagements that no other member of their family should ever do the same. This they all agreed to, and the papers having been drawn out in due form about midday, I sent down notice to the old lady, who seemed extremely pleased and thankful. The ceremonies of bathing were gone through before three, while the wood and other combustible materials for a strong fire were collected, and put into the pit. After bathing she called for a pán (betel-leaf), and ate it, then rose up, and with one arm on the shoulder of her eldest son, and the other on that of her nephew, approached the fire. I had sentries placed all round, and no other person was allowed to approach within five spaces. As she rose up, fire was set to the pile, and it was instantly in a blaze. The distance was about 150 yards: She came on with a calm and cheerful countenance, stopped once, and casting her eyes upward, said," Why have they kept me five days from thee, my husband?" On coming to the sentries her supporters stopped: She walked once round the pit, paused a moment, and while muttering a prayer, threw some flowers into the fire. She then walked up deliberately and calmly to the brink. stepped into the centre of the flame, sat down, and leaning back in the midst as if reposing upon a couch, was consumed without uttering a shriek or betraying one sign of agony. A few instruments of music had been provided, and they played as usual as she approached the fire; not as is commonly supposed, in order to drown screams, but to prevent the last words of the victim from being heard, as these are supposed to be prophetic, and might become sources of pain or strife to the living. It was not expected that I should yield and but few people had assembled to witness the sacrifice, so that there was little or nothing in the circumstances immediately around to stimulate her to any extraordinary exertions; and I am persuaded that it was the desire of again being united to her husband in the next world, and the entire confidence that she would be so if she now burned herself, that alone sustained her. From the morning of the day he died, Tuesday, till Wednesday evening, she ate pans, or betel-leaves, but nothing else; and from Wednesday evening she ceased eating them. She drank no water from Tuesday. She went into the fire with the same cloth about her that she had worn in the bed of the river; but it was made wet, from a persuasion that even the shadow of any impure thing falling upon her when going to the pile contaminates the woman unless counteracted by the sheet moistened

in the holy stream. I must do the family the justice to say, that they all exerted themselves to dissuade the widow from her purpose; and had she lived, she would assuredly have been cherished and honoured as the first female member of the whole house."

Statistics.

Reliable statistics of Satí previous to 1815 are not available. From the following figures, the rite would appear to have been most prevalent in the Calcutta Division. *

	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Calcutta Division.	253	289	442	544	421	370	372	328	340	373	398	324	337	309
Dacca.	31	24	52	58	55	51	52	45	40	40	101	65	49	47
Murshidabad.	11	22	42	30	25	21	12	22	13	14	21	8	2	10
Patna.	20	29	49	57	40	62	69	70	49	42	47	65	55	55
Benares.	48	65	103	137	92	103	114	102	121	93	55	48	49	33
Bareilly.	15	13	19	13	17	20	15	16	12	10	17	8	18	10

Preventive measures taken by the E. I. Company.

After the establishment of the British Rule, the first important step for the repression of Satí, was taken by Lord Wellesley on the 5th February, 1805. The Government then asked the appellate Judges to "ascertain

* "History of British India." By Mill and Wilson, (1858), Vol. IX. p. 189.

how far the practice was founded on the religious opinions of the Hindus. If not founded on any precept of their Law, the Governor-General hoped that the custom might gradually, if not immediately, be altogether abolished. If however, the entire abolition should appear to the Court to be impracticable in itself or inexpedient, as offending Hindu religious opinion the Court were desired to devise means for the prevention of the abuses, such as the use of drugs and the sacrifice of widows of tender age. The Judges asked the Pundits whether a Hindu widow is "enjoined" by the Sástras voluntarily to burn herself with the body of her husband. They replied that "every woman of the four castes is permitted to burn herself," except in certain cases.

The Judges in their reply to Government stated "that they considered the immediate abolition highly inexpedient, although they thought it might be gradually effected, and at no distant period." They also suggested "the enactment of provisions for preventing the illegal, unwarrantable and criminal abuses, which were known to occur in the performance of the rite."* These suggestions, however, were not acted upon until 1813, when it was ordered that the *Satí* rite "should never take place without previous communication to the Magistrate or the principal officer of Police, who was to ascertain that it was entirely voluntary: that the widow was not under the influence of stupifying and intoxicating drugs;

* "History of British India" Mill and Wilson, Vol. IX. p. 185.

and that she was not under the age of sixteen, and not pregnant." The rite was to be performed in the presence of the Police who were to see that no intimidation or violence was employed.

Effect of these measures.

These measures did not appear to have the desired effect. It was even inferred, that the practice increased in frequency with the activity of the supervision to which it was subjected; and that the regulations promulgated for its repression, had by recognising its legality, afforded it the countenance of the Government and favoured its continuation. "This influence" observes Wilson "was probably erroneous; and the increased number of Suttees, during a part of the time at least for which returns were made, was to be accounted for by the prevalence of unusual mortality, and, throughout the whole period, to greater precision in the police reports. The possibility, however, of such a result, combined with the general and growing abhorrence of the sacrifice, was gradually overcoming the fear of encountering the consequences of more decided interposition; and the abolition of the practice, either universally, or in those provinces where it was of comparatively rare occurrence, had been strenuously urged by several of the Company's most experienced functionaries."* Amongst the Hindus themselves, western ideas had already begun to spread. Rám Mohun Roy opposed Satí with all his vigour and ability. In 1818, he wrote a "Conference between an advocate for, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widows alive." In this brochure, he answered, in dialogue

form, the arguments which used at the time to be urged in favour of the practice. He followed up this pamphlet by another in 1820, which he dedicated to the Marchioness of Hastings. In 1823, Lord Amherst made illegal the burning of a widow with the body of her deceased husband. It was also legislated that widows intending to perform the rite should personally apply to a Magistrate, that families in which Satí took place would be disqualified for Government employment and that all property belonging to the Satí and her husband was to be forfeited to the State.

Opinious on the abolition of Sati'.

Soon after his arrival in India, Lord William Bentinck circulated a confidential letter to some of the officers of the Government calling upon them for their opinions with regard to the immediate or gradual abolition of the practice of Satí. The replies given are thus summarised by Wilson †:—

"No difference was entertained as to the barbarous character of the ceremony, and the desirableness of its total abolition; but whether it could be attempted with success and with safety, gave rise to much diversity of opinion. It was urged against the measure, that the abolition of the rite by the will of the Government was a departure from the principles of toleration hitherto professed, and was an interference with the religion of the Hindus, from which all previous Governments, while equally abhorrent of the practice, had been deterred by the dread of mischievous results, and that such consequences were still to be apprehended from its forcible suppression—that, even if an extensive and formidable insurrection should not occur, it was

* "History of British India" Vol. IX. pp. 186–187.

† "History of British India" Vol. IX. pp. 187–190.

likely that local tumults would take place which could not be allayed without loss of life and widely-extended disaffection, which would shew itself in perpetual attempts to evade or resist the law—would inspire the people with fear and hatred of the Government, and would oppose an indefinite interruption to the progress of improvement which had been commenced within the last few years, and had been attended with the most favourable indications of ultimate success—indications which had shewn themselves even in regard to the subject under discussion, as the practice was evidently diminishing, particularly among persons of respectability, without whose encouragement it would gradually fall into disuse; and, finally, that the stability of the British Empire in India might be imperilled, if the native army, composed as it was in a large proportion of Hindus of high caste, should take part with their countrymen in resistance to the measure. In answer to these objections it was maintained, that the rite of concremation was not an essential part of the Hindu religion, as it was not even alluded to by Manu, the law-giver, held in the highest veneration by the Hindus; and that consequently it was no infringement of the principle of toleration to prohibit the continuance: that, even if it could be so regarded, it was not likely to fill the Hindus with any apprehension of the ultimate designs of the Government, as they would ascribe the act to its true motives—feelings of humanity—and would learn, from subsequent proceedings conducted in the spirit which had always influenced the state, to discard any temporary impressions of fear or mistrust. The course which the preceding administrations had pursued was no doubt, to be justified by the reasons by which it was dictated; and under similar circumstances, would still have to be followed; but the circumstances, of native society and the progress of enlightened ideas had now become propitious to more decided legislation. It was possible that some attempts might be made to resist the enforcement of the prohibition, but they were not likely to be frequent or formidable, or beyond the exercise of the civil power: for the great seat of the rite was the province of Bengal, the inhabitants of which were noto-

riously an unresisting and spiritless race: were the ceremony frequent in the Upper, instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly people, the impunity of the prohibition might be less problematical: in the vicinity of Calcutta, such was the want of courage and vigour of character, and such the habitual subserviency of centuries, that insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling power might be affirmed to be an impossible danger. That although for a time discontent and distrust might disincline the people to accept the amelioration of their moral and intellectual condition benevolently offered by the Government, yet the check, if any were suffered, would be transient, and the disinclination would give way to the expectation of advantage, and to a returning reliance upon the adherence of the Government to the principle of noninterference with religious belief, in all matters in which it is not incompatible with the security of property or person. That it was doubtful how far the decline of the practice could be ascribed to the dissemination of instruction, as little or no change could have yet affected the bulk of the population, and the process of self conviction must be precarious and remote. The only remaining consideration of sufficient weight to justify hesitation was, therefore, the feeling which the abolition of the rite might excite in the minds of the native soldiery; and on this subject, although several distinguished officers considered it dangerous and unadvisable, yet the majority concurred in opinion that the Hindu Sipahis took little or no interest in the question. In the districts from which they are mostly drawn, the practice was unfrequent; and it still more rarely occurred in cantonments, as the men were not usually accompanied by their wives; the greater number had, therefore, never even witnessed the rite, and felt no personal concern or pride in its perpetuation. Some danger might accrue from the instigations of ill-disposed and intriguing individuals, inimical to British Rule; and it might be unsafe to call upon the troops to take any part in enforcing the prohibitory provisions of the law; but as long as these sources of insecurity could be obviated, and as long as the Sipahis felt

assured that the Government was determined to respect their religious habits and usages in all essential points, its interference in the case of Suttee would neither alarm their fears, nor impair in any degree their loyalty and devotion to the service."

Abolition of Sati' by Lord William Bentinck.

After considering all these opinions, Lord William Bentinck formed the determination of passing an Act for the suppression of Satí throughout the British Territory. Even Rám Mohun Roy was staggered when Lord William told him that he had made up his mind to abolish Satí throughout British India. Rám Mohun Roy advised that the prohibition should be confined to Bengal, and not extended to the North-Western Provinces inhabited by a more warlike race. Lord William replied, that such restriction would exhibit a degree of weakness incompatible with the British character. "Strong as his nerves were known to be, his anxiety on this occasion, as the time approached for laying the Act before Council, was observed by those about him, and was particularly obvious to those who could judge of the workings of his mind from his countenance and demeanour. The only opposition it encountered at the Council Board had reference to the clause which permitted the Nizamut Adawlut to punish the crime with death. It was reasonably urged, that to inflict the extreme penalty of the law in a transaction which our Government had previously legalized, would be an act of inconsistency. But the Clause was passed without alteration, as the Members of Council were unwilling, by retarding the immediate enforcement of the regulation, to afford time for remonstrances from the

natives, which they knew would be warmly seconded by the European opponents of the measure whose sympathies were entirely Hindu."*

With the concurrence of his Council, Lord William Bentinck promulgated Regulation XVII of 1829, by which the practice of burning or burying alive Hindu widows was declared penal. The police were directed to prevent its performance, and to apprehend the parties engaged in aiding or abetting it, who should be liable to trial for culpable homicide, and subject to capital punishment, or imprisonment and fine, according to the circumstances of the case. The Regulation was re-enacted at Madras in 1830. At Bombay it was considered sufficient to rescind the exemption from the punishment of culpable homicide, which had been accorded to persons aiding and abetting Satí.

A case of resistance.

The Regulation provoked but little resistance. Only one case of serious resistance occurred five years after their promulgation "in a dependency at the Bombay Presidency, where, upon the death of the Rajah, five of his wives were forcibly burnt, in defiance of the efforts of the Assistant Political Commissioner to prevent it; although he had a force of 300 men at his command, a still larger body of armed men was assembled, whe were not dispersed without loss of life and the necessity of calling in regular troops."†

* *The Calcutta Review.* Vol. I, p. 364.

† "History of British India." by Mill and Wilson Vol. IX. p. 191. (Foot note).

On the passing of the Act for the abolition of Satí, an address was presented on the 16th January 1830, to Lord William Bentinck by Ram Mohun Roy, Kali Nath Roy, Hari Har Datta and others on behalf of 300 inhabitants of Calcutta. It elicited the following reply from Lord William Bentinck: †

Address to Bentinck.

"It is very satisfactory for me to find that, according to the opinions of so many respectable and intelligent Hindus, the practice which has recently been prohibited, not only was not required by the rules of their religion, but was at variance with those writings which they deem to be of the greatest force and authority. Nothing but a reluctance to inflict punishment for acts which might be conscientiously believed to be enjoined by religious precepts, could have induced the British Government at any time to permit, within territories under its protection, an usage so violently opposed to the best feelings of human nature. Those who present this address are right in supposing that by every nation in the world, except the Hindoos themselves, this part of their customs has always been made a reproach against them, and nothing so strangely contrasted with the better features of their own national character, so inconsistent with the affections which unite families, so destructive of the moral principles on which society is founded, has ever subsisted amongst a people in other respects so civilized. I trust that the reproach is removed for ever; and I feel a sincere pleasure in thinking that the Hindoos will thereby be exalted in the estimation of mankind, to an extent in some degree proportioned to the repugnance which was felt for the usage which has now ceased."

The orthodox Hindu party in Bengal memorialised the House of Commons against the Act abolishing Satí. A counter memorial in favour of the Act was presented to

Appeal against the Sati' Act rejected.

† "English Works of Raja R. Roy" 'Vol. I. p. 486.'

both the Houses by Rám Mohan Roy. The appeal against the Act was rejected on the 11th July, 1832.

A recent case of Satí.

Since the passing of Lord William Bentinck's Act, cases of Satí have been very rare. One such rare case of a most atrocious character occurred near Monghyr. It is thus described in a letter dated 4th December 1863, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the British Indian Association of Calcutta:— *

"The intention of the widow to commit Satí was generally known in the neighbourhood early in the day on the morning of which her husband died and that when she went forth, apparently at that time a voluntary victim accompanied by her husband's relations, men of the Kaith caste, the chief abettors of intended suicide, preparations had been made for the horrid sacrifice and upwards of a thousand people had assembled to witness the tragedy. Among these were several Zamindars and others, people holding a respectable position in life, whose bounden duty it was to give immediate information to the Police, yet not one was found to show the least disapproval of the intended immolation. Not only did no one endeavour to put a stop to the proceedings, to dissuade the woman from the act of self-destruction, or to warn her abettors of the legal consequences of the crime, but all were eager participators in it, and when the unfortunate victim, tortured by the flames, repented of her resolution, threw

* "Life of Raja Digambar Mitra," p. 97.

herself from the pile and tried to escape, declaring that she would not complete her self-sacrifice, many of them called out to her and reproached, saying that she would make herself and the village a laughingstock, and it is stated by one witness that they surrounded her so that she could not run away. Thus she was eventually induced or compelled to remount the pile, from which, however, unable to bear the agony, she almost immediately again fled; on this the crowd dispersed, and the wretched woman, scorched and burned, was left to roll in agony on the ground till death put an end to her sufferings. It was not till the following day that information of the occurrence was given to the Police, and the person who gave the information was the chowkeedar.

To add to the horror of the scene, and to show how deliberate was the act of abetment on the part of the relatives of the deceased, the pile was lighted by a boy of tender years, the son of one of the chief abettors, and the *Purahit*, or family priest (a miscreant who has not yet been brought to justice) made him repeat the *Mantra*, or invocation usual at a funeral, before he applied the fire."



CHAPTER IV.

FORBIDDEN FOOD AND DRINK. SEA-VOYAGE.

Beef in the Vedic period.

From the frequent allusions to the sacrifice and to the cooking of cows, bulls and buffaloes, in the earlier Vedic literature there can be no doubt, that they afforded food to the Indo-Aryans of the Rigvedic period. Even the flesh of the horse appears to have agreed with their palate, at least during the earlier portion of that period. *

In the Aitareya Bráhmana, we are told that an ox or a cow which miscarries is killed when a king or other honoured guest is received. In the Taittiriya Bráhmana detailed instructions are given for carving; and the Gopatha Bráhmana tells us how the different parts are to be disposed of. The master of the house is to get the

* For detailed information about the use of beef and spirituous liquors in ancient India, see Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," Vol. V. (1884) pp. 463-464, Romesh Chandra Dutt's History of Civilisation in Ancient India" (1893) Vol. I., pp. 41-44, and Rájendra Lála Mitra's "Indo-Aryans" Vol. I., pp 354-421.

sirloin and some part of the abdomen, and the mistress, the loin; the remainder is divided among the priest and others.

In the Brihadáranyaka Upanishad it is enjoined, that "if a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a pubic man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that he should live to his full age, then after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring. The meat should be of a young or of an old bull."*

The slaughter of cattle formed a part of several ancient ceremonies such as *Súlagava* or "spitted cow" (Roast beef) and *Gavámanayana* (or the sacrifice of the cow) mentioned in the A'svaláyana Sútra and other works. Flesh meat (primarily beef) was an essential part of the *madhuparka* or "honied meal' ceremony which was imperative for a certain class of priests, kings, bridegrooms. Vedic students on their return home after completing their studies, tutors coming to the pupil's house after a year's absence, fathers-in-law, uncles, and generally all guests of high rank. A cow was offered to the guest, after he had been refreshed; whereupon he said "My sin is destroyed, destroyed is my sin," and then ordered its immolation with the words "Accomplish, Amen."† In some cases, the cow after being sanctified was let loose. But in such cases, flesh-meat was procured by other

* *Op cit* VI. 4, 18-19 ("Sacred Books of the East" Vol XV. p. 219).

† A guest is hence denominated *goghna* or "cow-killer."

means: "On no account observes the commentator of A'svaláyana "should the feast be without that article." Vasishtha says, one may cook a fullgrown-ox or a full-grown he-goat for a Bráhman or Kshatriya guest; in this manner is hospitality offered to such a guest. The *Charaka Samhitá*, a medical work probably dating from before the Christian era, says that "the flesh of cows, buffaloes and hogs, should not be eaten daily," from which it may be inferred, that such flesh was then an article of food. The same work recommends "beef for pregnant women as it is calculated to strengthen the foetus." Susruta points out the particular diseases in which beef is injurious. Nowhere in the ancient medical works of the Hindus is beef absolutely forbidden.

Animal food prohibited by Buddhism.

About the seventh century B. C., the Hindus had begun to entertain a dislike for meat, especially beef, owing, at least partly, to the inculcation of humane views with the progress of their civilisation. "Meat can never be obtained" says a Sutrakára of that period "without injuring living beings, and to injure living beings does not procure heavenly bliss."* It was however, Gautama the Buddha who first absolutely prohibited meat. One of the precepts laid down by him for a lay disciple is: "Let him not destroy, or cause to be *destroyed, any life at all*, or sanction the acts of those who do so. Let him refrain from even hurting any creature, both those that are strong, and those

* Manu's Dharma Sútra quoted by Vasishtha (IV) 7 ("Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XIV, p. 27).

that tremble in the world." The first Edict of Asoka, in whose reign Buddhism spread most in India, runs thus: "This Edict has been engraved by order of King Piyadasi, beloved of the God. One must not, here below, kill any living animal by immolating it, not for the purpose of feasts. The King Piyadasi sees much that is sinful in such feasts. Formerly such feasts were allowed; and in the *cuisine* of King Piyadasi, beloved of the Gods, and for the table of King Piyadasi, beloved of the Gods, hundreds of thousands of living beings were killed every day. At the time when this Edict is engraved three animals only are killed for the table, two pea fowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future."

Beef allowed even in Manu's time.

But, notwithstanding the dissemination of Buddhist views, meat, and probably even beef, was a recognised article of Hindu food about the commencement of the Christian era. In the Manusamhitá, it is said, that "having bought flesh meat or obtained it by aid of another, he who eats it after worshipping the gods or manes commits no sin." In its list of animals fit for human food, are included "the hedgehog, the porcupine, the iguana, the rhinoceros, the tortoise, and the rabbit or hare; * * * and likewise those (domestic animals) that have teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels."* This is a fairly comprehensive list in which the Bovidæ may be inferentially included.

* Manu, V. 32, 18.

Beef eating, a sin at the time of Yájnavalkya.

By the time of Yájnavalkya, the killing of cows had come to be regarded as a sin, but less heinous than the drinking of spirituous liquors by Bráhmans. Whereas the latter was held to be a *Mahápátaka*, the former was considered to be only a *Upapátaka*. The expiation for the killing of a cow as enjoined by Yájnavalkya is "the drinking of the five products of the cow, *panchagavya*, following a cow as it roams about, sleeping in a cattle-shed regularly for a whole month, and ending with the gift of a cow, or a fine equal to the value of the animal destroyed." By the beginning of the fifth century A.D., vegetarianism had become firmly established. The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who came to India about that time says, that throughout the country the people kill no living thing, with the exception of Chandálas only. This, however, is certainly exaggeration, for Hiouen Thsang who travelled in India about the middle of the seventh century tells us, that fish, mutton, gazelle, and deer were eaten, and that it is only certain kinds of meat such as beef and pork that were forbidden. Even in the works of the eighth century, we find allusions to the beef-eating habits of the ancient Hindus; so that the feeling against beef could not have been so strong then as it is now. "It is not to be supposed for a moment" says Rájendra Lál Mitra, "that their authors would have alluded to such a subject, and offended the feelings of their readers, had they not ample authority to be satisfied, that their readers would go with them."*

* *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 358.

Beef under some Mahomedan Emperors.

Several of the Mahomedan Emperors were so far Hinduised that they interdicted beef. The Emperor Nasiruddin forbade the killing of oxen. Ferishta speaks of him as practising idolatry like the Hindus, so that the Koran was occasionally placed as a stool and sat upon. Akbar also forswore beef and suppressed the slaughter of cows. As late as the beginning of the present century, the Emperor Shah Alum issued the following Firman* prohibiting the slaughter of cows in his dominions:

"Let it be known to the administrators of our Kingdom, Governors of our country, raises holding respectable position, clerks and those entrusted with the Government of the country (let God preserve it for ever). In these days, full of justice and equity, this Firman is hereby issued that in the dumb and unintelligent animal kingdom cows and bullocks are sources of numerous advantages. . As the human life depends on the consumption of fruits and corns, and these cannot be produced without cultivation of land, and the cultivation depends on bullocks, therefore in the interests of the population of this vast country, we condemn the slaughter of such useful animals. With the issue of this order, the custom of cow-slaughter is totally prohibited in our kingdom, and if anybody is found to disobey this order, he shall incur the displeasure of our Government, and will receive punishment accordingly."

* It is given on authority which we have not had an opportunity of verifying.

Cow protection Societies.

Beef is now absolutely prohibited throughout India amongst all classes of the Hindus including Sikhs, Jains and other secessionists. Authentic instances are recorded of unwilling Hindus having been converted by Mahomedans by simply forcing pieces of beef down their throat. What pork is to the Mahomedans, beef is to the Hindus. No greater insult could be offered a Hindu than to call him a beef-eater. The greased cartridges were at least the immediate cause of the Sepoy out-break in 1857. The cow is held sacred, and the feeling against its slaughter is strong. Cow-protection Societies* have lately been

* The following extracts regarding these societies are from a Government of India Despatch, published in a Parliamentary paper in April, 1894.

"For some years past a vigorous propaganda has been carried on by these societies * * * the movement, although undoubtedly closely connected with the Hindoo religion was ostensibly directed towards the preservation and improvement of the breed of cattle, which it was alleged were decreasing in numbers and deteriorating in quality. The preachers sent fourth by the societies inculcated the duty of treating cattle with kindness, and of providing an asylum for sick and infirm animals. To this was soon added a corollary that no Hindoo should sell cattle to persons who were likely to slaughter them, and that if a Hindoo found himself compelled to sell cattle in a fair he should inform the society, who would purchase the animal and place it in an asylum. For the expenses of the society and for the purchase of cattle voluntary contributions were made by many devout and well-meaning Hindoos.

At the beginning of the present year the societies passed out of the form of voluntary associations and assumed the organisation of a league. The principles of the organisation were laid down at a great meeting at Lar in the Goruckpore district on the 18th March, and in the Azimgarh District the league was definitely organised at a meeting at a place called Azmagarh on the 15th May. The rules framed at these meetings show how the original idea developed :—

established in various parts of India. They often buy up cows intended for slaughter and keep them until they die a natural death. Attempts on the part of Hindus to rescue cows on their way to the shambles, as well as the ostentation with which the Mahomedans in some parts kill cows during the Bakar-Id festival and thus outrage the feelings of the Hindus, sometimes lead to riots. In several Hindu States, the slaughter of cows is restricted; and in one at least, the Káshmir State, it is absolutely forbidden. Even John Bull has to do without roast beef in Kashmir.

Abstention from animal food by Vaishnavas.

Of the three great sections of the Hindus, the worshippers of Vishnu in the form of Krishna, Ráma or Chaitanya profess great tenderness for animal life. Many of them abstain from animal food, as do also various other sects such as the Kabirpanthis, and the Satnámis.

Firstly.—Contributions were made compulsory on all Hindoos under penalty of exclusion from caste. Each household was directed to set apart at each meal one *chutki* (equal in weight or value to one *paisa*) of food stuff for each member of the family. The eating of food without setting apart the *chutki* was declared to be an offence equal to that of eating cow's flesh. Agents called *Sabhasads* were appointed for the collection of these contributions. Their duty was to sell them and to pay over the proceeds to the *Sabhapati* who was in charge of the funds.

Secondly.—Pounds were established to which cattle found trespassing were to be brought, and in which fines were levied for the benefit of the league."

Animal food among other Hindus.

The sacrifice of animals (goats and occasionally buffaloes) is an essential part of the creed of the Sáktas; and meat is in great favour with them. With regard to the rest of the Hindus, the Bráhmans in some parts, as in the North-Western Provinces, eschew fish and flesh, and, in other parts, as in Bengal, indulge in them. The other castes take meat all over India. Goat's flesh is relished most; and it is the most approved form of flesh food. The more orthodox Hindus would not partake of the flesh of she-goats, nor of goats which, have not been offered up in sacrifice. In the Hindu part of Calcutta, there is an image of the goddess Káli known as the "butcher Káli" set up at every shop where goat-meat is sold for the Hindus. Besides goat, sheep, wild boar, deer, antelope, hare and some kinds of game-birds are allowed; domestic fowls are prohibited though some of the lower castes of aboriginal origin which have not yet been completely Hinduised take them. * With regard to all these articles, the practice is, to a great extent, regulated by local custom. In the Punjab, the Rájputs would not scruple to partake of the flesh of the wild boar; in Central India, on the other hand they would not, as a rule, take it. In some parts jungle fowl is eaten, in some parts it is not.

Forbidden vegetable food.

With regard to vegetables, certain articles, such as garlic and onion, are forbidden to the Dvijas in the Manusamhitá. The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who travelled in India about

* In a portion of the Rewah State, we found the Gonds, there called

400 A. D., says, that the people do not eat garlic or onions. The practice with regard to them, however, is almost entirely regulated by custom. In some parts, Bráhmans who would not touch meat, partake freely of onions; in other parts, Bráhmans who delight in fish and flesh, would on no account take onions.

Removal of food restrictions.

With the spread of Western ideas, the restrictions about food have to a great extent been removed. Some of the earliest educated youths in Bengal, intoxicated with the new ideas went to great extremes. They were not content with taking beef, the abomination of all sections of the Hindus; but they assumed a somewhat aggressive attitude, and, on one occasion, threw a portion of the beef they had eaten into the house of an inoffensive Hindu. * This was about sixty years ago. Since then,

Májhis, more Hinduised than in the Central Provinces, in that they have given up eating fowls and drinking liquors.

* The story is thus told by Dr. Duff, "Life of Alexander Duff" (Vol. I. p. 154):—

"In order to furnish the most emphatic proof to each other of their mastery over prejudice, and of their contempt of the ordinances of Hinduism, these friends of liberty had some pieces of roasted meat, believed to be beef, brought from the bazar into the private chamber of the *Inquirer* (a Journal edited by K. M. Banerjea.) Having freely gratified their curiosity and taste with the unlawful and unhallowed food, some portion still remained, which after the return of the Inquirer was thrown, though not with his approbation, in heedless and reckless levity into the compound, or inner court of the adjoining house, occupied by a holy Brahmin amid shouts of There is beef! There is beef!"

the movement towards greater freedom in the choice of food has been going on though with less of offensive ostentation.

Before the establishment of the British rule even smelling beef while cooking—let alone eating it—was considered an offence sufficiently heinous to be punished with excommunication.

In 1848, there was a great Hindu demonstration against missionaries and Christianity. On that occasion an elderly Hindu, addressing the boys present, said : "Babas, be followers of one God . . . . Eat whatever you like, do whatever you like, but be not a Christian." * Eating whatever one likes no longer subjects a Hindu to excommunication. We remember the time when some privacy was maintained about the matter. But no such privacy is required now. Statistics in support of sociological conclusions are seldom obtainable, and when obtained they are not often reliable. But the following figures, showing the proportion of the orthodox to the heterodox Hindus in the Jubilee Sanitarium at Darjiling, are significant :—

	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.
Orthodox Hindus ...	114	163	135
Heterodox Hindus ...	181	222	186

From the figures the conclusion appears to us just, that amongst educated Hindus in Bengal, at least among those who need or appreciate a change to a sanitarium, the number of those who disregard caste-rules about

* "Life of Alexander Duff" Vol. II. p. 68.

food is, at the present day, greater than those who still observe them. The heterodox Hindus openly dine at the table, and partake of forbidden animal food cooked and served by non-Hindus or very low-caste or practically no-caste Hindus. If such is the result within 73 years of the establishment of the first English school in India, and within 34 years of the foundation of the first English University in India, one can easily predict what the result will be half a century hence with the increasing spread of English education.

Intoxicating drinks in Vedic period.

The Indo-Aryans of the Vedic period were very fond of a fermented beverage prepared with the juice of the Soma plant; so much so that the plant was worshipped as a deity, and one entire *mandala* of the Rigveda is dedicated to it. The exhilarating and inebriating effects of the Somá liqour are frequently referred to in the Rigveda. Indra drank it to such excess, that his stomach used occasionally to get distended. In one of the hymns of the Rigveda it is said that "the praiseworthy Soma has from ancient times been the drink of the gods; he was milked from the hidden recesses of the sky; he was created for Indra and was extolled." In another, Soma is thus invoked: "O Soma! there is nothing so bright as thou. When poured out, thou welcomest all the gods, to bestow on them immortality."* Elsewhere, Soma is invoked by a votary to lead him to "that realm where

* R. V. IX, 110, 8; 108, 3.

there is perennial light, and where the Heaven is placed," "to that deathless and immortal realm!" The Vedic Aryas were not satisfied with the comparatively mild Soma beverage; they were also addicted to stronger drinks *(Surá)*.

Intoxicating drinks prohibited by Buddha,

But, the evil consequences of inebriation gradually made themselves felt in Hindu society; and with the progress of their morals, the Hindus came to look upon drinking with very great disfavour. Gautama the Buddha preached: "The householder who delights in the law should not indulge *in intoxicating drinks*, should not cause others to drink, should not sanction the acts of those who drink, knowing that it results in insanity.

"The ignorant commit sins in consequence of drunkenness, and also make others drink. You should avoid this: it is the cause of demerit, insanity, and ignorance—though it be pleasing to the ignorant." *

and by Manu.

Manu included the drinking of spirituous liquors among the *mahápátakas* (the most heinous sins). The expiation for a Bráhman guilty of it is stated to be suicide by a draught of boiling hot spirit, water, milk, or cow's urine taken in a burning hot metal pot.† Another moralist prescribed a draught of molten silver, copper or lead. The punishment, however, is not left to voluntary expiation. The wise legislator Manu enjoins, that Bráhmans guilty of drinking spirits should be branded on their forehead

* Rhys Davids, "Buddhism" p.p. 138-139.

† Manu XI. 91-96.

with the mark of a "vintner's flag" ; "with none to eat with them, with none to sacrifice with them, with none to read with them, with none to be allied by marriage to them, abject and excluded from all social duties, let them wander over the earth. Branded with indelible marks, they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations, treated by none with affection, received by none with respect : such is the ordinance of Manu." *

Notwithstanding such severe denunciation drinking must to a great extent have been prevalent even at the time of Manu. For, in one place, he says, that "there is no turpitude in drinking wine," but that abstention therefrom is attended by signal compensation. Elsewhere he says, that the Kshatriya and the Vaisya should abstain from *arrack* (a strong spirituous liquor), but the Súdra may drink whatever he likes. Hence a later authority concludes, "that Bráhmans alone have to abstain from all kinds of spirituous drinks, the Kshatriya and Vaishya from *arrack* or Paishti, leaving the Sudras to indulge in whatever they liked." †

Drunkenness during Mahomedan period.

Though the Koran abjures drinking, the royalty and aristocracy amongst the Mahomedans, especially during the Mogul period, were greatly addicted to it. All the emperors and princes of the Mogul dynasty, with the sole

* Manu IX. 238-239.

† Mitákshará quoted by Rájendra Lála Mitra "Indo-Aryans" Vol. I. p. 395.

exception probably of Aurangzeb, drank, and some of them to the greatest excess. Akbar laid down strict punishments for drunkenness and rioting. He established a wine shop near the palace, and put the wife of his porter in charge of it. He fixed the price of wine, and any sick person could get it by sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop.* But, as Badaoni observes, "people sent in fictitious names and got supplies of wine, for who could strictly enquire into such a matter?" Bábar, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, records many drinking parties in his "Memoirs"; and there is good reason to suspect that his indulgence in wine shortened his life. The emperor Jahangir says in his "Memoirs," that after having taken to wine-drinking, he took more and more from day to day, until wine of the grape had no effect upon him. He then had recourse to spirit-drinking; and in the course of nine years he got up to twenty cups of double distilled spirits, weighing no less than six seers! † His brother, prince Danyal, died of excessive drinking. The vices of the Courts must have had a demoralising effect upon those Hindus who came within the sphere of their influence.

Tántrika influence

Drinking spirits is an essential part of the worship inculcated by the Sákta Tantras. One of these works makes Siva address Deví thus:—

* *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blockmann's Translation) Vol. I. p. 192.

† *Wáki-at-i Jahangiri* "Elliot's History of India," Vol. VI p. 342.

"O sweet-speaking Goddess, the salvation of Brahmans depend on drinking wine. I impart to you a truth, a great truth, O mountain-born, (when I say) that the Brahman who attends to drinking and its accompaniments forthwith becomes a Siva. Even as water mixes with water, and metal amalgamates with metal; even as the confined space in a pot merges into the great body of surrounding space on the destruction of the confining vessel, and air commingles with air, so does dear one, a Brahman melt in Brahma, the great soul. There is not the least doubt about this, O mountain-born. Similitude with the divinity and other forms of liberation are designed for Kshatriyas and others; but true knowledge can never be acquired, goddess dear, without drinking wine; therefore should Brahmans always drink. No one becomes a Brahman by repeating the gayatri, the mother of the Vedas; he is called a Brahman only when he has knowledge of Brahma. The ambrosia of the gods is their Brahma, and on earth it is arack; and because one attains the character of a god *(suratva)*, therefore is arrack called *surá*." *

Abstention from drink among high-caste Hindus,

Notwithstanding the baneful influence of Tantrikism the great body of the higher caste Hindus, especially Bráhmans, have long held, and do still hold, drinking in abhorrence, and it is indulged in chiefly by the lower classes. But even amongst these abestention from drink is a test of respectability; even aborigines, like the Gonds, who are very fond of spirituous drinks abstain from them, at least to a great extent, when they are completely Hinduised.

and among Vaishnava and other Sects.

Abstention from drink is an essential part of the creed of a great many of the Hindu sects, old and new. The Kabirpanthis, the Satnámis, and most of the Vaish-

* *The Mátrikábheda Tantra* quoted by Rájendra Lála Mitra, "Indo-Aryans" Vol. I. p. 408.

nava sects profess to be total abstainers. The Sádhs would not allow even the mild stimulation of the betel-leaf: "Never eat nor drink intoxicating substances," says one of their commandments, "nor chew pán, nor smell perfumes, nor smoke tobacco, nor chew n or smell opium." *

Punishments prescribed by smritikáras against drinking not enforced at present.

Notwithstanding the anathemas pronounced by law-givers and moralists like Manu and Yájnavalkya against the drinking of alcoholic beverages, and notwithstanding its inclusion among the Mahápátakas, it does not appear to have been punished, at least in recent times, even with excommunication. While cases are recorded of people having lost caste by being forced to take beef—which according to the oldest Hindu Sástras is only an *upapátaka*—or even by smelling cooked beef no case is known of excommunication due to voluntary drinking even to the greatest excess. The connivance of the Hindus at the breach of one of the most stringent ordinances of their sacred books, aided by the influence of the Western civilisation, led, about thirty years ago, to a somewhat alarming growth of the habit of drinking among the upper classes. Since then several counteracting influences presently to be mentioned have tended to restrain it. It is, however, still largely prevalent in all parts of India. In European society the presence of ladies restrain drunkenness, at least to a large extent. But in Indian Society the vice has its full play

* Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" p. 355.

unchecked by any extraneous influence. The Rev. Mr. Evans said at a meeting of the Sixth Social Conference:

"There was also another element of waste and wickedness which had recently been introduced into these festive functions, and that was the free use of *strong drinks.*

The vile habit was not known years ago in respectable circles at weddings. *Pan Supari*, a good *khana*, and *uttar* of roses used to be the tokens of sociability before, but now of late no nuptial was considered complete without a good supply of *Sharab*. Only the other day while I was at Gujranwalla in the Punjab, I heard of a Sikh Zamindar, who ordered Rs. 1200 worth of English liquor and Rs. 800 worth of native liquor to grace the nuptials of his son. This is a shame which should be stigmatized as a scandal to any respectable family.

The Kayastha community, who above all others used to be given to such habits, are fast giving them up and striving for social and moral reform, while the higher castes and classes adopt the very bacchanalian usages, which people they look down upon are abolishing.

I can only say that while I can but admire the noble efforts of the Káyasthas in their struggle for such social reforms, I stand astonished at Bráhmins and Rajputs, who are taking up the foul and filthy habits, which those below them in caste-customs are casting away."

Temperance and social reform societies.

Temperance societies and social reform associations of which we have now a large number have served to a great extent to check the progress of intemperance.* In connection with the A. I. T. Association there are now no less than one hundred thirty societies extending from Peshawar in the North to Madura in the South and comprising over one hundred thousand members chiefly from

* Report of the Sixth National Social Conference.

among young and educated Hindus. The lectures delivered under their auspices, and the tracts and journals issued by them have their effect, as also the pledges entered into by their members. Of the members of the Puna Social Reform Association, for instances 60 persons pledge themselves not to use liquor under any circumstances, 1495 promise not to do so except under medical advice, and to take the pledge adding the words "except on grounds of health." Only 182 have not taken the pledge, thus the proportion of those who have not bound themselves by the pledge under this head to those who have bound themselves is only 12 per cent.

* Mr. W. S. Caine thus speaks of an earnest Hindu worker in the cause of temperance in Southern India, Sabapathy Mudeliar, and of the good work done by temperance associations established by his efforts :

"I met Sabapathy Mudeliar for the first time in 1889, at the Fourth Indian National Congress at Allahabad. He has been a staunch friend of the Congress movement from its birth. At that time he had added to all his other sources of money-making that of abkari, or liquor contractor, for the three large districts of Bellary, Anantapur, and Kurnool. As he sat listening to the debate of the Congress on a resolution censuring the Government for their policy with regard to the sale of intoxicants, his conscience was awakened, and to use his own words, "he felt that his connection with this wretched trade was not only discreditable to himself, but displeasing to God." And immediately on his return home, he severed entirely his connection with these Government liquor contracts, sacrificing a large profit thereby. He immediately began an ardent Temperance crusade, and forming "an Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness," was elected its President. Shortly after he induced the Musalman authorities to

The agitation inaugurated by the temperance and social reform associations has led to important reforms in the excise administration of the country, and the number of liquor-shops has been considerably reduced. The Bráhma Samájes by inculcating strict temperance among their members have largely helped the work of the temperance associations. The Neo-Hindu and Theosophical movements have also served to check the progress of intemperance: even drunkards have been known to have been converted, under their influence, into total abstainers. The effect of all these influences is clearly seen in the following table of imported liquors, wines and spirits. In five years between 1858 and 1863 the quantity was more than doubled. Since 1863, however, there has been only a very slight increase as will be seen from the following table. The significance of this will be evident when we consider, that the number of Europeans as also of that class of Indians who consume imported intoxicants has considerably increased since 1863.

form the "Mussalman Temperance Society," of which Kazi Abdul Lateff Saheb is the President. Both these organisations are affiliated to the Anglo-Indian Temperance Society, and a full account of the marvellous work they have done in the cause of Temperance will be found in *Abkari* for January, 1891, page 77. When I visited Bellary in November, 1890, I was the guest of Sabapathy Mudeliar, who showed me his old distillery full of milch-cows, whose milk is mostly distributed to the poor of the city. This admirable man is my ideal of a public-spirited Indian citizen, and if we had fifty such men scattered through our Indian Empire we could clear out every liquor shop in five years.''

(Quoted in "Some Noted Indians of Modern Times" Madras).

Alcoholic beverages imported into India in tens of rupees :—

	Malt liquors.	Spirits.	Wines.	Total.
1858-59.	239,308	166,253	246,685	652,246
1863-64.	646,782	452,503	339,329	1,338,684
1868-69.	435,770	455,174	476,406	1,367,350
1873-74.	363,496	553,884	511,864	1,429,244
1878-79.	313,070	647,661	440,828	1,401,559
1883-84.	272,323	674,969	387,322	1,334,618
1888-89.	412,852	730,027	342,330	1,484,209

Distant Sea-voyage and residence in foreign countries.

It is one of the many inconsistencies of modern Hinduism, that while the partaking of beef (an upapátaka) and the drinking of intoxicating beverages (a mahápátaka) do not at present entail loss of caste, distant sea-voyage, which is nowhere prohibited in the oldest and most authoritative of the Hindu Sástras,* and which even in later books is never considered so heinous as drinking, is visited with excommunication. In the Rigveda there are allusions to sea-voyages undertaken by Indo Aryans. In one passage the god Varuna is said to know the paths of the birds through the sky, and the paths of the ships over the sea. Elsewhere a Rishi refers to "people who desiring to acquire wealth pray to the sea before undertaking a voyage"; Baudháyana who is supposed to have flourished in the fifth century B. C. tells us that one of the customs peculiar to Northern India is going to sea.† In the earlier centuries of the Christian

Earliest references.

* Manu (III, 158), excludes those who go to sea from Sráddhas; but he also excludes doctors, musicians &c.

† Baudháyana, I. 1, 2. "Sacred Books of the East" Vol XIV. p. 146.

era, Hindus (including Bráhmans) sailed to China, Java, and other distant lands.

Excommunication for distant sea-voyage.

The present practice is to excommunicate those who go for purposes of education or travel to Europe or America Voyages to Ceylon, Burmah, China, or even Australia are not visited with such punishment, though the conditions under which they are made may in no way differ from voyages to the West. The idea of punishing such voyages, no doubt, originated in the fact that they cannot ordinarily be performed without the partaking of forbidden food, or of food cooked by non-Hindus. It is curious, however, that such food taken in the country, or on short voyages does not, at least in Bengal and some other parts, entail loss of caste.

A Hindu who is excommunicated for going to and residing in Europe or America may, according to present custom, be taken back into caste on his undergoing an expiatory ceremony of which an important part is the swallowing of a little cow-dung. Very few, however, probably not more than one in a hundred in Bengal, avail themselves of this means of re-admission into caste; and a movement has recently been set on foot to do away with the purificatory ceremony. The Sixth National Social Conference, carried a resolution to the effect, "that neither distant sea-voyages nor residence in foreign countries should by themselves involve loss of caste;" and a proposition to make this conditional upon the non-violation of caste rules was rejected by a large majority. It should be observed, however, that

a more recent resolution* passed in progressive Bengal is of a more retrograde character.

* The resolution passed at the last Provincial Conference held in Bengal (1894) runs thus: "That, in the opinion of this Conference, the time has come when, having regard to the important political, educational, and industrial issues which are involved, practical steps should be taken to give effect to the sea-voyage movement among Hindus, by organizing at an early date a trip across the seas to be undertaken by Hindus, due regard being had to Hindu customs and usages."





BOOK III.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

Greater freedom in ancient times.

The Aryan ladies of ancient India did not lead a secluded life like that of their descendants at the present day. Several of the hymns of the Rigveda were composed by female Rishis. At a meeting of theologians convened by Janaka, king of Mithila, a learned lady named Gárgi carried on discussions with the sage Yájnavalkya. Young ladies of the Vedic period appear to have had a voice in their marriage. "But the woman who is of gentle nature and of graceful form," runs a verse of the Rigveda, "selects among many her loved one as her husband."

Instances of Svayamvará.

Numerous cases of Svayamvará,* that is, of ladies selecting their own husbands, are mentioned in the Mahábhárata and other works of a later period. Kuntí, Draupadí, Sítá, and Damayantí chose their own husbands.

Devayání, daughter of a priest, offered her hand to king Yayáti. The Rájá hesitated as she belonged to a superior caste. Her father, however seeing that her resolution was inflexible overruled the question of caste and gave her in marriage to the king.

Sávi'tri'.

Sávitrí is a household word amongst the Hindus. When she became marriageable her father told her that as he had received no proposals, she must make her own selection. She drove with her companions to a forest where she met a young man named Satyaván who though of royal lineage was reduced to poverty and living in a hermitage. Sávitrí fell in love with him, and after due inquiries resolved to wed him. Returning home she expressed her wishes to her father. He however, being informed by the sage Nárada that Satyaván would die after one year, interceded with her to change her mind. But Sávitrí had given her heart away and could not think of marrying any one else. After her marriage she came to live with her husband in the forest, cast off her ornaments and other fineries, and endeared herself to everyone in her husband's family by her excellent qualities.

* At the Svayamvará, the lady chooses her own husband from among the assembled guests by placing a garland upon his neck.

A sea-side picnic. In a picnic at a seaside place given by Krishna and most graphically described in the Harivamsa, we find, that ladies and gentlemen ate, drank, and danced together without even the reserve observed in modern European society. While bathing, "Krishna and Nárada, with all those who were on their side began to pelt water on Bala and his party, and they in their turn did the same on the party of Krishna. The wives of Bala and Krishna, excited by libations of arrack, followed their example, squirted water in great glee with syringes in their hands. Some of the Bhaima ladies, overweighted by the load both of love and wine, with crimson eyes and masculine garbs, entertained themselves before the other ladies squirting water." Refreshed by the bath, the party began to eat and drink. "Surrounded by their loved ones, they drank of Marieya, Mádhvika, Surá, and A'sava, helping them on with roasted birds, seasoned with pungent condiments, ghi, acids, sochel salt, and oil . . . . . . After their feast the gallant Bhima chiefs, along with their ladies, joyfully commenced again to sing such choice delightful songs as were agreeable to the ladies." *

When Ráma returned home from exile, the ladies of his family came out to receive him. Sítá was present at his installation in the Court Hall. On the occasion

* "Indo-Aryans" Vol. I. pp. 440-441. The poet, in this description, has no doubt, largely drawn on his imagination. He must be presumed, however, to represent the manners of the time he depicts with some approach to faithfulness.

of the coronation of Yudhishthira, Draupadí sat on the throne by his side; and Kuntí and Gándhárí were present in the Hall.

Restrictions upon female freedom in the Manusamhitá.

About the time of the Manusamhitá, restrictions which, as we have just seen, were unknown in more ancient times, began to be placed upon the freedom of ladies. "In childhood" declares Manu "a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons. By leaving them she would make both her own and her husband's family contemptible." *

"Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

"No sacrifice, no vow, no fast, must be performed by women apart from their husbands; if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven." †

While the husband can divorce his wife if she only speaks unkindly to him, she is to cling to him with blind devotion and implicit obedience. Manu, cautions the learned not to take undue delight in the company

* Manu. V., 148-149.
† Manu. V., 154-155.

of the fair sex, and enjoins the youthful pupil not to show his respect to-wards the wife of his instructor by bowing to her feet. *

On the other hand, however, it is enjoined, that "women must be honored and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire their own welfare.

"Where women are honored, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honored, no sacred rite yields reward.

"Where female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy, ever prospers. †

Strict seclusion unknown in Buddhist-Hindu period.

There are passages in the Manusamhitá which clearly shew that the ladies were not yet immured in the zenana. In one place we are distinctly told, that the husband should feed his class fellows and other intimate friends with his wife. ‡ The absolute seclusion of women was unknown even in much later times. In the dramas and other works composed in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, the parts played by women show, that they exercised a very important influence upon men, and that they were treated with tenderness and respect. "In no nation of antiquity" says H. H. Wilson "were women held in so much

* Manu. II. 213-216.

† Manu. III. 55-57

‡ Manu. III. 113.

esteem as among the Hindus." In the *Kathásaritságara*, composed towards the close of the eleventh century, it is stated of a young bride, that she persuaded her husband "to throw open the doors of the inner apartment and allow free access to his friends and associates observing that 'the honour of women is protected by their own principles; and when they are corrupt all precautions are vain." In *Mrichhakati,* Chárudatta's wife converses freely with his friend; and we find ladies in the enjoyment of similar freedom in several other works.

In the *Samkaravijaya*, it is stated that Lílávatí, wife of Mandana Misra, acted as arbitress in a controversy which that scholar had with Samkara. "Contemporaneous with Samkara were the four Tamil sisters, Avyar, Uppay, Valhe, and Uravay. The first sister died a virgin, much admired for 'her talents in poetry and science.' She knew chemistry; and wrote on ethics, on which subject the second sister also wrote. The two other sisters employed their pens on various subjects." *

One of the latest authentic cases of Svayamvará was that of the daughter of Jaychánd, the last Hindu King of Kanauj. Owing to a long-standing feud between Jaychánd and Prithvíraja, the last king of Delhi, the latter was not invited at the Svayamvará festival, but his effigy was kept at the gate as a doorkeeper. The princess passed by the assembled princes and placed her garland upon the neck of the effigy at the door. Prithví-

* The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LV., p. 53.

rája hearing of this came with an armed band and carried her away. She proved a most devoted wife. When the bad news of her husband's death on the field of Panipat reached her, she ordered a funeral pyre to be prepared and entered it.

Mahomedan Influence.

That the Mahomedan occupation tended to make the seclusion of ladies more stringent than ever is evidenced by the fact, that ladies in parts such as Maháráshtra, where Mahomedan influence was never very strong, enjoy comparatively greater freedom than in other parts of India. The strictness of the Mahomedan zenana must to some extent have served as an example in Upper India. Besides, the standard of chastity among the male members of the Mahomedan nobility was never very high *; and the best protection against their lascivious proclivities was considered to be in the strictest seclusion.

It need scarcely be observed, that amongst the lower classes, the women do not lead a secluded life. They have to help their male relations in agricultural

* They were sometimes debauched to a degree. Akbar tried some peculiar remedial measures, but with what success is not known. He appointed a Daroga and a clerk to register the names of such as visited women of the town, or wanted to take them to their houses. If any body wanted to have a virgin, he was required to first apply to His Majesty and get his permission. It is said that His Majesty called some of the principal women of the town and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. After hearing their replies, some of the principal and most renowned grandees were censured, or punished, several to long terms of imprisonment. (The *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I. p. 192).

and other out-door occupations. Their seclusion however, invariably follows the elevation of their social status. The zenana is most stringent in large towns.

Present zenana.

In villages, ladies enjoy opportunities of walking about which are denied to their sisters in cities. Here they cannot stir out of the zenana, usually not over-commodious, and situated in narrow and not over-clean lanes at least from the Western point of view, except in palanquins and carriages with closed doors. It must not be supposed, that the zenana is felt as a hardship by the ladies themselves. They live in a world of their own and find as much happiness in it as falls to the lot of average humanity. The joint family system, presently to be described, while favouring dissentions also favours companionship.

It must not be supposed that Hindu ladies though living in the zenana do not exert any influence on the sterner sex. "Some of the rich and highly respected members of Hindu society have confessed," writes the Rev. W. J. Wilkins, "that thay owed their success in life to the sympathy, encouragement, and carefulness of their wives. As the women are most religious, their influence over sons and husband in religious matters is very great indeed."*

Some distinguished Hindu ladies during British Rule: Ahalyá Bái

Notwithstanding the restricted opportunities enjoyed by the Hindu ladies for the development of their minds, they have not unoften distinguished themselves by their business and even administrative capacity. Ahalayá Bái is a conspicuous instance. She

* "Modern Hinduism," p. 361.

administered the affairs of a large territory in Central India:

"She assumed the Government, and sat in *open durbár* at the age of thirty. She was remarkable for her patience and unwearied attention, in the consideration of all measures affecting the welfare of the country. She respected private rights sacredly, listened to every complaint personally, and studying the interests of all classes, she was a great advocate for *moderate assessment*, and rejoiced at the prosperity of her subjects. In the morning she was engaged in prayer, hearing *sacred works* read, performing ceremonies and giving alms. She lived on vegetable food. After breakfast clad in white clothes as a widow, and having no ornaments except a small necklace, she sat in open durbár from about 2 to 6 P. M.; after which she devoted two or three hours to religious discipline. The books she was fond of reading were the *Purânas*, from which she drew chiefly food for her mind. The life of self-abnegation she led, imparted to her thoughts and acts a *deep tinge of religion*: In the performance of her daily duties, as the highest authority of the land, she deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power; and whenever any severe measure was proposed, she said, "Let us mortals beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty." She considered herself "a weak, sinful woman" She loved truth and hated adulation. When a Bráhman submitted to her a work written by him and full of her praises, she ordered it to be thrown into the Narbadá. She was judicious in the selection of her agents. She was not only successful in the internal administration, but possessed great diplomatic powers by which the country enjoyed tranquillity as long as she governed; and she reigned for thirty years. She built numerous temples, holy edifices, dharm sálás, forts, wells, and a road over the Vindhya Range. She was not only humane to *man*, but also to the brute creation. The oxen ploughing the fields were refreshed with water, the birds and fish also partook of her compassion."* Malcolm says: "In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears within her limited sphere to have been one of the purest and most exemplary

* The *Calcutta Review* Vol. LV. (1872) p. 56.

rulers that ever existed; and she affords a striking example of the practical benefit a mind may receive from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its Creator." *

Ráni Bhaváni,

Mahárání Bhavání ruled the Natore State with conspicuous success towards the end of the last century. She was "endowed with a large capacity for business. She thoroughly understood Zamindari affairs, and the tact and judgment with which she managed the Ráj were most admirable. * * * She enhanced the profits of several estates and arrested the ruin of others. She was a gifted genius—with the talent of governing and managing men, and her *regime* was the culminating period of the influence and wealth of the Nátore family. She was a strong-willed and large brained woman, but she was amenable to the advice of those whom she trusted. She was a proud woman, but her pride was defensive and not aggressive. It was pride of a princess who could condescend to be familiar with her Amla and officers, but could when necessary keep them at arm's length" Ráni Krishnamani was a worthy successor of Rani Bhaváni. She was a very capable lady. "Her efforts to rescue the residue of the estate from being swallowed up by litigation and rival claims were unceasing and at last crowned with success." Her daughter-in-law, Ráni Sibeshwari, also evinced great capacity for business. A writer in the Calcutta Review notices as "the great peculiarity of the Nátore family, that the women have been immea-

* Malcolm's "Central India" (1823) Vol. I. p.p. 194-5.

surably superior to the men. While the male members have been mediocrities, the female members have been celebrities."*

English influence.

The influence of the Western environment has been to considerably slacken the rigidity of the female seclusion. Long journeys are now usually accomplished not, as in former times, in palanquins with closed doors, but in railway carriages and steamers which are not favourable for the maintenance of strict seclusion. Then, again, in cities like Calcutta, such places of amusement as Museums and Zoological Gardens are largely resorted to by ladies whose curiosity considerably shortens the conventional length of veils. "During the Calcutta Exhibition" says the Rev. W. J. Wilkins "a great mark of progress was to be seen in the thousands of Hindu ladies who were permitted to come forth from their homes to witness the great show. Ladies in bands of four to twenty were to be seen under the guidance of their young brothers-in-law, or the Zenana teachers of the various missions, most busily engaged in examining all the wonders that were collected together. The prospect and retrospect of their visit to the outside world must have given immense delight to multitudes who for years had not been permitted to see or be seen by the outside world. Some Hindu gentlemen went so far as to say that in their opinion, had the Exhibition, continued open for a

* *The Calcutta Review* Vol. LVI. p.p. 10-27.

year, the doors of the zenana-khanahs would not have been again closed; that the ladies, having once tasted the sweets of liberty, would not have been content to remain immured." *

The ladies of the Bráhma Samáj of India (the Church of the New Dispensation) lead a some-what more secluded life than their sisters of the Sádháran Bráhma Samáj. In the Church, the former sit behind screens, while a good number of the latter dispense with the necessity of such protection.

Advanced Hindu ladies in Calcutta have for sometime past been getting up Fancy Fairs and Theatricals from which however, the male sex is at present wisely excluded. They may be occasionally met with riding or driving, or at the dinner-table in hotels and refreshment rooms, at public meetings, millinery and other shops, and even at levees at the Government House. In Bengal, there are now many Hindu ladies who have graduated at the Calcutta University, and a few who are practising medicine as a profession. There are also Hindu authoresses of distinction.

There is, however, still a strong body of conservative Hindus who look upon progress such as we have just indicated with disfavour. The following extracts from a Madras paper† very fairly represent their views on the subject. We are aware of but few cases of educated ladies in Bengal to whom the charges made in them

* "Modern Hinduism" (Calcutta, 1887), p. 375.

† The *Madura Mail* quoted in the *Indian Mirror*, 14th December, 1893.

would at all apply. We do not know the exact state of matters in Madras, but are inclined to think, the writer has given undue prominence to exceptional facts.

"Before giving out our views on the subject of education for our women, let us see what sort of education is given to them. The matrons of the house give lessons to young women about the duties they owe to their relations and neighbours and the good examples they place before them, teach them better than the lessons they give. The daily avocations of a Hindu woman are—to rise early from bed, saying the name of God, to wash herself, to clean the house, to worship her deity after bathing, and then to cook food for the inmates of the house. In the midst of these avocations, she ministers to the wants of her children, and gives alms to the poor. In the event of a stranger making his appearance, be he a mendicant or a recluse, she ministers to his wants and feeds him sumptuously. After feeding the inmates of the house, she takes her meal. If a stranger comes at this time, she cheerfully cooks food for him, and considers herself happy in satiating his hunger. Young women assist matrons in these works, and thereby learn practically the duties incumbent on them. In the afternoon our women get some leisure, and they pass it profitably. There are some matrons who have read the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other religious works: and they either peruse portions of the same or narrate the incidents described in them for the edification of the females of the neighbourhood who meet together to hear them. The accounts of the noble lives, led by Síta, Sávitri and other celebrated women of ancient times, tend not a little to imbue the minds of our women with noble ideas. This is supplemented by the edifying lessons, given by Kathaks or Puranics, from time to time.

The works of our women are not confined to their own domiciles. They cheerfully help their neighbours when necessary. They cook food for their neighbours, attend on sick persons day and night. These are the good results coming out of the training which our women receive from the matrons. The object of education is to form the mind and to make the recipients of it useful members of society. It does not matter whether education is received in a public school or in the

midst of a family, so long as the wished-for object is attained. It is true that several of the matrons are without letters: but when we see that the training they give leads to good results, we cannot but give them the meed of praise they deserve. In certain parts of India, notably in Bengal, Hindu women are seen making free use of some proverbs, when they find anything amiss on the part of the inmates of the house. These proverbs are replete with wholesome lessons and they are addressed by matrons to the juvenile members, male as well as female, in the way of admonition or advice. This also is a good method of educating our young women.

Let us now take a review of the method, adopted by educated young men, in imparting education to our women. Schools for girls are being established, and the Government are lending them their helping hands. The girls remain in these schools up to the 8th or 9th year of their age, when they are withdrawn on account of their marriage. The education that is given during this short period is necessarily of an elementary nature, and the smattering of knowledge they receive is very soon forgotten It is not too much to expect that the husbands of these girls should supplement the education their wives received before marriage, by giving them salutary lessons, but we are disappointed to notice a different state of things. And it is not a wonder.

The education our young men receive, feeds their minds with facts and figures. but fails to elevate their character, morally and religiously. These young men become themselves devotees of fashions and frivolities: and they educate their wives in a manner that would make them their suitable companions They read with them the novels and the dramas that depict in glowing colours love scenes of a debasing nature, and thereby vitiate the tastes of the innocent girls This is not all. They embellish them with all the decorations and fineries of European ladies, and instances are not wanting of their partaking with them foreign food Some of our so-called advanced young men give undue indulgence to their reformed wives: and the latter, as a matter of course, look upon other members of the family with disdain. They consider it a drudgery to cook and to attend to other domestic work. They pass their time in the drawing-room with a few lady companions, decorating themselves with all the embellishments that fashion has at its command. Here they pass their time, sometimes in playing and

sometimes in reading love-tales: and if they do aught that is useful, they sew woollen caps or comforters, and that is done as a diversion rather than as a work of utility. These articles are seldom used in the family. They are generally given to friends as presents.*

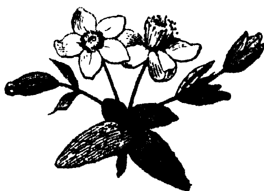
The doings of the so-called enlightened ladies disgust the matrons of the house, and bring in dissensions in the family. The other juvenile members, who are not of the enlightened type, perform only their share of the work So that the work, left undone by the fashionable ladies, devolves on the matrons The state of things cannot last long. The household work will be performed as long as the matrons are living, but it is hard to conceive the pitiable plight in which our young men will be placed after the demise of these good women. There are only a few among us who have means to employ cooks and maid-servants: so that, matters will come to such a pass that our reformed young men will find themselves in the painful necessity of cooking their food and performing other work. For, they will scarcely have the audacity to request their fashionable wives to perform the work of menials. Fortunately, the number of young men of this type is limited. We have made a prominent mention of their doings with a view to warn our young men generally.

There is another agency at work to give education to our women. Some of the Christian Missions are sending to the zenana, ladies brought from Europe and America to impart to Hindu females secular instructions interspersed with the doctrines of Christianity. These Christian ladies teach needle work, and this has induced our young men to open the doors of the zenana to them. The injury they are doing to the Hindu community is very great. Their teaching is secretly sapping the very foundations of our nationality. Outlandish manners are gradually permeating through the system, and the evil effects of the same are distinctly visible. The virtues for which Hindu women are famous, are, one after another, disappearing from among them. Their sympathy towards their relations and neighbours is giving place to selfishness, their regard towards their superiors is giving place to hauteur, and their remarkably religious habits are giving place to the fineries of the Euro-

* As we have said in the text, the charges made above are greatly exaggerated, at least as regards Bengal.

pean ladies. It cannot be said that our women derive no benefits from the lessons they receive, but the little good that comes out of them is smothered under the crushing weight of the injurious effects that are engendered.

Some of our reformers allow their daughters to attend school after their marriage. This may be taken to be a move in the right direction: but as there is a Christian element in the tutorial staff of the schools, established for females, good results cannot be expected. We do not deny the sincerity of purpose which actuates the Christian school mistress: but the infusion of foreign ideas among students mars the object of education. Our family system is quite different from that in vogue in Europe: so that, what is considered beneficial in that continent may not be so to this country."





CHAPTER II.

JOINT FAMILY.

Basis of joint family.

The joint family has from a remote period been the unit of the Hindu social system. Its basis is a religious one, the worship of ancestors. Its limits, according to Hindu Law, are defined by the right to perform the obsequies of the dead. It incldes all who offer, receive or partake the funeral cake or *pinda,* all such being in consequence, called *sapinda* to each other.*

"A Hindu is bound to offer the *pinda* to his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather in the paternal line, and he in turn may expect to receive it from his son, his grandson, and his great-grand-son. All these.

* "A Hindu is supposed to participate after his death in the funeral oblations that are offered by any one of his surviving relations to some common ancestor to whom he himself was bound to offer them while living, and hence it is that the man who gives the oblations and the man who receives them, and the man who participates in them are all recognised as *Sapindas* of each other." Justice Dwáraká Nath Mitter quoted in *Calcutta Review* Vol. LII (1871) p 255.

therefore, comprising *seven* degrees are *sapindas* and constitute the inner most family circle. The family also comprehends all those who present the *pinda* to the same ancestor, and thus various collateral branches are included. Brothers and their sons and grandsons are all *sapinda* to each other in as much as they all offer the *pinda* to the same father." *

Present constitution of joint family.

Though the underlying principle of the joint family system is a religious one, it has long become a purely social institution. Those who choose to separate can do so without suffering any penalty. There is provision made for such separation in the Manusamhitá and other *Smritis*.

In a Hindu joint family the father, his sons, and sons' wives, his grandsons and grandsons' wives, his brothers and brothers' wives, and sometimes more distant relations, male and female all live together under the same roof. Ward cites the case of a Hindu family consisting of a grandfather with his children and grand children in a direct line, amounting to nearly fifty

* *Calcutta Review* Vol. LII. (1871) p.p. 255-256. "Outside the family circle of *Sapindas* lie a more distant set of kinsmen who are called *Sakulyas*. These are the three generations in ascent and descent beyond the *sapindas* * * * outside and beyond these again lie the *Samanodakas* or "kindred connected by libations of water; and they must be understood to reach to seven degrees beyond the kindred connected by funeral oblations of food, or else as far as the limits of knowledge as to birth and name extend." The three series of kinsmen—*Sapindas, Sakulyas, Samanodakas*—together constitute the *gotra* or Hindu *gens*.

persons. Another case given by him is still more striking: "Jugunnath Tarka Panchánan who lived to be about 117 years of age, and was well known as the most learned man of his time, had a family of seventy or eighty individuals, among whom were his sons and daughters, grandsons, great-grandsons, and a great-great-grandson. In this family, for many years, when, at a wedding or on any other occasion the ceremony called the *Sráddha* was to be performed, as no ancestors had deceased, they called the old folks and presented their offerings to them."*

"No obligation exists on any one member [of the joint family]", says Justice Markby, "to stir a finger if he does not feel so disposed either for his own benefit, or for that of the family; if he does so, he gains thereby no advantage; if he does not do so, he incurs no responsibility, nor is any member restricted to the share which he is to enjoy prior to the division. A member of the joint family has only a right to demand that a share of the existing family property should be separated and given to him; and so long as the family union remains unmodified, the enjoyment of the family property is in the strictest sense common." †

Disadvantages of joint family.

Such a system has its advantages as well as disadvantages. It removes one of the strongest incentives to work, by

* Ward's "History, Literature and Mythology of Hindus," Vol. I. (1818) p. 145.

†Quoted in the *Calcutta Review* Vol. LII. p. 250.

denying the direct enjoyment of its fruits to the worker, and not only does not develop such qualities as individuality, strong-mindedness, and industry, but not unoften fosters idleness. If any member of the family finds work irksome, he can sit at home. Not only so; it is incumbent on him to marry, and as no Hindu is ever governed by Malthusian principles, he materially contributes in time to the numerical strength of the family. It should be observed, however, that public opinion and home influence—ladies behind the *purda* exert it to no small extent—keeps down such cases of extreme idleness. One of the worst evils of the joint family system is the not infrequent deterioration of landed property held in coparcenary. Important improvements may be, and sometimes are, withheld because of the want of agreement among all the sharers. Besides, the larger the family, the more frequent are the occasions for jealousies and dissensions. *

* "The annoyance and the worry to which a Bengali is subjected in his home are, very often, fatal to his success in any work which demands tranquillity of soul and steady industry. The "sweet home" of a Bengali is, in the largest number of cases, a source of endless distraction and embarrassment. If the walls within which talent and genius have had to live and work could be questioned, what a tale they would tell! What a shedding of tears they have witnessed, what sighs of grief and despair they have heard! What scenes they have seen, of hearts lacerated and nerves paralysed, of struggles baffled and renewed and baffled again, of the unwilling surrender of heroic souls to the overpowering forces of domestic misery! The Hindu home has crushed many a spark of native fire, buried many a noble project. Poverty is not the worst of its destructive agencies; but the agitation of feeling caused by the living together of a large number

The mother-in-law sometimes rules with an iron hand. The Rev. Lal Bihari Dey thus describes the sufferings of the young wife Málati, at the hands of her mother-in law, Sudhámukhi: "The nectar-mouthed lady, was a source of great trial to poor Málati. For sometime, she seemed to be very kind to her, but the infirmities of temper soon discovered themselves and made Málati quite wretched. Whatever she did seemed to displease her mother-in-law. She did not sweep the floor well; her cowdung cakes (for fuel) are badly made; the curries which she cooks are execrable; she is very ill-bred; she walks more like a boy than a girl; her voice is scarcely audible; it is like the hissing of a serpent; she has a nasty, sneering, sarcastic smile on her lips whenever anything is said to her. Such were the criticisms pronounced by Sudhámukhi on Málati." *

Advantages of Joint family.

On the other hand, the joint-family system protects the weak, the incapable, and the infirm from starvation. While it prevents the accumulation of excessive wealth and the good consequences thereof, it also prevents the growth of excessive

of men and women, very few of whom are in sympathy with each other, and almost every one of whom has some grievance as against the rest, cannot fail to deaden the energies. The quarrels of women, the deep seated malice of men, the "mighty contests" which "rise from trivial things," give no rest to the unfortunate inmate of the Hindu home. The fight rages sometimes about a point of dignity, sometimes about money, sometimes about questions of authority and obedience. Occasionally of course, there is intermission of active hostilities; but no more peaceful condition is ordinarily reached than that of armed neutrality." "Kristodas Pál" by N. Ghose pp. 146-147.

* "Govinda Sámanta"—Vol II. (1874) p. 13.

poverty and the evil consequences thereof. The joint family system obviates the necessity of a Poor Law in India. True, it does not favour the industrial qualities; but it promotes such gentler qualities as charity and humanity. The head of the joint-family, the *kartá* has not the despotic powers of the head of the ancient Roman family. He has only a share in the family property which he manages in trust. "The sástras," says Mr. Cowell, "by no means placed the family under the despotic power of its chief. The *kartá* did not possess his family and his property. He rather possessed his property through his family. His obligations outweighed his authority * * * The acts of each member probably bound the corporation; and every member of it was liable, since responsibility pervaded the whole family * * * The obligation to provide for the maintenance of the joint-family is the foundation of the father's authority over the joint estate."*

English influence on joint families.

The influence of the Western enviroment has been to disintegrate the joint family system though, as yet, to a small extent.† The western ideas of individuality and family responsibility

* The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LII, p. 285.

† "Though the influence of a foreign domination is superficial in most respects, it has been able at least to undermine the foundations of the Hindu joint family system, which, partly from this cause and partly from its own inherent defects, I can not but look upon as a doomed institution. I am not inclined to overrate the force of Government as a solvent power in any social direction, but in this case the action of Government is, so far as I can judge, in consonance with a natural and even healthy tendency of events." (H. J. S. Cotton, *New India*. p. 184).

which are being gradually imbibed by the educated community do not harmonise with the joint family system. Signs of an increased sense of self-interest are observable in that community. There is a tendency in the English educated Hindu to ignore responsibilities beyond the circle of his nearest relations. He does not quite see the reasonableness of others sharing the fruits of his labour. The increased costliness of living as well as the rise in the standard of living under Western influence without a proportionate rise in the means to attain it has strengthened the sense of self-interest. The older class of Hindus when able often used to support not only relations of various degrees of remoteness, but also others who were in no way related to them. It is said of the late Justice Dwáraká Náth Mitter, that "his indigent relations and village friends to the number of fifty including students from different parts of the country, formed a portion of his family at his Bhowanipore house. The students received board and education at his expense. In the morning Dwáraká Náth would invariably take his breakfast with his poor relatives and the school boys, and no difference in the quality of the viands or in the manner of treatment was allowed to prevail in the house." * The exigencies of the civilised life of the present day render such conduct almost impossible.

* Life of the Hon. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter—by Dinabandhu Sanyal pp. 62-63.



CHAPTER III.

AMUSEMENTS.

Dancing in ancient times.

Dancing is one of the most primitive sources of enjoyment. It is indulged in by almost all the aboriginal tribes, such as Bhils, Gonds, Lepchás, and Nágás. It appears to have afforded amusement to our Indo-Aryan ancestors of the Rigvedic period. In one hymn, Ushas (Dawn) is described as putting on her gay attire, like a dancer. In another, allusion is made to "the living going forth to dance and to laugh after a funeral."* In subsequent times it was reckoned as an accomplishment which high-born ladies were expected to acquire. Arjuna disguised as a eunuch taught dancing and music to the daughter of the king of Viráta. In the "Harivamsa," there is an interesting description of a dancing party which included such distinguished personages as

* R. V. I. 92, 4; X. 18,3. Muir's "Sanskrit Texts" Vol. V. (1884) pp. 185,466.

Krishna, Baladeva, and the sage Nárada. Ladies and gentlemen danced together. "The practice was for each man to have his wife for a partner; those who came without their wives danced with courtezans, but all in the same arena."

Description of an ancient dancing party.

"Inflamed by plentiful libations of ***kadamba*** liquor, Balaráma the majestic, danced in joy with his wife, the daughter of Revata sweetly beating regular time with his own hands. Beholding this, the damsels, were delighted. The wise and noble Krishna, to enhance the enjoyment of Bala, commenced to dance with his wife, Satyabhámá. The m ighty hero Pártha, who had come to this sea-side picnic with great delight, joined Krishna and danced with the slender and lovely Subhadrá (his wife). The wise Gada, Sárana, Pradyumana, Sámba, Sátyaka, the heroic son of the daughter of Sátrajit (Satyabhámá), the handsome Chárudeshna, the heroic princes Nisata and Ulmuka, the sons of Baladeva, Sankava, the generalissimo of the army of Akrura, and others of the heroic race, danced in joy. By the grace of Krishna, the pleasure boats flourished under the dense crowd of the foremost dancers of the Bhaima race. Through the god-like glory of the heroic and most ardent dancers of the Yadu race, the creation smiled in joy, and all the sins of the princes were subdued.

"The Bráhman sage, Nárada, the revered of the gods, came to the scene for the gratification of Madhusudana, and in the midst of the noble Yádavas began to dance with his matted locks all dishevelled. He became the

central figure in the scene, and danced with many a gesticulation and contortion of his body, laughing at Satyabhámá, and Kesava, at Pártha and Subhadrá, at Baladeva, and the worthy daughter of the king of Revata. By mimicking the action of some, the smile of others, the demeanor of a third set, and by similar other means, he set all a-laughing who had hitherto preserved their gravity. For the delectation of Krishna imitating the mildest little word of his, the sage screamed and laughed so loudly and repeatedly, that none could restrain himself, and tears came to their eyes (from immoderate laughing)."*

Dancing in disrepute.

Such riotous scenes probably created an aversion for dancing in the minds of the more staid and thoughtful among the Hindu community. With the gradual seclusion of the upper-class ladies, dancing ceased to be one of their accomplishments; and by the time of the Manusamhitá it had fallen altogether into disrepute. In that work, dancers and actors are called *Kusilava*, that is "those whose profession is bad," † and the "twice-born" are directed not to cultivate dancing. ‡

Since the time of Manu dancing amongst the Hindus has been confined to women of ill-repute. Professional

* Harivamsa quoted in "Indo Aryáns" Vol. I. pp. 437-438.

Harivamsa was written long after the time of Krishna; and there must be a good amount of poetical licence and exaggeration in the description we have just quoted. But that there is a substratum of fact in it, there can be scarcely any doubt. The Rásalílá has probably preserved the memory of the ancient Hindu fondness for dancing.

† Manu III. 155, VIII. 65.

‡ Manu IV. 64.

dancing women are sometimes attached to temples, and they are often employed on festive occasions.* Quite recently a movement has been set on foot in the Madras Presidency to discourage such dancing; and a resolution was passed at the last Social Conference recommending local social reform associations to do their best to discountenance such entertainments.

Dancing among radical Neo-Hindus.

A few of the most progressive among the Neo-Hindus of the radical type who visit England learn dancing there. But, they, as a rule, have but little opportunity of indulging in it on their return home; for their ladies have not, at least as yet, taken a fancy to the art.

Acting in ancient times.

Acting, like dancing, is an ancient form of social entertainment, but, unlike dancing, it does not ever appear to have been practised by people of respectability. At the sea-side

*In Madras "next to the sacrificers, the most important persons about the temples are the dancing girls, who call themselves *Deva-dasi, servants of the Gods.* Their profession requires of them to be open to the embraces of persons of all castes. They are bred to this profligate life from their infancy. They are taken from any caste, and are frequently of respectable birth. It is nothing uncommon to hear of pregnant woman, in the belief that it will tend to their happy delivery, making a vow, with the consent of their husbands, to devote the child then in the womb, if it should turn out a girl, to the service of the Pagoda. And, in doing so, they imagine they are performing a meritorious duty. The infamous life to which the daughter is destined brings no disgrace on the family." Dubois, "Manners and customs of the people of India." It is doubtful if any such custom prevails at the present day.

picnic mentioned above a "charming band of heavenly nymphs," entertained the party by exhibiting various dramatic scenes. They are described as having "acted with great delight beating time with their hands." * Actors and actresses are referred to in the Manu-samhitá and other works, though in terms which show, that they held a low position in society. There can be no doubt that dramas resembling the miracle plays of mediæval Europe were performed in India in the third century B.C. In the earlier centuries of the Christian era, Hindu Drama was carried to a high stage of perfection.

Sanskrit Drama.

The plays of Kálidása, Bhababhúti, and other dramatists show that stage directions, sometimes of an elaborate nature were observed, that the *dramatis personæ* were dressed in character; and that weapons, cars and thrones were in use. A simple curtain, however, was probably the only scenic appliance then known. † With the gradual decadence of the Hindu civilisation and the supersession of the Sanskrit by the vernaculars since the Mahomedan conquest, Sanskrit Drama was replaced by ruder and more popular plays in the vernacular tongues; or rather, such plays which must have coexisted with, or which had probably even preceded, the highly finished Sanskrit

* *Harivamsa*, quoted in "*Indo Aryans*," Vol. I. p. 436.

† See "Select Specimens ,of the Theatre of the Hindus" by H. H. Wilson, Vol. I. (1871), pp. lxvi. *et seq.*

Drama, survived its extinction. In the North-West they are known as Rásas, and in Bengal as Yátrás. * The subjects of the Yátrás are as a rule taken from the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, incidents from the life of Krishna and of Ráma furnishing the most favourite topics. There is more of singing than of acting in the Yátrás. What acting there is, accords but little with nature. It is the singing that keeps the attention of the audience enchained, sometimes from early dawn till near noon. Men play the parts of women. There is no stage and no scenic appliance; the actors sit in the centre of a hall or of a canopied courtyard, surrounded by the audience on all sides, and get up and act their parts. When there is any singing, it is joined in by the whole party. Altogether the Yátrás leave much to the imagination of the audience. The entire expense of the Yátrá is borne by the party at whose house it is held; sometimes it is also got up by subscription. But in either case, admission to it is free and unrestricted. It is still the most popular form of dramatic entertainment in Bengal. †

Yátrás and Rásas,

* Yátrá, derived from the root *Yá*, to go, means in the first place, a going or departing; secondly, a march, religious procession; and thirdly, a poular dramatic representation probably represented originally in connection with religious processions, especially in spring and autumn.

† Several of the published Yátrás of Eastern Bengal have been noticed by Dr. Nisikánta Chattopádhyaya in a brochure on the "Yátrás" (London, 1882).

Theatres.

Owing to the recent revival of the Hindu Drama due at least partly, to English influence, Yátrás have suffered considerably in the estimation of the upper classes. Raja Krishna Chandra of Nadiyá about the middle of the 18th century). is said to have patronised dramatic representations. Bhárat Chandra Ráya, a poet of his court, composed a trilingual drama called the *Chandi Nátak*, in Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi. The first recorded Hindu attempt at dramatic performance since the time of Krishna Chandra was in the year 1859, when an amateur dramatic club in Calcutta put on the stage, the *Bidhabá Bibáha Nátaka* or "the widow marriage Drama," which giving a vivid picture of the trials and sufferings of a young Hindu widow was writen to promote the movement in favour of the remarriage of widows which had then been engaging the earnest attention of such benevolent men as Isvara Chandra Vidyáságara. Keshab Chandra Sen, the Bráhma reformer, was the stage-manager. The success of the play led soon after to the establishment of a professional Theatre. There are now five such Theatres in Calcutta. They differ but little from their European prototype except in the fact, that the seats for the accommodation of Hindu ladies are screened. The get-up of several of these Bengali Theatres would bear comparison with that of any local English Theatre. There are several Bengali actors and actresses who are by no means inferior to those who tread the boards of English Theatres. The most distinguished playwright and successful actor in Bengal is Girish Chandra Ghosh. The

most successful plays are those which are based upon religious subjects, such as "Prahlád Charit" and "Chaitanya Charit". The former has been on the boards of the Royal Bengal Theatre week after week for several years without scarcely any diminution of its popularity.

Amateur theartrical performances are occasionally got up in the larger towns in Bengal; and they are sometimes of a very creditable character. "There are two opinions" says Mr. F. H. Skrine of the Bengal Civil Service "as to the ability of educated Bengalis to wield the destinies of their country; but there is one only amongst qualified judges as to their aptitude for dramatic displays. I speak with the confidence born of long experience; for I have founded theatres in at least half a dozen districts. Everywhere I have found in the upper and literary classes a degree of excellence as amateur actors which it would be impossible to beat anywhere."

Amateur theatricals.

Amateur theatricals are not confined to gentlemen. A few of the progressive Hindu ladies of Calcutta have also for several years past been finding recreation in them; nor have their performances been always confined to audiences of their own sex.

Plays in Central India.

"In Central India, the villages are," writes Malcolm, "frequently visited by drolls and strolling players: many of the latter are very clever. The subject of the satire of the plays, or rather farces, which they represent, is as often their mythological fables, as the measures

of their earthly rulers and governors The figures of the demigod Hunooman, with his monkey face,—Ganesa, with his elephant-head and portly belly,—are brought on the stage, to the great entertainment of the spectators. The incarnation of the Hindu Deities is a common topic with these players ; and the frisking of the figure of a large fish, which represents one of the principal incarnations of Vishnu, always excites bursts of applause. The Rájáh, his dewan, and all the ministers of his court, are frequent objects of ridicule with the actors in Central India; but what gives most delight to the peasant is a play in which the scenes that he is familiar with are exhibited. The new manager or renter of a district, for instance, is exhibited on the stage with his whole train of officers and attendants : every air of consequence is assumed by the new superior, every form of office is ostensibly displayed ; the Potails [head men of villages] and villagers are alternately threatened and cajoled, till they succeed in pacifying the great man by agreeing to his terms,or by gaining one of his favourites, who appears in the back part of the scene whispering and taking bribes. In some of these representations, the village Potail is described as losing his level, from his intercourse with courtiers and becoming affected and ridiculously great among his poor friends,and this commonly closes in some event that shews him in a condition of ludicrous degradation and repentance. Such representations are received with acclamation by the village audience of men, women, and children, who sit for whole nights looking at them. The actors are fed by the

people, and a little money is collected for their reward; they also receive a mite from the village revenue. The place of exhibition is usually a green near the village; but on particular occasions, such as marriages or festivals, a temporary building is erected."*

Music in ancient times.

The ancient Hindus made considerable progress in the art of music. † A regular system of musical notation was worked out before 350 B. C. It passed through Persia to Arabia, and was thencc introduced into European music about the 11th Century A. D. ‡

* Malcolm's "Central India" (1823), Vol. II. pp. 196-97.

† At the sea-side picnic given by Krishna which has been referred to above, on the conclusion of the feast, "the gallant Bhima chiefs, along with their ladies, joyfully commenced again to sing such choice delightful songs as were agreeable to the ladies. The Lord Upendra (Krishna) was pleased at night to order the singing of the *chhálikya* song which is called *devagandharva*. Thereupon Nárada took up his Víná of six octaves whereon could be played all the six musical modes (rága) and every kind of tune. Krishna undertook to beat time with cymbals, and the lordly Arjuna took up a flute, while the delighted and excellent Apsarasas engaged themselves in playing on the mridanga and other musical instruments. Then Rambhá the accomplished actress, cheerfully rising from one side of the court, delighted Ráma and Janárdana by her acting and her exquisitely slender figure" "Indo-Aryáns" Vol. I

‡ The following criticism on Indian music by an English writer may be interesting to European readers:

"Melodies which the Indian composer pronounces to be the perfection of harmony, and which have for ages touched the hearts and fired the imagination of Indian audiences, are condemned as discord by the European critic. The Hindu ear has been trained to recognise modifications

Among ladies.

From various passages in Sanskrit literature it appears, that ladies learnt singing. Arjuna taught singing to the daughter of the king of Viráta. Music is frequently alluded to as a feminine accomplishment. In Nágánanda we are told that the princess Malayávatí sang a song, possessing the treble and bass tones duly developed, and that she played with her fingers, keeping good time. In the Kathá Sarit Ságara it is mentioned that the princess Mrigávati attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. * There can be no doubt, however, that music was principally cultivated, as it is at the present day, by professional women.

of sound which the European ear refuses to take pleasure in. Our ears, on the other hand, have been taught to expect harmonic combinations for which Indian music substitutes different combinations of its own. The Indian musician declines altogether to be judged by the few simple Hindu airs which the English ear can appreciate. It is, indeed, impossible to adequately represent the Indian system by the European notation: and the full range of its effects can only be rendered by Indian instruments—a vast collection of sound-producers, slowly elaborating during 2,000 years to suit the special requirements of Hindu music. The complicated structure of its musical modes (*rágs*) rests upon three separate systems, one of which consists of five, another of six, and the other of seven notes, It preserves in a living state some of the early forms which puzzle the student of Greek music, side by side with the most complicated developments." Hunter's "Indian Empire," p. 111.

* Kathásarit Ságara. Translated by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, (1880), Vol. I. p. 53.

Music in the Mahomedan period.

Though against the Mahomedan law, music, both vocal and instrumental, was encouraged by the Mahomedans. The Kashmir school of music was founded by Irani and Turani musicians patronised by Zain-ul-Abidin, King of Kashmir. We read of many Hindu musicians of note during the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir, and Shah Jehan. Miyán Tansen, the most distinguished vocalist that India has produced, was a Hindu convert to Mahomedanism; Rám Dás, was for some time with Bairam Khan, from whom he once received a reward of a lákh of rupees. His son, Sur Dás, was also a singer of note; Jagannath was one of the Court vocalists during the reign of Shah Jehan. He was once weighed in silver and received a present of 4,500 rupees. The bigoted Aurangzeb, following the letter of the Mahomedan law, ordered the dismissal of the Court singers and musicians. The historian Khafi Khan mentions a curious incident after the order had been given. The Court musicians brought a bier in front of the palace and wailed so loud as to attract the Emperor's attention. He came to the window and enquired whom they had on the bier. They said, "Melody is dead, and we are going to the graveyard." "Very well," said the Emperor, "make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it."

There has scarcely been any change in Indian music since the establishment of the British Rule, except in Bengal, where there has of late been observable a

tendency towards a disregard of the conventional methods of singing. Such disregard has long been a characteristic of the *kirtans*. In them, the Bengal Vaishnavas have for several centuries past been freely giving vent to their religious emotions without any strict regard for the current rules of music. But, the principle of the kirtans has, of late, been highly developed by a Bengali poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Kavi.

Besides such music, vocal and instrumental, as invariably accompanies dancing and acting, there are various forms of purely musical entertainments like "Kavi" in Bengal. Several of these are gradually becoming obsolete. Half a century ago, "Kavi"† was the most popular musical entertainment in Bengal. It is a kind of contest in songs between two parties. The contest often descended to personalities. For instance, a Kavi party headed by one Anthony, who, though of French extraction, appears to have been completely Hinduised, sang addressing Deví :—

Have mercy, Mother, and save me O Mátangi !
Prayers nor rites I know, by caste a Firingi.
And when dreadful death draws nigh,
Let me find retreat,
Under the shadow, mother of thy blessed feet.

The opposite party replied :—

Thou canst not be saved, a Firingi by caste.
Go to Serampore Church, and pray to Christ at last.

† "Kavi" is a Sanskrit word which means literally, a poet.

Personalities were, however, not the only fault to be found with the Kavis. They sometimes descended to the grossest obscenities.

Pácháli and Half-Akrái.

Next to Kavi, Páchális and Half-Akráis were the most fashionable musical entertainments in Bengal half a century ago. The Páchâli is a recitation of a story in rhyme, accompanied with music. The subject is usually taken from the Rámáyana or the Mahábhárata. A writer thus wrote in the *Calcutta Review* in 1851: "Of late the Páchâli has become very fashionable, and is annually celebrated in Calcutta on a grand scale. There are many Páchâli versifiers now living, but the superiority is certainly due to Dásurathi Ráya, a native of the district of Burdwan, whose poems already amount to several volumes. The Half-Akráis too have of late become fashionable, especially in the metropolis: these are distinguished from the Páchális by more animated music and singing. During the Durgá Pujá celebrations bands of Half-Akrái and Páchâli singers may be seen marching through the streets of Calcutta with their flags hoisted, singing loud pœans of victory."* No such scenes, however, are to be witnessed now. Both Páchâli and Half-Akrái, like Kávi have become very nearly extinct.

Music among educated ladies.

In instrumental music the principal change in recent times has been the introduction of the harmonium and the piano, which, espe-

* *Calcutta Review* Vol. XV. p. 349.

cially the former, have penetrated even into the zenana. The cultivation of music at the present day is not confined to gentlemen; it is beginning to be held as an indispensable feminine accomplishment by a certain section of the progressive Hindus. Many young ladies of this class learn music with European professors. In Calcutta, the ladies can boast of several accomplished pianists, violinists and vocalists. Their performances at *soirées* and *conversazionés* have been found to be not of a mean order.

Dice-play in ancient times.

Our Indo-Aryan ancestors were very fond of a kind of game played with dice. It was often accompanied by gambling, sometimes of a most reckless character. It was at dice that King Nala gambled away his kingdom, and went into exile with his devoted wife Damayantí. It was also at dice that the sober and virtuous Yudhishthira betted away not only his kingdom, but also his brothers, his own self and even his wife! "O Varuna!" prays one of the Rishis of the Rigveda, "all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice or even thoughlessness has begotten sin." Another bard says:

"These dice that roll upon the board,
To me intense delight afford.
Sweet soma-juice has no more power
To lure me in an evil hour.
* * * * *
As wretched as a worn-out hack's
The gamester's life all joyance lacks.

His means by play away are worn,
While gallants court his wife forlorn.
His father, mother, brothers shout
"The madman bind and drag him out."
At times, the scorn of every friend,
I try my foolish ways to mend,
Resolve no more my means to waste,
On this infatuated taste :
But all in vain :—when, coming near,
The rattle of the dice I hear,
I rush attracted by their charms,
Like lady to her lover's arms.
As to his game the gambler hies,
Once more his hopes of winning rise ;
And loss but more, his ardour fires ;
To try his luck he never tires.
The dice their victims hook and tear,
Disturbing, tourturing, false though fair." *

The evil effects of gambling and betting must have grown to inordinate proportions to have led the sage Manu to enjoin corporal punishment, and even banishment for those vices. † Still, in the seventh century, Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese traveller, found dice to be one of the most pernicious faults of kings.

Dice in modern times : Páshá.

The Páshá board consists of two very long rectangles which bisect each other at right angles so as to leave a square in the middle. Sixteen pieces are used in the game, four on each side of the board. The moves of these pieces are regulated by the throws of three dice usually made of ivory. In

* R. V. X. 34, freely translated by Dr. Muir, "Sanskrit Texts" Vol. V. (Third Edition (pp. 427-28.

† Manu. IX. 224-225.

the time of Akbar, Páshá was known under the name of Chaupar * in the North-West. Dice-play at the present day is not accompanied by gambling at least to any serious extent. It is however going somewhat out of fashion.

Chess.

The invention of the chess has been ascribed by various authorities to the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, and the Hindus. 'Shatranj,' the name by which the game is known in Persia and India, is supposed by Sir William Jones to be a curruption of the sanskrit word 'Chaturanga.' Indeed, this word is supposed by Sir William to have "been transformed by successive changes into *axedrez, scacchi, echecs, chess*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word check, and even a name to the exchequer of Great Britain." † It should be observed, however that the Hindu Chaturanga consisted of four, instead of two, armies ; and the moves of the pieces appear to have been regulated by the throws of dice. Whatever the origin of chess may have been it has long been a favourite with the higher classes of Hindu society.

Cards.

Cards, though of more recent introduction than the two games just mentioned, are certainly more popular. They are played by

* *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's Translation) Vol. I. p. 303.

† "On the Indian game of chess," *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. pp. 159-165.

both men and women, whereas Páshá and chess are almost confined to the male sex. Cards were played in Mahomedan times. * But, the most popular games of the present day are either European, or imitations of European games. Many of the words of the Hindu card vocabulary are corruptions of European words. Such terms, for instance, as *haratan* (hearts), *trup* (trump), *vinti* (vengt), *handar* (hundred), *premara* (primero), have become quite familiar to the Bengalis.

Daspanchish.

Das-Panchish is in great favour, especially with ladies. Its board is like that of Páshá. The moves of the pieces, however, which, as in Páshá are sixteen in number, are regulated not by the throws of dice, but of Cowries. † "The long duration of the play," observed a writer in the "Calcutta Review" forty-three years ago, "the fascination which it produces, the warmth of feeling which animates the opposing combatants and its similarity to the genteel Páshá, render it one of the most favourite games of the females of Bengal." ‡

Ashta-Kashti.

Ashtá-Kashti, like Das-Panchish, is chiefly favoured by ladies in Bengal. It is played on a board consisting of twentyfive squares, with sixteen small pieces, the moves of which are regulated by the throws of four large Cowries.

* *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's Translation Vol. I. p. 306.)
† Cowry is a kind of sea shell.
‡ *Op. Cit.* Vol. XV. p. 342.

Mongal Páthán.

The game of Mongal Páthán is "the representation of a battle between the Mongals and the Páthάns. The battle field is accurately drawn, consisting of 16 squares: within this figure is inscribed a large square. On one side is ranged the Mongol army in a triangular form, and on the opposite side the Pathán army. Each army consists of 16 pieces, the moves of which are regulated not by chance, but by the skill of players."

Bágh bandi

The game of *Bághbandi* is somewhat similar to that of *Mongal Páthán*; but, instead of two armies, one side consists of a number of pieces representing goats and the other of one large piece representing a tiger. The moves of the goats are directed with a view to shut in the tiger, whence the name of the game. Both *Mongal Páthán* and *Bághbandhi* were, fifty years ago, highly popular with ladies in Bengal. * Now however, they are scarcely heard of in civilised society.

* "It is not a little remarkable that the females of the most unwar-like nation upon earth should delight themselves with the image of war. The fair ladies of England must, in this instance at least, yield to their dark sisters on the banks of the Bhagirathi, the palm of superiority. Which of the ladies, we ask, who are so thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of the polka and crochet, ever conducted with consummate generalship a Mongal or a Patan army. * * * * It [the game of Mongol Patan] is less ingenious than chess, inasmuch as the moves of the pieces are uniform. The fascination, nevertheless, which these less complicated game produces on the softer sex is fully equal to that exerted on more robust minds by the pastime called *par excellence* royal." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XV. (1851) pp. 341-342.

Billiards,

The game of billiards is gradually finding favour with the educated Hindu community. Billiard-tables are to be found at clubs frequented chiefly by Indians and at the houses of many well-to-do Hindus.

Out-door Games in pre-British times.

Tournaments would appear to have been rather common in ancient India. They were, however, confined to the military classes.

The game of *Chaugan* (hockey) was very fashionable during the Mongal Period. Abul Fazl expresses unbounded admiration for it. "Superficial observers" says he, "look upon this game as a mere amusement, and consider it a mere play; but men of more exalted views see in it a means of learning promptitude and decision. .... Externally, the game adds to the splendour of the Court, but viewed from a higher point, it reveals concealed talents" Pigeon-flying was in great favour. Akbar is said to have made it a study.

Animal fights were encouraged by the Imperial Court at Delhi, and used to attract large concourses of people. Akbar kept one hundred and one fighting deer. The manner of fighting of this animal as described in the "Ain-i-Akbari" is very interesting, its method of stooping down and rising up again being a source of great amusement. There were also buffalo-fights, goat-fights, ram-fights, cow-fights, and cock-fights. Betting was allowed, but regulated by Akbar according to the rank of the party betting. A commander of one thousand, for

instance, was allowed to bet six *mohurs* on a *deer*, but on cows and rams only two. A commander of ten, however, might bet only 8 rupees on a deer.*

Animal fights in recent times.

Buffalóe and ram-fights and pigeon-flying may still be occasionally witnessed in Bengal villages, but they have long ceased to be fashionable. Bul-bul fights were in great favour, about thirty years ago, in Calcutta. Those little birds used to be trained so as to wag their heads and fight with each other. The rich gentry of Calcutta were very fond of this pastime. Their suburban gardens used to be crowded for weeks together with spectators to witness it. It is, however, scarcely heard of at the present day.

Some common out-door games.

The commonest out-door games which the village youths in Bengal usually delight in are *Dándáguli* and *Hededudu*. The former is a kind of primitive bat-and-ball game with a large stick (*dándá*) for a bat and a small piece of wood, (*guli*) for a ball. In *Hededudu* the players are divided into two parties separated by a line. If a member of one of the parties can cross over to the side of the opposite party, touch a member of it, and return to his side, all in one breath, the man so touched is supposed to be "dead": if, on the contrary,he is caught hold of and detained till he takes another breath, he "dies"; so the game goes on until all the members of one of the parties "die", the opposite party being then

* *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's Translation) Vol. I. pp. 218 *et seq.*

the winner. Wrestling is a fashionable amusement in Rájputáná. In Bengal however, it is still popular only among the rural population.

European out-door games.

There have been more radical changes in out-door, than in in-door games. Cricket and, within the last ten years, foot-ball and tennis have been superseding such primitive games as *Dándáguli* and *Hededudu* which are gradually becoming restricted to the lower classes. Cricket came into fashion in Bengal with the foundation of the English Colleges. Bats, wickets and balls used to be supplied by Government to several of them, and cricket-matches between distant Colleges excited very great interest. Cricket has now become almost naturalised in India. A Hindu cricketeer lately won laurels in England. Foot-ball is also becoming very popular among students. Matches between Hindu and European teams are not uncommon.*. Tennis is also being widely adopted by

* One now and then comes upon paras like the following in Calcutta newspapers :—

"A friendly match under the association rules was played yesterday evening between the Sova Bazar Football Club [composed of Hindus] and E. Co. of the Rifle Brigade. The game took place on the ground of the Sova Bazar Club, and attracted a large number of spectators. Both teams were very evenly matched, the ball travelling freely up and down the field. Both sides secured several advantages which they failed to improve upon, and each team in turn on several occasions threatened one another's goals. At half-time neither side had succeeded in scoring. The second half of the game was merely a repetition of the play before half time. Both sides did their utmost to score, but without avail, and when play ceased the game resulted in a draw, neither side having scored."

the Hindus. Even Hindu ladies are occasionally seen in Bengal to take part in it.

Jugglery and Magic.

There are professional athletes and jugglers belonging to the lower classes, troupes of whom go about the country exhibiting various feats and sleights of hand. "They convert a pice into a mango, a plum into a cowrie. They create an egg in an empty bag, and cause a dead goat to drink water. They can dance upon a rope, vomit fire, and sometimes thrust a knife, through a man's neck without injuring it—which may be reckoned their *chef d'œuvre.* There are juggling women, who, unacquainted with the higher mysteries of the occult science, are only proficient in showing in their own gums a variety of teeth—teeth of monstrous size." There are transitional passages from jugglers such as these to expert magicians of a higher order such as have been recently described by Dr. Heinrich Hensoldt. †

According to him, "except raising the dead, not one of the miracles recorded in the New Testament is "half so wonderful as the feats performed by the average Yoghi." Dr. Hensoldt describes how he saw, "in the centre of one of the largest squares in Agra, a Yoghi plant a mango—an edible tropical fruit about the size of a large pear growing on a tree which

* *Calcutta Review* Vol. XV. p. 345.

† Noticed in the *Statesman* newspaper of Calcutta (Mofussil edition) Feb. 20. 1894

reaches a height of from forty to one hundred and twenty feet.

The Yoghi dug a hole in the ground about six inches deep, placed the mango in it, and covered it with earth......I was startled to see in the air above the spot where the mango had been buried, the form of a large tree, at first rather indistinctly, presenting as it were mere hazy out-lines, but becoming visibly more distinct, until at length there stood out as natural a tree as ever I had seen in my life—a mango tree about fifty feet high and in full foliage, with mangoes on it. All this happened within five minutes of the burying of the fruit......... and yet there was something strange about this tree, a weird rigidness, not one leaf moving in the breeze...... ...Another curious feature I noticed—the leaves seemed to obscure the sun's rays.........It was a tree without a shadow."

As he approached it, it faded, but grew clear again as he receded to his original position; but on his retreating beyond that point it again faded. "Each individual saw the tree only from the place where he stood." The English officers not present from the commencement saw nothing at all. Then the Yogi preached—so absorbingly that Dr. Hensoldt "seemed to forget time and space." He consequently did not notice the disappearance of the tree. When the Yoghi ceased speaking the tree had gone. Then he dug up the mango he had buried. This mango feat he saw five times. Before the palace of the Guicowar of Baroda "in the open air and in broad daylight," Dr. Hensoldt declares he saw for the first time—

he saw it thrice subsequently—the celebrated rope trick.* A Yogi, after preaching a most impressive sermon, "took a rope about fifteen feet long and perhaps an inch thick. One end of this rope he held in his left hand, while with the right he threw the other end up in the air. The rope instead of coming down again remained suspended even after the yoghi had removed his other hand and it seemed to have become as rigid as a pillar. Then the yoghi seized it with both hands, and to my utter amazement, *climbed up* this rope suspended all the time, in defiance of gravity, with the lower end at least five feet from the ground. And in proportion as he climbed up it seemed as if the rope was lengthening out indefinitely above him and disappearing beneath him, for he kept on climbing till he was fairly out of sight, and the last I could distinguish was his white turban and a piece of this never-ending rope. Then my eyes could endure the glare of the sky no longer, and when I looked again he was gone." As an Oriental traveller and student, Dr. Hensoldt concludes that Hindoo adepts have "brought hypnotism to such a degree of perfection that, while under its influence our senses are no longer a criterion of the reality around us, but can be made to deceive us in a manner which is perfectly amazing."

Feats of magic are not confined to the Hindus. Mahomedan experts are also occasionally met with. About

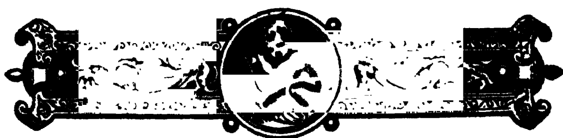
* This trick has been described by several travellers. We cannot however, vouch for the accuracy of the descriptions. For a description of the sword-swallowing trick, see Forbes, "Oriental Memoirs" Vol. II. pp. 515-517.

thirty years ago one Hussein Khan showed some fine tricks in Calcutta :

"He made a heavy silver English watch" says Bhola Nath Chandra "held fast within our own clutches, disappear by exorcism without our perceiving in the least the process of transformation from its materialistic condition. The watch belonged to a Gosain, who regretted its loss with the most rueful countenance. He was at last told where to find it out, and driving home in a gharry, picked it from one of his puja-vessels, and joyfully returned with it back to the company. Subsequently, Hussein Khan showed many such feats—producing on one occasion cheques and notes from the Bank of Bengal before a nautch party, and, on another, grapes from Cabul within an hour, and champagne from the Great Eastern Hotel while driving in a carriage. The last operation of his Hazrat in our memory, was the disappearance of a brass tumbler from our hands that returned again after some ten minutes into the hands of a friend (the late Babu Romanath Law) then sitting by us." *

* "Life of Rájá Digambar Mitra" pp. 276-277. Hussein Khan's feats have been related to us by a highly creditable eye-witness.





CHAPTER IV.

FOOD, DRESS, ORNAMENTS &c.

Food

The primitive Indo-Aryans resembled the Modern Europeans, especially the English, in many of their tastes and habits. The ancient Hindus appear to have been very fond of roast meat. Shoulders and rounds of beef and buffalo-meat were boiled, roasted on spits, or fried in clarified butter and sprinkled over with salt and pepper. Even little birds were roasted on spits in preference to being fried or curried. Curries there were; but they occupied quite a subordinate place in the bill of fare at feasts. Venison was liked in a boiled state, dressed in large haunches.* There were cakes of various descriptions prepared with milk, sugar, ghee, and flour, some of which have survived.

* Rájendralála Mitra, "Indo-Aryans" Vol. I, pp. 426, *et seq.*

With the progress of their morals, the Hindus came to look upon the taking of animal life with disfavour about the time of Gautama the Buddha. Buddhism, and afterwards Vaishnavism forbade animal food. Owing to the influence of these two cults, nearly half of the higher-class Hindus are at the present day almost absolute vegetarians, the other half look upon several kinds of the much-prized meats of ancient India as forbidden food. As a body, the upper-class Hindus are practically vegetarians ; and the Hindu dietary of the present day is much richer in vegetable dishes and in cakes and other confectionaries than the dietary of the ancient Hindus. Meat is usually taken in the form of curries. The Mahomedans introduced various rich dishes * which are occasionally indulged in, especially on festive occasions. In recent years various English dishes such as soup, roast, chop and cutlet have been introduced into the bill of fare of the Neo-Hindus, especially those of the radical type. The fact that Hindu shops for the sale of chops and cutlets have been started in various parts of Calcutta, testifies to the popularity which they have already attained among the Hindus in that city.

* Such as Qualya, Dampukht &c.
Abdul Fazl classifies cooked victuals under three heads :—
First.—Those in which meat is used.
Secondly.—Those in which meat and rice, &c., are used.
Thirdly.—Meats with spices.
He gives ten recipes of each kind, and from each recipe two to four dishes are obtainable.
(*Ain-i-Akbari* Blochmann's Translation Vol. I. p. 59).

Drink &c.

Water is the usual drink of the Hindus. Effervescing non-alcoholic beverages have within the last twenty years become highly popular. In larger towns there is scarcely a street-side refreshment stall without bottles of lemonade and gingerade, and in railway stations they are in very great demand.

Ice came into use during the reign of Akbar in A. D. 1586. It used to be brought by land and water from the district of Panhan in the northern mountains about 100 miles from Lahore. The average price of ice at Agra in Akbar's time was about 3½ annas per seer. Abul Fazl says, that "all ranks use ice in summer; the nobles use it throughout the whole year." *

At present the price of ice, which is sometimes as low even as half an anna per seer in Calcutta, places it within the reach of the middle class in the larger towns.

The great majority of the higher caste Hindus do not indulge in stronger stimulants † than *pán* and tobacco. Pán ‡ is taken by both the sexes, especially after meals. The English influence has diminished its consumption to some extent as it is interdicted in offices, schools and colleges; and those who have been longest and most intimately in English contact have given it up altogether.

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Translation Vol. I. p. 56.

† With regard to the prevalence of alcoholic drinks see Book II, Ch. IV.

‡ Betel-leaf with lime arecanut, catechu, &c. In moderation it is said to be promotive of digestion, and otherwise conducive to health.

Tobacco, which is now so successfully naturalised, and is universally used throughout India, was introduced in the reign of Akbar. It is interesting to note that, drunkard as he was, Jehangir published an edict against the use of tobacco, which he considered very harmful.

Tobacco.

Jehangir says in his "Memoirs" :—

"As the smoking of tobacco had taken a very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shah Abbas, King of Persia, also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Iran."*

Tobacco is usually smoked in *hookás*. Towards the end of the last century even Europeans were greatly addicted to the use of hookás. "Gentlemen instead of their perusal of a daily paper 'furnishing the head with politics and the heart with scandal' indulged themselves with the hooká's rose-water fumes while under the hands of the perruqier in the days when pig tails were in practice." Grand Pre states of the hooka-burdar :— "Every hookah-burdar prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence,

* *Wakiat-i Jahangiri*, Elliot's "History of India." Vol. VI. p. 357. Asad Beg's narrative of the first introduction of tobacco into Akbar's Court is interesting. Akbar expressed great surprise, and examined the tobacco which was made up in pipefuls. See "History of India" Elliot's Vol. VI. pp. 166-7.

till the noise subsides, and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his hookah he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his hookâh. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his hooká, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of trivial importance; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend and often still more to a husband."*

At present the hooká is tabooed in the English society, and in that small section of the Hindu society which is most governed by English ideas. Among the remainder of the Hindu community, it holds its own, though even there, it is to some extent superseded by cigars, cigarettes and pipes. The hooká is the least injurious, as it is unquestionably the pleasantest, way of smoking. It has, however, the great disadvantage of not being conveniently portable; and in these days of constant locomotion the disadvantage is very serious.

Clothing in pre-Mahomedan times

There can be no doubt that the higher class Hindus in pre-Mahomedan times used made dresses The sculptures at Sán-

* *Calcutta Review*, September, 1860, p. 210.

chi, Amarávati, and Orissa, show sewed dresses, resembling the *chápkán* and *jámá* of the present day. Such Sanskrit names as *kanchuka* and *kanchulika* for made up clothes are confirmatory of this evidence. Indeed, the occurrence of the words *suchi* (needle) and *sivan* (sewing) in the Rigveda would indicate the existence of sewn habiliments in the early Vedic period. Well-dressed females and elegant well-made garments are referred to in various passages in the Rigveda.*

in Mahomedan times.

There can be little doubt, however, that with the establishment of the Mahomedan rule made dresses (*chápkán, páyajámá, &c.,*) came into more general use than before. The fact that such clothes are in more habitual use among men and women in the North-West, within the sphere of the influence of Delhi and Agra, than in any other part of India, and the fact of the majority of Indian tailors (at least in Bengal) being Mahomedans, are in favour of this view.† In Bengal, in Máhárashtra, and in the Deccan, the ancient *dhuti* and *chádar* still form the essential components of the national custume. The practice of wearing a *chápkán* when going to Courts, though not

* R. V. IV., 3, 2; x., 71, 4; V. 29, 15 &c.

† Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese traveller in India (about the middle of the 7th Century) says, that in North India "where the wind was cold, people wore close-fitting garments." There is some doubt from this as to how far the general use of such garments in North-Western India is attributable to Mahomedan influence.

originating with, was certainly extended in Mahomedan times. *

Change during British Rule.

The most widely adopted Western addition since the establishment of the British Rule to the male custume of the Hindus is the coat which is sometimes cut in English fashion, but is more generaly buttoned up to the neck. Socks also have been coming largely into use. Some have adopted the English dress *in toto*. Some have adopted it without its headgear, some without its neck appendages, and some without both. In any large Hindu assembly, there is witnessed an almost bewildering variety of costumes. There is the English dress in all its integrity, as well as in various fanciful modifications; there is the *chápkán* with or without *chogá*; and there is the national *dhuti-chádar*, sometimes with shirt, sometimes with coat, and sometimes without either. Some sit with heads covered by turbans or caps of various descriptions: Some sit with hats or caps in hand or close by; and some dispense with a headgear altogether.

Female dress.

"It is not to be denied," says Rájendra Lála Mitra "that it is difficult to decide authoritatively the exact form of the female dress which prevailed from twelve to twenty centuries ago in India, but after a careful survey of the sculptures extant and the notices to be met with in ancient Sanskrit

* *Dhuti* is a long piece of cloth usually made of cotton, which is wrapped round the middle, and tucked up between the legs. In Bengal, a part of it hangs down below the knees. *Chádar* is a long piece of cloth, which is worn over the shoulders. *Chápkán* is a sort of tunic.

records, I am disposed to believe that the bulk of the women of the country wore the *sári*; that all who could afford it added thereto a bodice; that respectable women put on a jacket *(áñgiá)* over the bodice, and covered the whole with a scarf or *chádar*; and that some habited themselves with the petticoat *(ghágrá)* or the drawers *(páyajámá)*, along with the bodice, the jacket, and the scarf. These dresses were, however, not common all over India, for local peculiarities and custom undoubtedly gave preeminence to some of them over others at particular places: but they were known and more or less in use by the people in every part of the country." * There has been less change in the female than in the male attire, except perhaps in Bengal where the bodice and the jacket almost unknown before have lately been coming into fashion.

Shoes and boots,

Shoes and boots were amongst the common articles of the ancient Hindu dress. The grammarian Pánini mentions a variety of boots which was tied at the ankle. "They [the Indians,]" says Arrian "wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness." † Shoes with an upturned front are in general use all over India. They have, however, to a large extent, been lately supplanted among the educated classes by

* "Indo-Aryans" Vol I. p. 199.

† "Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian" (Translated by J. W. Mc. Crindle) (1877) p. 220.

boots and shoes of English make. Whether ladies in ancient India used to wear shoes and boots is not exactly known. At the present day those few among them who have been most affected by the English contact favour English shoes and boots.

Ornaments.

The most noticeable change in ornaments in recent years has been among the small class of ladies who have been influenced most by the Western contact. The decorative taste of the older class ladies has been formed as much by æsthetic as by prudential considerations. In their ornaments, therefore, weight and purity of the metal are combined, as far as possible, with elegance. Such combination, however, is not always possible; and the cumbersome old-fashioned ornaments not harmonising well with European taste, which affects elegance more than substance, have been either discarded or replaced by lighter, better finished, though less pure articles. The introduction of European ideas of propriety has probably had something to do with the rejection of the various leg and foot ornaments the rhythmic jingle of which still delights the ears even of the sterner sex who have not yet received the full light of Western civilisation. To the adoption of jackets of which the sleeves come down very nearly to the wrist may similarly be attributed, at least in part, the disuse of ornaments worn on the upper portion of the arm. Bangles and necklaces, however, still hold their own, are met with in great variety, and have even been adopted, to some extent, by Anglo Indian

ladies. Nose-ornaments and heavy ear-ornaments are becoming generally obsolete in civilised society in Bengal, as are also waist-ornaments especially amongst those whose civilised drapery does not admit of their exhibition to advantage. *

Furniture.

The Hindus have from ancient times had stools, chairs and benches. They are, however, low, being adapted for squatting, and are not habitually used. There is scarcely any furniture in an ordinary Hindu sitting room; a carpet spread over the floor or on a wooden platform and covered by sheets, a few very stout pillows to recline against, and two or three *hookás* are about all its appurtenances. Recently, however, tables, chairs, sofas and other articles of European furniture have made their way into well-to-do Hindu households in larger towns; and a few of these are to be met with furnished entirely in the English style. Hand fans have been in use in India from very ancient times. Recently however, they have, to some extent, been superseded by swinging *punkhás*.

Domestic utensils &c.

In the Rigveda, there are references to skin and iron or golden vessels. † The Hindus of the time of the Manusamhitá, used

* The fact of many ornaments gradually going out of fashion, and the deterioration in quality of others, as regards purity of metal, are considered by some to be signs of increasing proverty.

† R. V. VI. 48, 18 &c; V. 30, 15. In the last passage, the word in the original is "ayasmaya" which has been interpreted by Sáyana to mean "golden."

vessels made not only of copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead, but also of gold and silver*. From the carved representations of cups and goblets of various shapes and sizes at Sánchi and Bhuvaneswara, it may be inferred that they were in use among the upper class Hindus, though there is considerable doubt about the material they were made of.

One of the effects of the English contact has been the replacement, to some extent, of earthen cooking utensils by iron ones, and of metallic vessels and plates by china and glass-ware.

Conveyances.

In the Rigveda, the construction of chariots is often referred to and the skill shown in the composition of hymns is compared in various passages to the art of the carriage builder. † In one passage we are told, that "the expert charioteer stands on his chariot and drives his horses wheresoever he will. . . The horses raise the dust with their hoofs, and career over the field with the chariots, with loud neighings."‡ In another, the car is described as provided with three benches, and three wheels, and "embellished with three metals." In the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, chariots are frequently described. They would appear to have been in requisition chiefly on the battlefield; and as conveyances, were used only

* Manu V. 112-114.

† Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. V (1884), p. 464.

‡ R. V. VI. 75, 6-7. In the Vedic period, horses do not appear to have been used for riding purposes.

by great chiefs and nobles. Elephants* have since the time of the Rigveda maintained their reputation as conveyances fit only for kings and nobles. The ordinary vehicles of the middle class people on land were, as they still are, in rural India, covered two-wheeled carts † drawn by a pair of bullocks, palankeens, and horses. In former times, horses would appear to have been ridden by respectable ladies. In the Kathá Saritságara, ‡ a Bráhman named Devasvámin says: "One day I mounted a mare, and went with one servant to my father-in-law's house to fetch her [his wife]. There my father-in-law welcomed me; and I set out from his house with my wife, who was mounted on the mare, and had one maid with her." Riding by ladies is not now considered respectable except among certain classes of the Mahrattas. Mahratta ladies ride like men, and do not use side-saddles. Speaking of the Mahratta ladies of the families of Sindhia and Holkar, Malcolm says: "The management of the horse always constitutes part of their education." Bhìmá Bái, the daughter of Jaswant Row Holkar, rode with grace, and few surpassed her in the management of the spear.§

English carriages were introduced in the reign of the Emperor Jehángìr. "I marched," says Jehángír in his "Memoirs," "in sound health from Ajmìr in a European

* In R. V. IV. 4, 1, A king is mentioned as riding on an elephent.

† These are described in the *Mrichkakati*, and figured in the Amarávati sculptures.

‡ *Op. cit.* (Tawney's Translation, Vol. II. p. 616)

§ "A Memoir of Central India" Vol. II. (1823), pp. 120-121.

carriage drawn by four horses, and I ordered several nobles to make up carriages similar to it, and attend upon me with them." * English-fashioned carriages, in some cases modified to suit the Indian climate, and rail and tram cars have, within the last forty years, replaced, to a great extent, the indigenous carts and palankeens.

* *Wâkiât-i Jahângri.* Elliot's "History of India" Vol. VI. p. 347.





BOOK IV.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

AGRICULTURE.

Broad features of Indian Rural Economy.

Indian rural economy is marked by two broad features which it is desirable at the outset to place clearly before our readers. First, it is no exaggeration to say that nearly the whole of the rural population lives by the cultivation of the soil, a statement which can hardly be made of any other country in the world. The Famine Commissioners estimate that 90 per cent of the rural population live more or less by agriculture. Secondly, Indian agriculture is pre-eminently a *petite culture* and forms the backbone of the Indian village community of which the cultivator or ryot is the unit. The village contains no doubt the

blacksmith, the carpenter, the weaver, the potter and other handicraftsmen besides the ryot, but all live for his benefit and are supported by the produce of his land. Take away the unit—the ryot—the whole village organisation breaks down. Various causes are now at work tending to draw the ryot from his land, to increase in fact the non-agricultural or landless class; but the love of the ryot for his small plot of land and homestead is so great that generations must yet elapse before this tendency will have any appreciable effect in disturbing the ancient rural organisation of India. The ryot clings to his district with a tenacity which it is extremely difficult for an outsider to realize. Hence it is that the system of emigration devised by the Government with the best of intentions to draw half-starved peasants from congested areas to sparsely populated ones, has not met with that amount of success which the system deserves.

Simplicity of Indian agriculture.

The systems of agriculture pursued in different parts of India vary infinitely in detail, but they all agree in one broad aspect,—simplicity. The implements of cultivation from the plough to the sickle are extremely simple in their construction and in the mode of their working; they are all manufactured, changed, and repaired in the village without any assistance from skilled town-mechanics. The motive power of the ryot, the inevitable bullock, supplemented here and there by the buffaloe, excepting in Sindh and the western districts of the Punjab where camels replace the bullock, is easy to manage,

to breed, to feed, to doctor, and to buy and sell. The various operations of husbandry are equally simple. Ploughing in the English sense of turning up a furrow is unknown and perhaps unnecessary in this country, where it is a much simpler operation which turns up no furrow but merely scratches the surface soil, and requires no complicated implement like the English plough or skilled workman like the English plough-man. So on with the rest.

General aspects of Indian agriculture.

The great problem of agriculture in India is the storing of water in the soil. In this respect it differs totally from agriculture in Europe where the drainage of surplus water is the main difficulty. This essential requisite of Indian cultivation, except in localities where natural means are sufficient, is supplied by wells, as in the Punjab and the Deccan, by tanks and *bandhs*, as in the Karnatic and the uplands of Bengal, by inundation channels, as in Sindh and parts of Behar, and by terraces cut on every hill side, which together water a far larger area than is commanded by the Government canals and are more adapted to the soil, climate and social conditions of the people than the latter. But all these means of irrigation taken together do not command more than 13 per cent of the total cultivated area. In a country like India where rainfall is capricious, both in its amount and distribution, and where the conservation of water is the first and most essential requisite of cultivation, the proper control of the water-supply becomes a question of paramount importance, more so than the introduction of

labour-saving implements, chemical manures and scientific methods of cultivation. Manures are copiously applied to his valuable crops by the ryot, who knows fully well the forcing power of his applications; but his scope in this direction is limited both by the number of manures at his disposal and their quantity. Scientific agriculture can help him more in this than in any other department of his profession. Rotation of crops in its European sense is unknown and not at all a necessity in the vast rice-growing deltas of the great Indian rivers. But at the same time the exhausting effects of cropping a land with the same crop from year to year and the recuperative power of fallows are widely recognized. From the famous 'black' or 'cotton' soil of the Deccan, which is wonderfully fertile and retentive, and the alluvial soil of the river deltas, annually rejuvenated, to the deserts of Sindh and Rajputana, the soils present an infinite variety; and the ryot has adapted his cultivation to these varying conditions with a skill which only the accumulated experience of ages can generate in persons who follow a hereditary calling. The plough-cattle of India speaking generally are not such undersized, ungainly and inefficient creatures as foreigners have often described them. Considering the soil, the climate, and the other conditions under which they have to work, the cattle are well adapted to the purposes of the ryot. No doubt there are local breeds such as the Nellore cattle of Madras, the Amrit Mahal

of Mysore and the trotting bullocks of Jubbulpore, which in point of breeding, beauty, and the special purposes for which they are bred can stand comparison with any cattle in the world. But even the much condemned ordinary plough-cattle of the country, if not carefully bred, are well looked after and well fed so far as the poor ryot's means allow. His means however, which are never very affluent, fall to their lowest ebb in seasons of scarcity; and his cattle have to share with him the pinch of penury and starvation which claim as victims thousands and thousands of their number annually. Add to this the heavy mortality due to various forms of cattle diseases which follow in the wake of scarcity, and the causes of the insufficiency and degeneracy of Indian cattle become apparent. Mr. Hume, a late Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, estimates 'the average annual loss of cattle in India by preventible disease at 10 million beasts worth 7½ millions sterling."

Principal crops.

Having thus summarised the general aspects of Indian agriculture, and adverted to the three main impediments from which it suffers, it may be useful now to give a brief account of the principal crops of the country. For convenience of treatment, the crops are divided into, (1) *Food crops*, and (2) *Industrial crops*. Of these some are grown principally for home consumption, while others are grown for export. Of the food crops grown for home consumption,

the chief are Rice, Millets, Pulses, Oilseeds and Sugar-cane; of those grown for export, the most important is Wheat. Of the Industrial crops, Cotton, Jute, Indigo, Opium, Coffee and Tea are grown for export, and Tobacco and Cinchona for home consumption.

Rice.

Rice has been cultivated in India from time immemorial. Competent observers on Indian Botany assert—and their assertion accords with the prevailing opinion of the people of the country,—that *uri dhán*, which grows wild all over Bengal and other parts of India, is the parent stock from which all the cultivated varieties of Indian paddy have sprung. Philological evidence has been brought forward to corroborate or controvert the Botanical evidence, but this is not the place to discuss the matter.

The Famine Commissioners estimate the rice-eating population of India (excluding Burma) at 67 millions, or over one-third of the whole population. The proportion is highest in Bengal, being 43 out of 69½ millions, and Madras stands next with 10 out of about 31 millions.* In Lower Burma, out of a total cultivated area of 5,664,987 acres, in 1891-92, as many as 4,662, 897 acres, or 82 percent were under rice. In Bengal, out of a total cultivated area of 55,407,360 acres, in 1889 90, as many as 41,618,560 acres or 75 per cent were under rice. For Madras, in 1891-92, the total cultivated area was 28,823,826 acres, out of which 5,771,182

* These population-figures are from the Census of 1881.

acres or over 23 per cent were under rice. Throughout the interior of the country, rice cultivation occupies but a subordinate place. In the North Western Provinces and Oudh, the total cultivated area in 1891-92 was 36,797,272 acres, of which 7,139,042 acres or slightly over 19 per cent were under rice. In Punjab, the acreage of rice is 722,511, or slightly under 3 per cent, out of a total acreage of 25,779,366 acres. In Bombay, the acreage of rice rises to 6 per cent, or 2,299,593 acres out of the total cultivated area of 36,438,830 acres. In the Central Provinces, the percentage rises still higher, namely 24, or 4,292,480 acres out of 17,786,399 acres of total cultivated area. Taking India as a whole, out of a total cultivated area of 221,583,646 acres, in 1891-92, 68,843,662 acres or 31 percent were under rice.

The conditions under which rice is cultivated are so exceptional, that the areas in which it forms the staple food-crop may easily be defined. The Deltas of the great rivers of Lower Burma and Bengal; the Deltas of the Godavery, the Krishna and the Caveri; the long narrow strip of land fringing the coast; and the lowlands of Travancore, Malabar, Kanara and Konkan present all the conditions of successful rice cultivation, and constitute the great rice growing area in India. If we except this area, rice may be said to be a subordinate, if not a rare crop throughout the remainder of the country; in fact, Millets take the place of rice in the interior (excepting Assam). Sir William Hunter writes.—"Taking India as a whole, it may be broadly affirmed that the staple food-grain is neither rice, nor wheat but millet."

The conditions of rice-cultivation as have already been stated are quite exceptional. It stands in stagnant water from transplantation time to almost harvest time. In some Bengal districts, pre-eminently Dacca, a variety of paddy is grown which will keep its head above 20ft. of water "and has a remark able power of growth, often shooting up to the extent of 12 inches in the course of 24 hours as the inunda tion rises." The two principal varieties are, (1) *aus* which occupies the field from April-May to August-September, and (2) *aman*, which occupies the field from June-July to November-December. There is a third (3) variety *Boro* which holds a very subordinate place except in the Eastern districts of Bengal, especially Dacca. This variety occupies the field from January to April. Considered by area and consumption, the most important variety by far is the *aman*, as it covers more than three-fourths of the rice-growing area. Rice-straw after the separation of the grains forms a very important and valuable fodder. For feeding cattle it is chopped into bits of 2 to 4 inches long and mixed with rapecake, dry or in a state of emulsion with water, and also with the husk of pulses. It is also given to themuncut. Another economical use for which it is highly valued is the thatching of ryots' cottages.

Wheat.

The origin and early history of wheat cultivation in India is as much enveloped in mystery as that of rice. There are reasons to believe that it is as old in India as in any other part

of the world. Spelt, a coarse variety of wheat cultivated in this country as well as in Europe, is supposed to be the direct descendant of the parent stock from which all the cultivated varieties have originated. De Candolle, the greatest authority on the origin and history of cultivated plants, considers Mesopotamia to have been the original home of wheat whence it has spread both East and West. But the evidence on the subject is not conclusive.

The importance of wheat cultivation dates from 1869, in which year the Suez Canal was opened reducing the time of transit from India to Europe from three or four months to as many weeks. The importance was further emphasized in 1873, on the 4th January of which year the export duty on wheat was taken off within the last twenty-two years, the export trade in wheat has gone on steadily increasing without any serious fluctuation. The total quantity of wheat exported rose from 637,099 cwt. in 1871-72 to 1,755,954 cwt. in 1873-74 and to 30,306,989 cwt. in 1891-92 To feed this steady increase of export there has been a steady increase in the area devoted to wheat cultivation which is returned at 19,573,982 acres in 1891 92. This includes 1 million acres as the estimated wheat acreage of Bengal. Taking by the provinces, in 1891-92, the Punjab grew 6,767,893 acres of wheat, or 26 per cent of its total cultivated area, the Central Provinces 3.957,260 acres, or over 22 per cent of its total cultivated area; the North Western Provinces and Oudh 4,757,397 acres, or 13 per cent of the total cultivated area; and

Bombay 2,299,593 acres, or 6 per cent of the total cultivated area. Other privinces grow wheat, but to a very small extent; and hence separate acreages for them are not given here. From the above figures it will be clear, that wheat flourishes most where rice does not, and that the great wheat producing area embraces the whole of Northern India up to the head of the Gangetic delta and, in Southern India, the whole of the table land above the Ghats.

Wheat does not form the staple food of the people of the country and is grown principally for export. It has been estimated that the Indian consumption of wheat does not exceed 6 million tons. Contrast this with the figures for rice, namely 25½ million tons, and the comparatively less importance of wheat consumption becomes at once apparent.

The Punjab, which has the largest area under wheat, exports comparatively the smallest amount; so that in the Punjab wheat forms an important article of food. On the other hand, the Central Provinces, which stands next to Punjab in the percentage of wheat producing area, grows wheat almost exclusively for export. The great wheat producing countries in the world are the United States with 45,000,000 quarters as its gross annual outturn; India, France, and Russia with 30,000,000 to 35,000,000 quarters each. The largest consumer of Indian wheat is the United Kingdom, which, in 1891-92, imported from India 12,345,453 cwts. out of the total Indian export of 30 million cwts. Indian wheats are more glutinous than English ones and not suited for

bread-making excepting with a fair admixture of soft English wheats. They are however said to be very well suited for macaroni for which purpose a demand for them has sprung up in Italy. The questions of adulteration and trade refraction need not be mentioned here.

Wheat is classed as a winter or *rabi* crop; the sowing commences from the end of October and the harvesting finished by the end of May. Where facilities exist it is always irrigated. The varieties cultivated are too numerous to be detailed here, but they are gouped under the general headings of hard and soft, red and white, and bearded and beardless. Heavy clay loam is best suited for its growth. There is a variety of wheat grown in local areas in which the husk does not fall off from the grain but which has to be husked like paddy for separating the grain from its outer-coat. The average yield of wheat per acre has been variously estimated. Sir William Hunter puts it at 13 bushels per acre in the Punjab, as compared with an average of 15½ bushels per acre for the whole of France. If we include the whole of India, the present average yield will not exceed 9 bushels per acre. Contrast this with the average yield of an English acre, namely 30 bushels, and the possibility of improvement in wheat cultivation becomes at once apparent. Wheat straw in the form of *bhusa* or *poal* is largely used as cattle food, but not for thatching.

Millets.

As rice forms the staple food crop grown for home consumption in local areas as Bengal, so millets form the staple food crop in

those localities where rice is not cultivated. In fact the millets are the poor's grains, that is, the food of the majority of the Indian people. The total area of land under millets, in 1888-89, has been estimated at 35,154,468 acres, of which Bombay has 15, Madras 11½, the N. W. Province 1⅘, the Punjab 5, and Berar over 2 million acres. In Bengal Proper and Orissa, millets are seldom cultivated, but in Behar they are more common. The two most common kinds are the great millet or guinea corn (*Sorghum vulgare*) known as *joar* or *jawari* in Northern India, and *cholum* in Madras; and the spiked millet (*Pennisetum typhoidem*), known as *Bajra* in the North and *Kamba* in the South. Besides these there are five other cultivated species which hold a very subordinate place in acreage. Of these *ragi* (*Eleusine corocana*), takes the first place in Mysore where it is the staple food grain. Millets are classed as *kharif* or autumn crop as opposed to wheat classed as *rabi* or winter corp.

Minor cereals : Maize.

Indian corn or Maize (*Zea mays*) is the most cosmopolitan of all cereals, being cultivated throughout the world. In India, for instance, it grows in the swamps of Eastern Bengal, in the sands of Rajputana, and in the colder regions of the Himalayas. Some varieties are grown only as green crops, which, when ripe, are unfit to be eaten, while others are grown for the ripe grains only. It is a *kharif* crop, though it is not unusual to come across *rabi* maize, which is sown in autumn, and reaped in

spring. In Upper India, only the ripe grains are made into flour and then into bread. In other parts, the green cobs are eaten after being roasted or fried. The straw reaped green is a good fodder, but useless in the ripe state. The area of maize cultivation has not been separately given and can hardly be determined. Many ryots grow it as a vegetable in small plots around their homesteads. Dr. Watt, in his Economic Dictionary, says that the maize area of India closely corresponds with that of wheat. Of the different provinces, Punjab has the largest, and Bengal and Madras the smallest area under maize.

Barley.

Barley is grown in Northern India, especially the North-Western Province which has the largest area under the crop. The total area under barley has been estimated at over 7 million acres, excluding Bengal and the Native States from which reliable statistics can not be had. It is grown either alone, or mixed with pulses as gram, peas, or lentils. The seed is sown in October-November and the harvesting is complete in April-May. It is a *rabi* crop like wheat, but is grown chiefly for home consumption, very little being exported. In North India a curious practice prevails in some places of cutting the whole crop down to the ground when about to flower and feeding the cattle with the green stuff. The barley is allowed to grow again from the green stubble left on the land and, strange to say, the new crop is not any the worse for this treatment. Until very lately Indian maltsters used

to import barley from Persia, but now the barley used by the Indian brewers is entirely grown in this country. English maltsters have complained of Indian barleys not germinating freely for malting purposes, but the grounds of complaint have not yet been closely examined or established. But the use of the grain in many parts of India for the preparation of a kind of spirituous liquor or beer has long been known. Barley meal, known as *chhatu*, is a common food amongst the lower classes in Northern India.

Oats.

Oat (*Avena sativa*) is a recent introduction into Indian agriculture under English auspices. Its cultivation is restricted to Northern India where it is principally grown, in districts where horse-breeding is carried on, as food for horses. In the dietary of horses in India, gram usually takes the place of oats in England.

Pulses.

The pulses of various sorts form very important articles of food. Next to rice and millets, the pulses have the greatest consumption. They are mostly consumed in the form of a thick soup known as *dal* formed by boiling split pulses This soup is seldom taken alone, but used as an accompaniment of the staple article of food. The area under the heading "Other food grains including pulses" given in the Statistical Returns of 1891-92 is 76,452,323 acres, of which fully one-half, if not more, may fairly be assumed as under pulses alone. Dr. Watt in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition Catalogue puts the total area under pulses at 48,000,000

acres ; but it must be remembered, that lands which grow pulses are generally twice cropped, in other words pulses are taken as catch crops. The principal varieties of pulses grown are the common gram *(Cicer arietinum)*, *arhar (Cajanus indicus)*, lentils *(Lens esculenta)*, *mug* or *mung (Phaseolus Mungo)*, *mash-kalai (Phaseolus radiatus)*, the common pea *(Pisum sativum)* and *khesari (Lathyrus sativus)*. The pulses are all *rabi* crops excepting *arhar* which stands in the field a full year.

Oil seeds.

The principal varieties of oil seeds cultivated in India are rape or mustard, linseed, *til* or gingelly and castor-oil. The total area under oil seeds, in 1888-89, was 7,381,811 acres; but as this did not include Bengal, for which reliable statistics are wanting, and as the area in Bengal under linseed alone in the same year was estimated at 1,500,000 acres, the total area under oilseeds for the whole of India may be estimated at 9 million acres. The total area in 1891-92, excluding Bengal, has been returned at 8,498,058 acres, to which if we add 2 million acres for Bengal the total comes to over 10 million acres. The increase in acreage has been due to an impetus given to export trade in oil seeds, especially to France. In 1879-80, the total quantity of oil seeds exported was 7,091,469 cwt. valued at Rs. 4,68,58,927, and the export steadily went on increasing till in 1889-90, it rose to 15,794,742 cwt. valued at Rs. 10,62,75,533. Mr. O'Conor says in his review of the sea-borne trade for 1884-85, "This trade has developed in recent years

into one of the first importance, exceeding greatly the trade in wheat, rice, jute, indigo, or tea, and being exceeded only by cotton and opium". Mustard or rape is a *rabi* crop harvested in January, linseed a *rabi* crop harvested by the end of April or beginning of May ; *til* or gingelly is a *kharif* or autumn crop harvested in September-October. There is a variety of *til* which is grown as a spring crop and harvested just before the commencement of the rains.

Sugar.

Coarse sugar or *gurh* is produced from sugarcane *(Saccharum officinarum)* and date palm *(Phœnix sylvestris)*. The cultivation of sugarcane and date-palm in India and the use of *gurh* (coarse sugar) are mentioned in old Sanskrit works such as the *Manusamhitá, Charaksamhitá* and *Susruta*. There is evidence to show, that *gurh* was known and produced in this country long before the Christian era. Botanical evidence favours the idea of India being the home of the parent stock from which the cultivated varieties of sugarcane have been gradually evolved.

Gurh is one of the cheapest luxuries which the poor of India have. So far as the consumption among the native population of the country is concerned, refined sugar is at a great discount. It is wholly wanting in that flavour and sweetness which make *gurh* palatable to them. Their prejudices against refined, or as it is often called loaf sugar, are due not merely to the impression, right or wrong, that bone is used in its manufacture, but also to the fact that it does not come up to their standard

of palatableness. Of late years the export trade in sugar has declined. But the areas of sugarcane cultivation quoted below will show that there has been no decline in it, but rather expansion. Of the two chief sugar-producing regions in India, in 1847-48, Bengal had 223,794 acres and N. W. Provinces 595, 441 acres under sugar cane, and, in 1887-88, 282,000 acres and 788,000 acres respectively. Messrs Thomson and Mylne, the enlightened and enterprising Zemindars of Behea, in Bengal, have estimated the area under sugar plants at 2½ million acres, the outturn of coarse-sugar per acre at 1 ton, and the total outturn at 2½ million tons. The total area of sugarcane for the whole of India including Bengal and the Native States, in 1887 88, has been put in Dr. Watt's Economical Dictionary at 2,107,200 acres; and the statistical returns for 1891-92, which do not include Bengal and the Native States, have put it at 1,940,332 acres, to which if we add the areas for Bengal and Native States and the areas under sugar-date, the total would come very near to the estimate of Messrs Thomson and Mylne quoted above.

Sugarcane requires well-drained, light, alluvial soil capable of being irrigated whenever necessary. Stagnant water is its greatest enemy. It occupies the land for full one year from March-April. As a rule sugarcane lands are heavily manured with dung or oil-cake, or both; the oilcake used was formerly rape cake, but now it is being rapidly replaced by cheaper castor cake. The Provinces which grow most sugar-cane are, in order, the N. W. Provinces (788,000 acres in

1891-92), the Punjab (354,000 acres), and Bengal (282,000 acres). The outturn of coarse sugar per acre has been variously estimated, 27 maunds per acre being the average put down in Dr. Watt's Economic Dictionary. It is sometimes so high as 90 to 100 maunds per acre.

The stools left in the ground after harvesting are sometimes allowed to grow and produce another crop, the process being known as ratooning and the crop as ratooned crop. Sometimes as many as three ratooned crops are taken from the same field. But the yield of the ratooned crop gradually diminishes. The varieties of sugarcane grown are numerous. They have been classified as Mauritius canes, Otaheite canes, Bourbon canes, Batavian canes, Singapore canes, and the so-called Indian or Indigenous canes. The canes that were formerly grown most in Bengal were an indigenous variety, and red Bombay canes. But the latter which was an introduced variety became attacked by a worm and suddenly died out after it had been cultivated for a certain number of years. This has been the history of all cultivated varieties, indigenous or introduced, when cultivated for a number of years in the same district. That this is a fact well known to the ryots, is proved by their constantly changing indigenous varieties of cane for those introduced from other districts. Bengal now grows principally a variety of introduced cane. Sugarcane and potatoe cultivation illustrate powerfully the well-established agricultural principle of the absolute necessity of change of seeds at intervals.

Date-palm is grown all over India as a source of

gurh and sugar Madras, in Southern India, and Bengal, in North India, are the chief date-sugar areas. In Bengal again, Jessore is the district well known for its date-palm cultivation and sugar industry. Those who are interested in date-sugar are referred to Mr. Westland's valuable report on the subject.

Cotton.

Cotton is one of the most important agricultural products of India. Its cultivation and use have been known in India long before it was known in any other civilized country in the world, and authorities seem to be unanimous in thinking that Europe owes its knowledge of cotton and its manufacture to India. Even China with which India has had communication from very early times, seems not to have been aware of it till within comparatively recent times. Another very striking feature in the history of cotton is the fact, that although cotton spinning and weaving were known from very remote times, no direct mention of cotton has been found in the most ancient Sanskrit works, which, nevertheless, refer to other articles used for the manufacture of cloth, such as silk, and wool.

The present importance of cotton dates from the enormous demand of Lancashire caused by the American War of 1862. Prior to 1860, the cotton export averaged in value from 200 to 400 lakhs of rupees, but after that year it rose by leaps and bounds until, in 1864-65, it reached 4,687.972 cwts. valued at 3,387·3 lakhs of rupees, the highest value ever attained. The restoration of peace in America recoiled heavily on the Indian trade, and the export fell steadily to just under 800 lakhs of

of rupees in 1879. Since then the trade has recovered, and in 1888-89, it stood at 5,331,536 cwts. valued at 1,505·6 lakhs of rupees. The English manufacturers look upon Indian cotton with disfavour and prefer the longer stapled American, Egyptian or Brazilian cotton; consequently, exports to the United Kingdom have been decreasing. But exports to other European countries have been increasing. This fact has been explained by the difference of machinery used in the mills in England and in those on the Continent. The English machinery has been constructed for longer stapled cotton, while the machinery used in the continental countries has been specially adapted for the treatment of short stapled cotton like that of India. The Statistical Abstract relating to British India returns 8,859,429 acres under cotton in 1891-92.* The average yield of cleaned cotton per acre varies from 50 lbs. to 175 lbs., the proportion of cleaned to uncleaned cotton being usually taken as 30 : 100. The Province in which cotton is most largely grown is Bombay, Berar comes next, then come Madras and the North Western Provinces; the other Provinces grow less than a million acre each. The variety that is cultivated most is the '*Bengals*'; the *Hinganhati*, the *Amraoti* and the *Dhollera* are also among the most favourite varieties. The time of sowing is different in different provinces, as is also that of picking. Generally, it may be stated, that the sowing begins with the begin-

* If Bengal and the Native States be included, the area would be much larger

ning of the rains and the picking begins with the end of the rains and lasts up to the end of April. The number of pickings varies from three to five according to the nature of the crop. Cotton is essentially a sunny crop, too much rain being injurious to it. As it is a very exhaustive crop, it is seldom grown two or three years consecutively in the same field, being alternated with wheat or millets. As a mixed crop, it is often sown with millets, gram, *til*, tisi or linseed.

For a sketch of the cotton industry, the reader is referred to the next two chapters.

Jute.

Jute was known to the people of India from very remote times ; but, as the name of the plant or its fibre is not found in early Sanskrit works, which contain the name of a similar fibre, *san*, it may be doubted whether the plant is indigenous to India, though India is, at present, the centre of its cultivation. Besides India, it is known to be cultivated, to a small extent, in Ceylon, Sunda Islands, South China, Phillipine Islands, in fact in many parts of Southern Asia. Though known all over India, it is almost exclusively cultivated in Bengal, especially Northern and Eastern Bengal. It grows best in the deltas of the Hughly, the Brahmaputra and the Megna. It delights in the alluvial deposits thrown down by rivers subject to annual inundation. The development of jute cultivation and of jute industry is entirely the product of British rule. With the increase of the British trade in grains, especially wheat, grew up the demand for gunny bags, and this gave an impetus to jute culti-

vation. The ryots sure of the market and attracted by cash-return for their labour, began to throw more of their land under jute and devote more of their spare time to the manufacture of the fibre into gunny bags. The area of cultivation began to advance by rapid strides. But the hand-loom failed to supply the ever increasing demand for gunny bags. The steam mills of Dundee grew up, and a large export trade in raw jute was established to feed them. The application of steam in the manufacture of jute in this country was not thought of till about 1857, when the first jute mill was started near Calcutta. Now there are 22 jute mills in the vicinity of Calcutta. Practically jute cultivation is confined to Northern and Eastern Bengal, where, in 1891-92, the area under jute was nearly two million acres. In 1889, the amount of raw jute exported was 10,553,143 cwt., and the number of bags exported was 99,79,587. When these figures are compared with the figures of the previous twenty years, the steady expansion in the cultivation and trade of jute becomes at once apparent.*

The jute which is grown in the Western districts of Hughly, Burdwan, and 24 Perganahs, belongs to *Corchorus Olitorius* with long pods, and that of

* The first record of jute export to Europe in 1828 opens with 364 cwts. Contrast this with the figures for 1889, and the importance of the jute trade requires no other comment.

Eastern Bengal to *C. capsularis* with roundish pods. The former is of a finer quality than the latter but the weight of fibre yielded is less. The finer qualities are grown in lands round the homesteads of peasants. The coarser qualities which supply the major part of the trade grow in low-lying lands, even in the salt-impregnated soil of the Sunderbans, which are generally submerged in the rains. The seed is sown from March to June; and the harvest, beginning with the end of June with the earliest variety, continues till the end of September. When the flowers begin to appear, it is time to cut down the plants. If cut earlier, the fibre is weak, and if later, the fibre, though strong, is coarse and wanting in gloss. The plants after being cut are allowed to wither and drop their leaves for a day or two and then steeped in stagnant water in some road-side pool. Sometimes plants are steeped fresh. The period of steeping varies from two to twenty-five days. If steeped too long the fibre gets rotten and discoloured. When the proper stage is reached, the cultivator standing waist-deep in the foul water, pulls off the skin of the stalk nearest to the root-end and then cleverly manages to separate in one pull the whole of the fibre from the stalk without breaking it. When a sufficient quantity of fibre has been secured, he spreads the fibres on the water and washes them clean very much like a washerman. The washed fibres are then suspended from a rope or spread on the ground for drying. The average yield of clean fibre per acre is put at 15 maunds. Although the area of jute

cultivation is extending every year, and the little cash that the crop brings in to the cultivator, at the time of the year when he stands most in need of it, serves as a great attraction for him, still it must not be looked upon as a crop that has established itself as an essential part of our rural economy; but only as a subsidiary one to be taken up and put by as the demand for the fibre fluctuates.

Indigo.

The seat of indigo cultivation and manufacture is Bengal, the North-Western provinces and the Madras, the Bengal dye being the best all round. But the earliest European records of indigo manufacture are associated with Western and Southern India. It is very probable that indigo was first introduced in Western and Southern India, whence it migrated to Northern India and Bengal which afforded greater facilities. The development of its cultivation and manufacture in Bengal is solely due to the enlightened policy adopted by the East India Company, who began by importing good planters from the West Indies and subsidising their enterprize with advances. Until the introduction of tea, indigo was the only industry in which European capital and enterprise, helped by encouragement from the Government met with marked success. Similar attempts were made to import sugarcane-planters from the West Indies and establish sugarcane plantations in India on the lines of indigo plantation, but these attempts utterly failed. Owing to various reasons which it would be out of place to discuss here, the indigo enterprise is now gradually passing out of the hands of the European

planters who have hitherto had practical monopoly of the business, into the hands of the cultivators and Indian capitalists. This has been specially the case in Madras where the industry has latterly been thriving, while it has been declining in Bengal.

The Statistical Returns for 1891-92, put the area under Indigo for the whole of British India at 541,308 acres. Of this total area, the N. W. Provinces and Oudh had 259,099 acres; Madras 212,255 acres; and the Punjab 58,896 acres. To this may be added 500,000 acres for Bengal, as for want of reliable statistics, the Bergal areas have not been included in the statistical returns. the average annual yield of the dye is estimated at 15 million pounds.

In Lower Bengal there are two October sowings and one spring sowing in April, the crops of both the sowings being ready almost at the same time. The manu facture begins in July and goes on till September. In Southern Behar, the principal sowing begins with the beginning of the rainy season and the crop continues to grow throughout the year, and is reaped in July and August of the next year. The early rain sowings are ready for the sickle in September-October. In North Behar, which forms the head quarters of the indigo industry, the cultivation is carried on in a more elaborate scale. The sowing commences in February and the crop harvested in June. In Madras, it is generally cultivated as a dry crop. In some parts, it is sown mixed with millets. In dry land, one cutting is obtained in Octobor, and another in January. When grown on

wet lands, two cuttings are certain, and sometimes even a third. The system of cultivation is least expensive and troublesome in the *char* lands of Lower Bengal, where the crop requires no ploughing, no manuring, and no watering. Whereas in North Behar, it is cultivated in comparatively high lands, and manures are frequently applied. Another important point of difference between the Bengal and Madras systems is, that in the former the industry is almost entirely in the hands of the planters, whereas in the latter it is in the hands of the cultivators. The present depressed state of the European market has checked the spread of the industry and, if the depression continues, threatens at no distant date, if not the ruin of the industry, at least the closing of many factories. Although indigo is grown and known in other parts of the world, still India has the practical monopoly of the European trade in the dye.

Opium.

Poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) is supposed to be a plant not indigenous in India, but introduced by the Arabs. At any rate, though the use of the seed and its oil was known from very early times, the knowledge of the inspissated juice was certainly introduced by the Arabs. De Candolle, the highest authority on the domestication of agricultural plants, seems to differ from this view; but modern Indian authorities are arrayed against him.

The trade in opium is a Government monopoly. It is grown and manufactured in two special areas: (1) in

the valley of the Ganges round Patna and Benares, and (2) in parts of Central India corresponding to the old kingdom of Malwá. In the former area, the cultivation is a Government monopoly, whereas in the latter, the cultivation is free, but a duty is levied on opium as it passes through the British presidency of Bombay. Opium is also grown in the Punjab for local consumption, and, to a small extent, in the Central Provinces. Throughout the rest of India, it is absolutely prohibited, though it is said that in parts of the wild Himalayan country, it is grown to a small extent, with little or no control whatsoever. The opium grown in the Gangetic valley, is supervised by two Agencies, the Behar Agency with its head-quarters at Patna, and the Benares Agency with its head-quarters at Ghazipur. In 1889, the land actually cultivated with opium in these two Agencies was 459,860 acres. Besides the opium grown in the Gangetic valley, the Punjab has on an average 13,000 acres; the Rajputana States 178,757 acres; Ajmir-Merwara 2,854 acres; Central Indian States 243,494 acres; and a small area in the Native States of Bombay and the Central Provinces. On the whole it may be stated, that the total opium-producing area of India does not exceed one million acres.

Under the Bengal system, cultivators enter into an engagement with the Government Agents to sow a certain quantity of land for which they receive a proportionate amount of advance. They are bound to make over the whole produce, being paid at a fixed rate according to quality. The cultivation requires great care and attention. High lands are best suited to it.

There must also exist facilities for irrigation. Manure where available, is plentifully applied to the crop. The land is repeatedly ploughed and harrowed till November, when the seed is sown. When the plants flower, the petals are first removed to serve as coverings for the opium-cakes. The capsules generally ripen in March, and the operation of scarifying and scraping then begins. The capsules are scarified by pointed irons in the evening, and the inspissated juice collected next morning. In April, the produce is brought by the cultivators to the Agency, where it is weighed and valued, and the accounts settled. It goes through a process of preparation in the Agencies and, when dry, is packed in chests and sent to Calcutta, whence it is exported to China. The average yield of opium per acre has been put at 10 seers for the whole of India.

Tobacco.

Popular opinion seems to suggest that tobacco has been in use in India from very remote times, but historical evidence is against such a suggestion. It was introduced into India by the Portuguese about the year 1605, during the latter part of the reign of Akbar. The aborigines of America are believed to have known and used the drug long before it was known in Europe, where the first tobacco plants were brought about the year 1560. Captain Ralph Lane introduced it first into England in 1586, and Sir Walter Raleigh made the smoking of the drug fashionable. It has since greatly spread to the East, and is now one of the most wide-spread economic plants in the world.

The Statistical Abstract returned 327,121 acres under tobacco in British India in 1891-92. No reliable statistics are available for Bengal; but, it has been estimated, that over 5 hundred thousand acres are under this crop in Bengal. This would make the total for British India a little over 800,000 acres. Tobacco is grown in every district of India for local consumption. The principal tracts in which tobacco is grown for export are Rangpur, Cooch Behar, and Tirhut in Bengal; Karia in Bombay; the delta of the Godaveri, and Coimbatore and Madura Districts in Madras. The well-known "Trichinopoli cheroots" are made out of tobacco supplied by the last two districts, while the "coconadas" are manufactured from the tobacco grown in the *lánkás*, or alluvial islands in the Godaveri, and are hence called *lánkás*. The tobacco of Rangpur, Cooch Behar and of North Bengal is generally exported first to Calcutta, and thence to Burma to be manufactured into Burma-cigars. Cigars which pass under that name are also partly manufactured in Calcutta. Next to Bengal, Bombay had, in 1891-92, the largest area with 86,249 acres, and Madras stood next with 72,747 acres.

The system of cultivation of tobacco varies in its detail in different provinces. It consists essentially, first in growing seedlings in a nursery, and then in transplanting them in fields well prepared and manured beforehand. Facilities for irrigation should exist. In Bengal, tobacco is grown in a nursery in August, September and October, and transplanted in November; and the leaves are ready for gathering from January to

March. As a proof of the excellence of Rangpur tobacco, it may be noted that a medal was obtained by a native of the district for a specimen which he exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1867.

Indian tobaccos are not in demand in the European market, and this is said to be due to defective curing. The native system of sun-drying the leaves has been universally condemned, and the American system of shade-drying proposed as a means for improving their quality. Two factories under the supervision of experienced American curers, have been started, one at Gazipur in the North Western Provinces, and the other at Poosa in North Bengal, by a private European Firm (Messrs Beg Dunlop & Co.). The results of their operation are said to be hopeful. The idea emanated from Sir E. Buck, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, who hoped that the success of the firm would induce indigo planters in the neighbourhood to take up the industry. This hope, however, has not yet been realized.

Silk.

Sericulture is a very old industry in India. Silk is found mentioned in early Sanskrit works. But it is almost certain that neither the mulberry nor the silk worm was indigenous in India. When the East India Company established their trade marts in Bengal, they found the silk industry in a declining state, and took great pains to revive it. As Bengal has always been the chief seat of mulberry cultivation, they established several factories,

with numerous filatures in each, to which the cultivators brought their cocoons. They brought, in 1769, a company of Italian reelers to teach the Italian system of reeling to their factory hands. Bengal silk soon became an important article of trade and superseded all other silk in the European market. The palmy days of Bengal silk-industry lasted till 1833, from which year the Company abandoned the trade on their own account, and it fell into private hands. Sericulture has ever since been steadily declining. Bengal silk which was once the glory of India, and which, at one time, almost monopolized the European market, has now hardly any demand outside India. For instance, the annual export of raw silk from Calcutta about the time when the trading operations of the Company ceased, was about one million lbs., and now the average export of raw silk seldom rises above 6 hundred thousands pounds. Estimated by its value, the decline in the export trade of silk becomes still more conspicuous. The imports of raw silk into India now exceed the exports. The silk of Japan, of China, and of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean now controls the European market.

At present the industry still clings to its old headquarters, namely the districts of Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Bogra, Maldah, Beerbhoom, Burdwan and Midnapur. The cultivators grow the mulberry plant and rear the silkworm which feeds on the mulberry-leaf. Cocoons raised by the peasants are not dealt with by them, but find their way either to small native filatures where they are reeled in the rough native fashion and usually

used in the hand-looms of the native silk-weavers; or they are brought to the large European factories where they are usually reeled and worked up by machinery and then consigned direct to Europe. Mulberry is a perennial plant, and in this respect differs from most agricultural plants of India. Three *bunds* of silkworms are usually obtained in the year, namely in November, March, and August. The silkworm proper of Bengal (*Bombyx mori*) is a thoroughly domesticated species. Besides this, there are several species of wild silkworms that abound in the jungles of Chutia Nagpur, in Bengal, of Assam, and of the Central Provinces. The 'wild silks' are known by the common name of *tussur*, while the 'cultivated silks' go by the name of *garad*. Of these the wild silks, *eri* and *muga* of Assam, are well known and are great favourites. The *eri*-worm feeds on castor-oil leaves, and the *muga*-worm on *sum* leaves. The jungle plants which furnish food for the wild silkworms are, *asan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*), *sal* (*Shorea robusta*), *baer* or *kul* (*Ziziphus jujuba*), &c.

The present decline of Bengal sericulture is believed to be due to silkworm plague (pebrine), bad reeling, and hard competition with Japan, China and Mediterranean silks, and attempts are now being made by the Government to arrest this decline.

Tea.

Tea, Coffee and Cinchona are crops with which the peasantry of India have little or no connection. These agricultural industries are almost exclusively financed by European capital, supervised by European skill, and, except in the case

of coffee, were introduced into India under the auspices of the British Government.

Tea is generally taken to be a native of Assam whence it was introduced into China at a remote past. But recent authorities do not seem to favour this general opinion. They hold that the so-called indigenous tea-plants found wild in the forests of Assam are escapes from cultivation, and that Manipur is its real home. The discovery of the tea-plant growing wild in Assam is, generally attributed to two brothers, named Bruce, who brought back specimens of the plant in 1826. Lord William Bentinck, in 1834, made arrangements for the introduction of its cultivation into India. Plants and seeds were brought from China the following year, and Government took upon itself the formation of experimental plantations in Upper Assam, and in Kumaun and Gharwal. Skilled manufacturers were also brought from China, and the leaf they manufactured was favourably reported on in the London market. Soon after, private enterprize took up the business and Government gradually retired from the field. The first Company that was formed was the Assam Tea Company (1839). The success of the Tea Companies which gradually sprung up led, since 1859, to wild speculations in Tea-shares both in India and in England, and the crash came in 1865. The industry did not recover from the effects of this crash until 1869. Now tea has established itself in Assam, the Darjiling *Duars*, the Punjab, and the Districts of Kumaun and Gharwal in the N. W. Provinces. It is extending gradually in the Chittagong

district, in the Nilgiri hills, on the slopes of the Chutia Nagpur hills, in Bhutan *Duars*, and even in Arakan.

The total tea-area actually under cultivation, in 1891-92, was 266, 219 acres, exclusive of 48,091 acres in Bengal. Of this area, 241, 586 acres were in Assam. The average out-turn of the mature plant in Assam is put at 290 lbs. per acre, and the total annual out-turn is estimated at nearly 50 million pounds The export from Assam into Bengal is approximately valued at 2½ million pounds. The area of tea in the N. W. Provinces, in 1891-92, was 9,374 acres; Punjab 9,011 acres; and Madras 5,481 acres. Until recently almost the whole of the total exports used to go to England, but now attempts are being vigorously made to introduce Indian tea into the markets of Australia and the United States, and already an export trade with these countries has sprung up. The export of tea from the Punjab and the Darjiling Duars to Central Asia has also been steadily increasing of late years.

Three main varieties of tea are recognized in India, namely, the indigenous Assam, the China, and the hybrid; of these the last is most in demand among the planters. The plants are raised from seeds which are sown carefully in prepared nurseries in December and January. The seedlings are ready for transplantation in April, and the operation goes on till July. The site of tea-gardens should be raised and well drained, and, if possible, on the slopes of hills. Plantations succeed best on virgin jungle clearings. Unlike most Indian crops, tea is a perennial plant, and, for two years

after transplantation, requires careful weeding. Afterwards the plant requires pruning every year in winter. From the third year the plants begin to bear, and the yield reaches its maximum in the 10th year. Before being ready for export, the leaf undergoes the processes of withering, rolling, drying and sorting.

Cinchona.

Like tea, quinine-yielding cinchona has been introduced into India at Government initiation. It consists of many species all of which are natives of tropical South America. It was first introduced into Europe about the year 1639 by Countess of Chinchon, hence the name Cinchona. The consumption of the bark in Europe gradually increased, wholesale and indiscriminate destruction by the bark-collectors of cinchona plants in their native forests continued, and, as a natural result, prices rose. The effect of this rise in price was severely felt in India, a great quinine consuming country. With the intention of starting cinchona plantations in India, Mr. C. R. Markham. C.B., was, in 1858, deputed to South America with a view to collect cinchona seeds and plants. A patch of forest land in the Nilgiri hills, Madras, was taken up and cleared by Government to start an experimental plantation. The remarkable success of the experiment led some of the European residents in other highlands and hills of the Madras Presidency to take up the cultivation which thus gradually spread over many districts of the South. In the Bengal Presidency, the cultivation was first started by Dr. Anderson, Superin-

tendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta. The success of the Government plantation in Darjiling, Bengal, has been mainly due to the efforts of Dr. George King, the present Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Gardens and Director of the cinchona plantations, Bengal. The bark is manufactured on the spot by a Government quinologist into a form of cheap quinine known as febrifuge The febrifuge has been steadily replacing imported quinine, and special facilities have been afforded by the Government of Bengal; since 1893, for the dissemination of this cheap and very necessary drug amongst the rural population of the malaria stricken districts of Bengal, through the agency of the post office. No such use is made of the bark of the Nilgiri plantations.

The total area of Cinchona cultivation in Madras, in 1891-92, was 10,799 acres, of which the four Government plantations on the Nilgiri-hills comprise nearly 900 acres. The Government plantations in the Darjiling district comprise an area of nearly 2500 acres. Besides the Government Estates, a few private plantations have been started covering about a similar area. There are about 30 to 40 species of Cinchona with several hybrid forms. The species grown on the Nilgiri Hills and in the South generally are *C. officinalis*, *C. succirubra*; and *C. ledgeriana*, *C. succirubra* and *C. calisaya* are the principal kinds grown in Bengal.

The plants may be raised either from seeds or cuttings; the former mode is cheaper and usually adopted. The seeds are sown thickly in a seed-bed previously prepared and manured with leaf-mould and

protected from sun and rain by a thatch. In about two to three weeks the seeds germinate, and the seedlings when possessed of two or three pairs of leaves are transplanted to a nursery. When about 4 to 5 inches high, they are again transplanted to a fresh nursery whence they are planted in their permanent site when about 12 inches high. In the Nilgiri plantations, the seedlings are transplanted only once before being planted in their permanent sites. The plants yield their first harvest of bark in about five to seven years according to the species. The site of the plantation should be sloping, with rich humus soil and porous subsoil, so as to afford facilities for speedy drainage. Nothing is more harmful to Cinchona plants than stagnant water at their roots. The plants should be rather closely put so as to promote clean erect stem and afford shade to the superficial root-lets.

Coffee.

Unlike tea and cinchona, Coffee does not owe its introduction into India to British auspices. It is generally believed that about two centuries ago, a Mahomedan pilgrim named Babu Budan, on his return from Mecca, brought seven seeds with him to Mysore where the hill range in which he planted them still goes by his name. The cultivation continued on a small scale and remained confined among the native peasantry, till Mr. Cannon took up the industry and established a plantation in 1830 at Chikmulgar in Mysore. At the present day, coffee planting is concentrated in the Madras Presidency, especially

Mysore. A few acres of coffee-plant, however, exist in Lohardagga and Chittagong, Bengal, in Assam, and in Bombay. The area under coffee in British India, in 1891 92, is returned at 127,648 acres, of which 65,371 acres are in Madras, and 62,167 acres in Coorg, and only 82 acres in Bombay. In this return the Mysore area as belonging to a Native State has not been included. Dr. Hunter in his Imperial Gazetteer puts the area of coffee in Mysore at 159,165 acres, in 1881-82.

Coffee is a perennial shrub growing to the height of 15 to 20 ft. For successful coffee cultivation, the climate must be warm and moist, rain-fall ample but not excessive, soil rich in vegetable mould such as new jungle clearings, and the site sufficiently protected and shady. The seeds which are berries are sown in December in a nursery specially and carefully prepared beforehand, and the seedlings transplanted to their permanent sites from June to August. In the second year the plants are topped to keep down their height, and in the third year they begin to bear; but it is not until the seventh or eighth year that the shurbs are in full bearing. The flowers appear in March-April, and the berries ripen in October-November.

The preparation of the berry to make it fit for the market consists in, (1) Pulping, or removing the pulp which covers the seed; (2) Fermenting, to remove the saccharine matter; (3) Washing; (4) Drying; (5) Peeling or removing the 'parchment' (outer coating) and 'silver' (inner coating); and (5) Sizing and winnowing.

The last two operations are not performed by the planter but by the shipper.

Agricultural stock.

The table given here regarding the number of live-stock, carts, and ploughs in British India (excepting Bengal), in 1891-1892, will form a fitting sequel to the summary attempted above of its agricultural condition :

Administrations.	Cows & Bullocks.	Buffaloes.	Horses & Ponies.	Mules & Donkeys.	Sheep & Goats.	Camels.	Carts.	Ploughs.
	Number.							
Bengal	Not available.							
N. W. Provs.	12234664	5591563	342500	270037	4133578	8532	457330	3009686
Oudh	5455686	2439186	146807	62886	1802040	2151	95039	1429408
Punjab	9836923	2767236	226205	493570	6402215	198221	180846	2183239
Lower Burma	822273	899480	11033	1	34030	—	183595	392205
Upper Burma	910414	381242	14404	862	33454	—	189422	290898
Central Prov.	Not available.							
Assam	1458993	122627	5545	27	199315	—	4833	303987
Ajmere	197339	43163	3181	5249	312870	966	4682	39581
Coorg	48525	38332	657	421	4182	—	717	29380
Madras	7665770	6551448	42038	121377	12209791	7	439808	2482509
Bombay	4929768	3216289	135224	60761	3324585	1212	488936	1124932
Berar	1638369	465510	35892	20672	518837	857	134639	132872
Pargana Manipur	3635	2176	85	24	259	—	341	817
Total	44202359	22518192	963530	1038896	28975156	211946	2180188	11419514

Attempts to improve and expand the indigenous agriculture have been made by Government ever since the time of the East India Company, as is well shown by the history of the silk industry in Bengal; of the introduction of Carolina paddy, American cotton, tea and cinchona; of the extraction of fibre from hemp; and of the formation of sugarcane plantations on the model of those in the West Indies.

Agricultural improvements under British auspices.

But there existed no organization for this purpose previous to 1872, when a department of Revenue Agriculture, and commerce was established under the Government of India, with Mr. A. O. Hume as its Secretary. The department was subsequently abolished, but revived by Lord Ripon* by whom the scope of agricultural improvements was considerably enlarged. There can be no two opinions on the far-sightedness of this measure.

Agricultural departments.

Demonstration or Model Farms have been established in different provinces all under Departmental supervision, some financed by Government, and some by local Zemindárs and Rájás. In Bengal, there are the Sibpur Government Farm, the Burdwan Ráj Farm and the Dumraon Ráj Farm, the two latter being maintained by the two Ráj estates respect-

Demonstration farms.

* See Appendix.

ively; in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Cawnpur Experimental Farm maintained by Government; in Madras, the Saidapet Government Farm; in Bombay, the Government Farms in Khandesh; and in the Central Provinces the Government farm at Nagpur. Besides these, there are some minor farms in the Punjab, Assam and Burma. Of the Government Farms, the one at Saidapet has lately been reduced to a small school-farm attached to the local agricultural school. This Farm and the Cawnpur Experimental Farm, have for a number of years carried on a very valuable series of experiments which, though they have failed to develop any very important improvements in the farming practices of the country, have, nevertheless, succeeded to clear out some rational principles of agriculture.

Deep versus shallow ploughing

The experiments of deep *versus* shallow cultivation carried on at the Saidapet and Cawnpur Farms clearly established the greater efficiency of the former provided it is safeguarded by certain precautions These precautions are, that the soil should never be deeply stirred just before sowing time. For seed-bed, the soil should be worked to the depth of 2 or 3 inches and not more. It is also extremely unwise to stir the soil deep after the rains, as deep cultivation at this time exposes the soil to undue evaporation, and tends to make it lose that very element which it should retain. With these precautions, deep cultivation has generally been found useful, especially in clay soils. It makes it easier for the

roots to penetrate deeper and spread wider in the soil in search for food, and thus facilitates the growth of crops. The usefulness of deep cultivation experimentally established in the two farms mentioned above have further been corroborated by experiments in other farms, as the Dumraon Raj Farm ; the Sibpur Farm, near Calcutta etc. Neither is it unknown to the cultivators, because they not unfrequently resort to *spade-cultivation* in garden-culture and in reclaiming waste-lands. The spade or *kodali* may or may not invert the soil, but stirs it to a great depth, and its only drawback is its extreme costliness which makes its general adoption impossible. Where circumstances of climate and soil make it a necessity, deep-cultivation and implements fit for it are not wanting. For instance, the heavy *nagar* plough of Bundelkhund, and similar heavy ploughs of the Deccan and the Ceded Districts are native implements to work the soil to some depth.

Soil-inversion.

Ploughing in the English sense of the term means cutting a clean-furrow of 4 to 9 inches deep, and 4 to 9 inches wide, and inverting it as a clean compressed slice. Ploughing in this sense is unknown in India. Indian ploughs are really no ploughs at all but mere grubbers which stir up the soil without inverting it. Whether soil inversion is a necessity has not yet been clearly established. In fact, where the subsoil is sandy, as in most parts of the large deltaic areas, or contains some poisonous substance, as the lower oxide and sulphate of iron, and poisonous organic acids and salts, soil-inversion is positively

injurious. But in clay lands, where there is a tendency for a 'pan' to form immediately below the few inches (2 to 3) of surface soil stirred by the native plough, soil-inverting plough confers a great benefit : the poisonous and unwholesome salts and acids being brought to the surface suffer oxidation and are thereby rendered inoccuous.

Ploughs,

All English ploughs possess a soil-inverting breast plate or mould-board, but the so-called native plough possesses no such appendage, and herein lies the essential difference between the two ploughs. To the difference in the mode of their working noticed above is to be added the further difference, that the soil-inverting plough works up the whole surface soil in one attempt, whereas the non-inverting native plough must work up and down and across the field several times for stirring up the whole of the surface soil. Several ploughs have been invented in India, under the auspices of the several provincial agricultural departments, in which all the appendages of the English plough have been discarded excepting the mould-board : and in most of these inventions, the mould board more closely approaches that of the American chilled ploughs than the long and curved boards of Howard's or Ransome's English ploughs. The preference for the American model is due to the fact that the short and more flat American mould-boards turn up a jagged furrow slice and thereby serves the purposes both of ploughing and cultivating simultaneously. These newly invented ploughs have not become popular with the ryots, and there is

much doubt whether they will ever be so; but the fact that they are largely used by European Indigo Planters in Lower Bengal, Behar, and the North-western Provinces is rather a hopeful sign.

The ploughs used by the Bengal planters are :—

1. The *Sibpur* plough invented by Mr. Ambika Charan Sen, late of the Bengal Agricultural Department, and subsequently improved by other officers of the Department. Its price is Rs. 7.

2. The *Hindustan* plough of Calcutta, priced at Rs. 10 8 (No. 1) and Rs. 11-8 (No. 2).

3. Sealy's "Turn-over" plough manufactured and sold by Messrs Sealy & Co. of Motihari, Tirhut, priced at Rs. 5-8.

4. The *Bhagulpur* plough invented by Mr. Sakhawat Hossein, late of the Bengal Agricultural Department, priced at Rs. 5.

5. The *St. Jessop's* plough made by St. Jessop, Civil Engineer, Bankipur, priced at Rs. 8

In the North Western Provinces, the 'Kaiser' and the 'Baldeo' ploughs, made in the workshops of the Cawnpur experimental farm, are reported to be popular with the cultivators.

In Madras, the 'Climax' (Rs. 6), the 'E.P.' (Rs. 10-8), and the 'cotton soil' plough manufactured by Messrs Massey & Co. are reported to have found favour with the ryots.

Steam-ploughs.

Whatever may be the advantages of steam-ploughing, the circumstances by which the farm practices of this country are go-

verned render the use of steam-ploughs almost impossible. The division of cultivated land into small areas, the absence of roads to transport the heavy machinery from place to place, and the difficulty of effecting repairs, are almost insuperable obstacles in the way of their introduction. Mr. Bhupal Chandra Basu, in his 'Notes on Indian Agriculture' mentions two instances of the use of steamploughs in India, the first in the district of Banda, in 1881, and the second in Captain Chapman's estate at Bati, Oudh. The undertaking proved profitable in Banda in working up a large area of land infected with *kans* (*saccharum spontaneum*) a coarse grass very difficult to eradicate; but it had to be ultimately given up as no other suitable site for the employment of the steamplough could be found. In the Bati estate also the steam-plough was successful in reclaiming a large area of waste land thickly matted over with reeds and roots. But here also the enterprize had to be given up.

Reclamation of Usar land.

Thousands of acres of land in the North Western Provinces have been rendered perfectly barren by saline incrustations, called *reh*, which consists of a mixture of sodium chloride (common salt), sodium carbonate (*sajimati*) and sodium sulphate in varying proportions. Such *reh*-infected soils go by the general name of *Usar*. *Usar* lands are rare in Bengal, except in Behar where it occurs here and there in small patches. Various experiments have been made by the N. W. Provinces Irrigation and Agricultural Departments to reclaim such lands,

but with indifferent success. The only experiment that seems to have met with a great measure of success is that devised by Mir Mahammad Hossein, late Assistant Director of Agriculture, N. W. Provinces, and an ex-pupil of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester. Mr. Basu thus writes of Mr. Hossein's plan "The *modus operandi* consisted in first enclosing the *Usar* land for two or three years with the object of encouraging the growth of vegetation, and the formation of a fertile over-covering of humus. A cattle station was then formed on it in order to obtain manure, the cattle partly paying their way by the sale proceeds of the milk. Fields were marked out and embanked in order to hold up several inches of water in the rains. On the ground being sufficiently softened, ... it was ploughed up, manured, and sown with rice. If the rice took, a winter crop followed. The field might then be regarded as reclaimed and could be let to a tenant"

It will serve no useful purpose to enter into the discussion as to the origin of these saline incrustations. The prevalence however of *Usar* lands along the banks of canals in canal-irrigated areas and in saucer-shaped depressions lends itself to the general belief that rapid evaporation of moisture from the surface-soil, under the influence of a hot sun, in the water logged areas, unduly accelerates soil-capillarity which draws up from the subsoil the injurious salts mentioned above and leaves them on the surface as an incrustation.

Manures and manurial Experiments. Cattle-Manure.

Cattle-dung is the only manure which is universally known and used in India. Analysis has disproved the notion that in manurial value, the Indian cattle manure is inferior to English farmyard manure. It has also exposed a very common fallacy, namely, that the ashes of the dung are as valuable as the whole dung, although in certain localities for special reasons, and under exceptional circumstance, ashes yield better results than the whole dung. Valuable as cattle-manure is, it may be rendered still more valuable by conserving the urine and protecting the manure heaps from rain and hot sun.

Saltpetre.

Careful study of the manurial experiments conducted in the farms at Saidapet, Cawnpur, Dumraon, Bhadgaon, Sibpur etc., show clearly that nitrate of potash or saltpetre (*shora*) is a manure very beneficial to cereal crops and also to sugarcane. The benefit, it must be noted here, is not from an experimental point of view only, but from an economical point of view also. Experiments have shown that the outlay in the application of the manure is more than twice covered by the increase in outturn. Mr. Fuller, the Director of Agriculture and Settlement, Central Provinces, writes : "If the experiment of the past seven years have shown anything plainly, it is that saltpetre is one of the most potent manures available." Saltpetre however when used alone soon exhausts the soil ; and this exhausting nature of the manure may be remedied by adding to it other minerals

manures, or simply ashes. But however valuable saltpetre may be as a manure for cereals, the ryots have not yet taken to it.

Bones.

The use of bones as a manure is unknown in India. They are collected and crushed in and about Bombay and Calcutta into meal for export, principally to England where they are treated with sulphuric acid and sold as dissolved bones. Experiments to test the manurial value of bone-meal for various crops were made in several Government Experimental Farms, but the results were anything but encouraging. Some soils were greatly benefitted by a dressing of bone-meal, while others derived no benefit, or were sometimes even positively injured by the application. Soils rich in organic matter seem to be more fitted for this manure. As yet the use of bone-meal is confined to tea and indigo plantations; and to create a demand among them the operation of bone-crushing by *dhenki* was started some three years ago at Jalpiguri, Darjiling and Saran jails, and the product was almost entirely taken up by the neighbouring planters. But for sanitary reasons, the manufacture of bone-meal in the above mentioned jails has from this year been discontinued. The future of bone-meal as a probable manure for India is said to be extremely uncertain; but if *a priori* considerations have any value, there is every reason to believe that bone-meal or some chemical preparation of it has a great future.

Nightsoil.

Night-soil is a very valuable manurial matter, but the repulsive smell that issues from it has stood in the way of its general use in most countries of the world. In India its fertilizing powers are well known to the ryot, but it is seldom used as a fertilizer outside the limits of certain municipal towns, which have undertaken to dispose of their nightsoil in a manner which, while it secures their primary object of sanitation, also at the same time serves the agricultural interests of the country. Faruckabad and Cawnpur in the North-Western Provinces, Amritsar in the Punjab, and Poona in the Bombay Presidency offer noteworthy examples of the utilization of nightsoil and of the different modes of its conservation and preparation to make it fit for use. Readers interested in this question are referred to the interesting chapter on 'Night soil' in Mr. Bhupal Chandra Basu's 'Notes on Indian Agriculture'. Before leaving this subject, it would interest our readers to know, that urine is much more valuable than the solid nightsoil ; that the soiled matter of the former contains 4½ times as much nitrogen as the soiled matter of the latter, while the proportion of phosphoric acid is the same in both ; that these two elements, namely nitrogen and phosphoric acid, are two of the most valuable ingredients in a manure, and that China and Japan are the only two countries in the world where the knowledge of the value of nightsoil and urine has been practically utilized all over the country.

Sewage.

In large cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the nightsoil diluted with water is conveyed through underground sewers and discharged in places outside the cities. The name *Sewage* is given to such a mixture of nightsoil and water. It has largely been utilized in France and Belgium and, to a small extent, in England, to irrigate farms, which are hence called *sewage farms*. The sewage of Calcutta is discharged into the sewage canal on the border of the Salt Lakes, and along both sides of the canal, for about half a mile, a certain area of land has been reclaimed by filling it with town-sweepings. This area is cropped with rain and winter crops, the latter being irrigated with sewage-water. Of course, a small quantity only of sewage is thus utilized, the rest being wasted. In Bombay also a small quantity of sewage is utilized, but the rest is wasted. In Madras alone, the sewage question has received most attention, so as to serve the purposes of both sanitation and agricultural economy. For more detailed information on this point, the reader is referred to the pages of 'Notes on Indian Agriculture.'

Town-sweepings.

Closely connected with the question of the disposal of nightsoil and sewage with a view to restore fertility to the soil as well as to secure better sanitation along with it, is that of the disposal of street-sweepings in towns, which is often a heavy item of expense to our Municipalities. A means devised to subserve the ends both of agriculture and of sanitation will therefore be a great boon to the country. The proper destination of street sweepings is the field

of the cultivator where they would serve as manure, provided he is safeguarded against their insanitary effects. In Calcutta, they are partly used to reclaim certain swamps lying to the south-east of the town; in Madras, it is reported that a part is sold and used as vegetable manure; and in Poona, they are burnt to ashes and the latter mixed with night soil to make poudrette. The practice of most Municipalities which use them to fill up foul tanks and ditches in towns, is most reprehensible on sanitary grounds, and can not be too soon put a stop to.

Steam threshing.

It is a standing complaint with the English millers, who are the great consumers of Indian wheat, that it contains an injurious and excessive admixtrue of small and shrivelled grains of seeds other than wheat and of dirt and pebbles. It is for this reason that Indian wheat does not secure a price and a demand proportionate to its undoubted intrinsic merit, and that the merchant is compelled to admit a percentage of impurities. With the object of obtaining clean wheat, Mr. Ozanne, Director of Agriculture, Bombay, induced Messrs Balmer Lawrie & Co., the Calcutta agents of Messrs Marshall and Sons of Gainsborough, to take their steam threshing machinery imported for exhibition in Calcutta, in 1883, over to Bombay to put to practical test his contention that it would pay to import steam machinery and to work it for hire. Several trials were made in the wheat season of 1884-85 in various parts of the Bombay Presidency, and although the ryots did not take to this

innovation kindly, the results warranted his conviction that the utilization of steam machinery would effect the desired improvement. His Highness the Thakore Saheb of Morvi, Kattywar, is also reported to have brought a steam thresher and made trials in his State.

Silage.

Experiments have been instituted by several Provincial Agricultural Departments as well as the Military Department to store green grass and green fodders of all kinds in under ground pits called *silos*. The sides and bottoms of the pits are made water-tight by masonry work or simply well ramming them with clay. The silo thus constructed is filled with green grass which is well trodden and ultimately covered up in a air tight manner with earth which presses upon the mass uniformly. After two or three months, the fodder is ready to be taken out and given to the cattle. While in the silo, the grass undergoes slight fermentation as long as the air enclosed in the holes and interstices of the mass of grass is not exhausted; and as fresh air can not enter, the fermentation does not go on to an injurious extent so as to make the grass useless. The fodder taken out of the silo is called *silage*. Even a coarse grass unfit for cattle-food in fresh state may in this manner be converted into wholesome fodder. Ensilaging is one of the best means of providing green fodder for cattle at a season when it is most scarce. The results of the trials are very promising, but as yet the ryots have not taken to ensilaging.

Silk experiments.

One of the principal causes of the deterioration of Bengal silk, once the great favourite of the world, has been supposed by competent authorities to be due to a disease which is akin to, if not identical with what is called in France *pebrine*. Mr. Nitya Gopal Mukerjee, a Cirencester Graduate, was deputed by the Bengal Government to France to study the genesis of the disease and to learn the mode of its eradication as practised in France and known as the system of Pasteur. On his return from France, he established experimental silk-stations at Berhampur, Kalimpang in the district of Darjiling, Pukhuria in Manbhoom, and Babuikhali in Jessore, all in Bengal. As the result of the last nine or ten years' investigation, Mr. Mukerjee is reported to have discovered a process of eradicating the disease, and to have entirely freed the eggs from its germs in the districts in which he works.





CHAPTER II.

ART-INDUSTRIES. *

Art-industries in ancient India.

The Rigveda bears testimony to the proficiency which the early Hindus attained in the industrial arts. Travellers in later times from Greece, Rome and China marvelled at the skill which the Indians displayed in their manufacturing industries. Offerings were made to the gods in the costliest of plate; armour and arms richly decorated with gold and silver, and costly jewellery and dresses of the finest web adorned the persons of the higher classes; and gems, rich brocades, and muslins of the most delicate workmanship found their way from India to Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Rome.

* This chapter will comprise industries which are carried on without the help of steam or machinery except of the simplest kind, and which have a remote, if any, connection with natural science.

Under the Mahomedan rule.

Indian handicrafts did not suffer from the Mahomedan conquest. Four centuries had passed away since Mahomed preached the doctrine of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man, and the simple desert life of the Arabs had changed to a life of luxury and culture, before India first began to feel the Mahomedan influence. The fanaticism which led to the destruction of the Alexandrian library was now softening in the Mahomedan mind, and giving place to a sense of appreciation for ancient philosophy and art, and to a love of comfort and luxury. The prohibition against decoration in architecture by forms of living things was now got over by substituting in their place geometrical figures and patterns of foliage and flower, and a way of escape from the injunction against the use of silk was found in the device of mixing it with a nominal quantity of cotton or wool. Thus the obstacles that stood in the way of the progress of arts and manufactures was gradually removed either by slight modification of existing methods, or by favourable interpretation of inconvenient rules and regulations. The anxiety for moderating the effects of hard religious rules against comfort and common sense, which man has shewn in every age and in every clime, has nowhere been better illustrated than in the remark made by the young daughter of the most bigoted Moslem that ever ruled in India. "Father! I have strictly followed the dictates of religion: I have worn the cloth seven-folded" observed the daughter of Aurangzeb, when he gave vent to his wrath at the

sight of her dress, made of Dacca muslin, famous all over the world for the thinness of its texture, and known by the name of "morning dew." Instead of crushing the indigenous arts, the Mahomedan conquerors of India became their ardent patrons; and the household of every chief or noble formed, in imitation of that of the Hindu princes around, the centre for skilful artisans. Not only did indigenous manufactures flourish under Mahomedan patronage, but many new industries were imported from beyond the confines of India, such as the carpet-weaving of Kurdistan and the glazed pottery of Ispahan.

Decline of manufacturing industries.

The transactions of the East India Company gave great impetus to some of the industries of the sea-board provinces of India. The great silk industry of Bengal, which until a few years ago was in a highly flourishing condition, owed its expansion to the export trade created by the East India Company. The prosperity of the weaving industry of Dacca about the close of the last century may be best estimated from the fact that, in 1787, fifty lacs of rupees worth of cloths were entered at the Custom House of that town for export to foreign countries. But, in later times, the manufacturing industries of India declined under British rule. The mechanical inventions of modern Europe, the inability of the Indians to march with the times, the decadence of native courts, the increase in the cost of living and in the price of labour, and the change in thought and fashion under

western influence, have everywhere told disastrously upon the manufacturing industries of India; some of the art-industries have totally vanished and are past recall, while some have only been preserved from imminent extinction by the exertions of men like Grouse, Kipling and Hendley.

Revival of Indian art.

There is, however, at the present time a greater appreciation of Indian art in the West than ever before. For this, India is largely indebted to Sir George Birdwood whose writings have vastly contributed to make Indian arts known among Europeans; to Mr. Purdon Clarke who has forcibly drawn the attention of the English public to their unique style and beautiful workmanship; to Sir Edward Buck who, for the last twenty years, has exerted to find a market for Indian goods both at home and abroad; and to the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Indian Art. But after all, the art-manufactures of India can only occupy a minor place among the industries of the country. These are the days of rapid and cheap production. The beauty of Indian art-ware depends on the skilful discrimination of colours or patterns, and upon minute elaboration and perfect finish which can only be achieved by patient industry and vast expenditure of time. But, the cry for cheap articles that at the present day characterises the public demand, coupled with the rise in the cost of living owing to the increase in the price of the common necessaries of life and the development of new wants, must prove fatal to any great expansion of the art-industries of India.

Painting.

The pictorial art made considerable progress in ancient India. It flourished when the Buddhist religion was supreme in India. But not a single specimen of ancient painting exists at the present day, except those executed by Buddhist monks on the walls and ceiling of some cave-temples such as those of Ajanta the construction of which is supposed to have gone on for nearly a thousand years, from B. C. 200 to about A. D. 800. Hidden within subterranean caves in inaccessible districts these paintings escaped the destruction which overtook similar performances in other parts of India.

Although the art of painting is against the injunctions of Mahomedanism and was not, therefore, generally encouraged by the Musalman rulers of India, still the pictorial art was not without its patrons among them. The Moghul Emperor Akbar was one of its greatest patrons. He spoke very plainly about the unreasonable prejudice entertained by his co-religionists against the noble art. "I do not like" said he, "those people who hate painting. They ought to know that a painter has greater opportunities of remembering God, for however life-like he makes a picture he knows that he cannot give it life, and that He and He only is capable of doing that." Akbar had sixteen great artists in his court of whom no less than twelve were Hindus. Specimens of their work have been preserved in the miniature illustrations of the *Razm namah* or the History of the War, which is an abridgment of the great Sanskrit epic, the Mahábhárata. A valuable copy of this work, if not

the original manuscript, exists in the royal library of Jaipur, containing 169 miniature illustrations, which cost more than £40,000. These are "magnificently drawn and illuminated in the highest style of Persian art." A large number of portraits of emperors and governors, executed by unknown artists during the Mahomedan *regime,* is also still in existence. The Saracenic style of painting has left its impress upon the indigenous painting in Western India, by bringing into it a large amount of care and minuteness, and eliminating from it much of its traditional conventionality. The style of making flat pictures in vogue at Lahore and Jaipur,is an example of this mixed art.

Pictures in the Indian style are still largely made at Jaipur. They are painted on card, thick paper, or goldbeater's skin. Dr. Hendley thus describes the industry :—

"Enormous quantities of brightly coloured pictures of every grade of merit are produced throughout the State. Almost every noble has a painter in his retinue, and in the town of Jaipur there are several middlemen who deal solely in pictures. The best men naturally live in the capital, and the pride of these are employed by the Prince, receiving retaining fees in the shape of salaries or lands, with the privilege of working for private parties when not wanted in the palace. Many of these posts are hereditary where the son is capable. Jaipur frequently sends men to other states for special work."

That Indian art has undergone considerable decadence since the time when the fresco-paintings in the Ajanta cave-temples were executed, is shewn by the

pictures generally made by professional painters of the present day. They are usually coloured "daubs," intended to represent by figures and other accessories the exploits of some mythological hero. No attention is paid to symmetry, to perspective, or to an effective adjustment of light and shade. But,the Government Schools of Art in the different presidency towns have already wrought a wonderful change in the ideas about painting hitherto entertained by Hindu artists.

Delhi is the chief centre of the industry in ivory-paintings. Miniature ivory-painting is a development of the art of illuminating Persian manuscripts, so much admired and so eagerly sought after in the days of Mahomedan supremacy. Portraits of Emperors, Empresses and other beauties of the Mahomedan Court, and pictures of the chief buildings in Northern India, like the Táj at Agra and the Juma Masjid at Delhi, are favourite subjects. The artists also copy in colours photographic portraits. Watercolour alone is used. These miniature paintings are often employed to decorate carved ebony caskets, and are also set in jewellery.

Mica-paintings are made at Trichinopoly in South India. They are chiefly illustrative of castes and native industries. Paintings on mica are also executed in Benares, illustrating trades and industries, and the religious ceremonies and festivals of the Hindus. In sets of pictures representing trades, a curious device is adopted to make one face serve for a series of figures. Mica paintings are not in large demand, and the industry does not appear to be in a flourishing condition. Neither

has it any prospect of ever occupying an important place among the art industries of the country.

Engraving. Of late years wood engraving has made considerable progress in large towns. The reading public has learnt to appreciate illustrated books and magazines, and the demand for wood-cuts is increasing year by year. The men engaged in the work are mostly ex-students of the Schools of Art, and the work they execute, when done with care, is not inferior to what is done in Europe. This industry may be reckoned as one solely due to English influence.

Lithography. A large number of lithographic pictures are turned out, specially in Calcutta and Poona, which find an immense sale among all classes of people, most of them being representatives of gods and goddesses and scenes from the ancient epics, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata. These pictures, however, have no artistic merit, most of them being done in imitation of the European style. Until recently colouring was all done by hand, but the chromo-lithographic process is now employed in many places. Maps which have hitherto been imported from Europe, are now being made in the country with the help of this process. Lithographic printing work is largely done in Upper India, as type printing is not suited to the running Persian character.

Photography. The art of photography is purely European. The industry in its highest form is still in the hands of the Europeans, but a large number of Indians have learnt the art, and their work is finding favour among all classes of the people.

Clay models.

The clay figures made at Krishnagar have acquired great celebrity, and they have repeatedly gained medals and certificates in most of the International Exhibitions held since 1851. There is considerable delicacy and fineness in their work; the figures are instinct with life and expression; and their pose and action are excellent. Clay figures, and models of fruits and vegetables are also made at Lucknow, Delhi, Ambala, Jaipur and Poona. The Lucknow modellers are specially good in models of fruits and vegetables; and, as a rule, they can turn out much, cheaper articles than the Krishnagar artists. Small figures coloured in imitation of terra-cotta made at Lucknow are particularly good. Lucknow scenes and figures, however, generally want that unique expression which is a characteristic feature of the Krishnagar models. Figures and models of various descriptions of fruit are made at Delhi and Ambala. The Ambala figures resemble those of Lucknow. The Delhi models are not so good. But excellent models of poisonous snakes in terra-cotta are made at Delhi.

Sculpture.

Decorations in the old temples, and the figures of gods and goddesses scattered all over the country show that the Hindus of ancient times made great advance in the art of sculpture. The industry has long since declined; and, in Bengal, it has almost died out. Sculpturing in the European style is now taught in the Schools of Art at Lahore and Bombay.

Architectural designs and models.

Architectural designs, as an aid to builder's work, are only made by native masons when a costly edifice is taken in hand. In large towns, however, where the land at the command of the builders is limited, a design is first made before the construction of a building is commenced. In Calcutta, this is done by men who have been more or less influenced by European education. The preponderance of European influence and want of due appreciation of indigenous art have led to the discouragement of the Hindu architecture. The educated natives of India associate buildings in the European style with enlightenment and progress, and it is the conservative trading and money-lending classes only which still encourage indigenous architecture. Designs of ornamental details are made at Jaipur, notably of carved stone-work as applied to buildings.

Architectural models are made in many parts of the country, chiefly of buildings of historical celebrity. Among these may be mentioned the famons Tajmahal of Agra, models of which, both in marble and soap-stone, are made and sold to visitors. Models in sandstone are made of temples and buildings, both at Lucknow and Mirzapur In Bengal, models are made of Sher Shah's tomb at Saseeram. Similar models are also made in the Punjab.

At Jaipur all the important architectural works to be made in stone are first executed in clay so that the effect might be judged. The men employed work in this material with great facility and skill. Elaborate

models of public buildings are also made to scale in plaster of Paris. The stone-cutters of Jaipur make models of temples and other buildings and send them to all parts of India. Models in brass are also made.

Manufacture of musical instruments.

The ancient Hindus made considerable advance in the art of music. Like other Hindu arts, however, music experienced great decadence in later times; and many of the old books on the subject have been lost. The Mahomedan occupation was specially unfavourable to the cultivation of music. The Musalmans are only allowed to beat a drum called *Dáf* at marriages and other ceremonies, apparently for the purpose of giving publicity to the event. But the sweets of music were very soon found to be too tempting for Mahomedans of culture and refinement; and as early as 1286, in the reign of Emperor KeiKobad, one Amir Khasru discovered the high standard of Hindu music, as compared with the system known in Arabia. Notwithstanding the religious prohibition, he carefully studied the subject, and zealously adopted the Hindu style; and since that time Indian music has counted many ardent followers among the Mahomedans. Akbar the Great collected around him the most expert musicians of his time. Among them was Tán Sen still a household word in all parts of India. So far as musical instruments are concerned, the Hindus do not possess anything like the highly developed instruments used in Europe. But in the manufacture of the instruments they have, considerable ingenuity and skill are

often displayed; and they are often decorated with ivory, silver, and other materials. The industry, however, has considerably decayed in late years.

Decorative wood-carving, applied to architecture.

Carved wood-work is largely employed for doors and window-frames. In Bengal, plain wood is now generally used, but carved doors are still found in old houses. In Malda and Gya there are one or two remarkable pieces of wood-carving on the fronts of balconies of houses. Attempts are being made to resuscitate this work.

In many parts of the North Western Provinces, notably at Sahâranpur, carved doors of good workmanship are still made. Carved facades of wood are also made at Sahâranpur, Farukhabad, Mainpuri, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Muttra, and Agra. The other places in the North-Western Provinces where carved wood-work for architectural purposes is made are Bareilly, Azamgarh, and Bulandshahr.

Carved wood-work is extensively produced in the Punjáb. The places most noted for it are Bherá in Sháhpur District; Batálá in Gurdáspur District; Amritsar; Chiniot in Jhang District; Jhelam; Ráwalpindi; Hissar; Lahore; and Siálkot. All over the Province ordinary carpenters do the carving, and there is scarcely any large town where this kind of work is not done. The Indian palace at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was made by two wood carvers taken from Bherá. The chief specialities of the Punjáb architectural

wood-carving is the frame-work of doors and windows, which is highly ornamented. Most of the wood-carvers in the Punjáb are Mahomedans, and the ornaments carved are entirely Musalman.

Bombay wood-carving, as applied to architecture, is thus described by Mr. B. A. Gupte :—

"As far, at least, as Western India is concerned, the art of wood-carving for architectural purposes most assuredly belongs to the Gujratis. It stands to reason to believe that these Gujratis, who are Jains or Vaishnavas, and who originally belonged to the Buddhist religion, have acquired their art of carving from the early sculptors of the ancient caves or rock temples of India. It also looks probable that the art of carving practised by the Buddhists on the harder material, stone, was transferred to a softer material, wood, during the time of the Muslim rulers of Hindustan, who fostered Indian art by introducing into it less costly and more effective material than that which the natives of the soil were in the habit of using. * * The carved balcony selected for the Calcutta International Exhibition by Captain Temple from Dabhoi, as the oldest work extant, had the cypress tree carved on it, which shows the Mahomedan influence upon architectural carvings. * * The wood-carvers of Dabhoi are very skilful, and it is admitted that the ancient artistic renown of the place is not lost. Fine specimens of wood-carving on doors, cornices, verandahs, balconies, pillars, and brackets of houses are met everywhere in the towns of Dabhoi, Vasu, Sojitra, Pitlad, Pattan, Sidhpur, Vadnagar, and Baroda. The new palace at Baroda which is under construction contains full illustration of the master art the Gujratis possess"

The Central Provinces are deficient in art-manufactures, and wood-carving "is perhaps the only one in which the Provinces can hold their own against other parts of India. It is no uncommon thing to find, even in small villages, houses with carved teak fronts of considerable beauty and in several towns there are streets

with carved wooden frontages displaying very considerable taste and skill. Carved wood plays an important part in Nágpur architecture, and the Marhatta palaces in the vicinity of the city are distinguished by their high verandahs of black teak, often very elaborately carved." In many of the towns of Rajputana and Central India, wood-carving is largely patronised by Jaina merchants for their temples. There exist a few wood-carvers of considerable skill at Indor. Kashmir is also noted for its architectural wood-carving.

In Nepal architectural wood-carving is the most important of all decorative arts found in the country. Pillars, doorways, arches, balconies, windows, and other parts of a building are decorated with highly artistic carvings. Figures of deities, demons, dragons, snakes, and animals of all sorts, also wreaths of flowers and intricate patterns, are worked in elaborate details, the proportions being always graceful and true. The work is expensive, and the industry is therefore fast decaying.

Decorative stone-carving, applied to Architecture.

Upper India and Rajputana are the chief centres of stone-carving for architectural purposes, specially Rajputana, where timber is scarce and stone abundant. The whole country is full of magnificent buildings, both ancient and modern, built and adorned with carved stone of exquisite workmanship. The ruins at Chittor, the temples at Ajmir and numerous other places in various parts of India, and the celebrated Kutab Minár of Delhi, all attest to the excellence of the Hindu

art of stone-carving. The Mahomedans when they came to this country "found themselves," as Mr. Hope rightly observes, "among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution,and whose taste had been refined by centuries of cultivation." They forced on them, however, their own bold features of minaret and pointed arch, but borrowed their pillared hall, delicate traceries, and rich surface ornament. The early Mahomedan rulers of Upper India employed Hindu artisans from Rajputana for the erection and ornamentation of their capitals; and these architects soon got influenced by the Saracenic style of building, which they gradually introduced into the construction of palaces and temples in their own country. The famous Tájmahal at Agra, and the palaces, baths, cenotaphs, and mosques at Agra and Delhi all shew the very high excellence to which stone-carving attained in Upper India. The quarries of Makráná, in the Jodhpur territory on the side of the Salt Lake of Sambhar, supplied the white marble for the Taj; while Bharatpur furnished the red sandstone used in the construction of the palace of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. Jaipur and Ajmir supplied the coloured marble, for the decoration of these edifices.

On the Bengal side the hilly countries on the west, and Orissa on the south, made considerable advance in the art of stone-carving. The temples, embankments and ruins in Orissa attest considerable skill in it. In the North-Western Provinces, Agra and Mirzapur are the two places where decorative stone-carvings for

architectural purposes are largely made. Perforated stone screens are largely made at Jaipur. The masons of this place have become so proficient in the work that they can design and carry out, almost with their eyes shut, an endless variety of tracery either in stone or plaster. In the Bharatpur State large quantities of perforated lattice-work in red sandstone are made. The Bharatpur screen at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition consisted of a carved red sandstone architrave and false arch supported on carved pillars, and surmounted by a perforated sandstone screen. The stone is a light brown or salmon-coloured sandstone. It is much used in Bharatpur and the neighbouring States, is easily manipulated, and admits of very fine work. In Alwar, stone-carving is largely employed in architecture. Screens are made consisting of panels of white marble, perforated and carved in relief, fitted in a framework of black marble and teak wood, and supported upon three beautifully carved white marble pillars. The designs are in pure Hindu style. In the Alwar State there are quarries of white, pink, and black marble; the quality of the white marble is said to be the finest obtainable in India for statuary purposes. Carved doorways, balconies, archways, and cornices are made in the Karauli State, as well as trelliswork screens which are particularly handsome. Perforated screen work and tracery, pillars, &c., are made in the Dholpur State of red and white sandstone.

Carved panels are made at Gwalior, which are executed with great skill and fineness. In connection with

the Gwalior stone-carving industry may be mentioned the gateway which was made under the superintendence of Major J. B. Keith, and shewn first at the Calcutta International Exhibition, of 1883, and then at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886.

Ornaments.

Indian women being as fond of jewellery as their sisters in other parts of the globe, the makers of gold, silver, and brass ornaments have been important members of the village community from time immemorial. The dress of Hindu women, which leaves a larger part of the body bare than in colder climates, admits of an elaborate personal adornment by means of ornaments. Want of pecuniary means does not stand in the way of satisfying this vanity, for ornaments are made of all sorts of materials, from the cheapest bangles made of lac, glass, or brass, to the most valuable gold necklaces, thickly studded with pearls and diamonds; and thus the wearer has before her a large assortment to choose from, according to the means at her command. Some of the cheap trinkets are so well made as to deserve to be classed within the domain of art. The Indian workman displays his good taste, which seems to be inherent in his nature, wherever he has a chance of doing so. He cannot cut or chase ornamental designs on hard bell-metal articles without raising the price to a point beyond the means of the people for whom they are intended; but he is free to exercise his ingenuity on the softer lac; and, indeed, bangles made of this material in

many places display great taste in the combination of colours and tinsels.

Indian gold and silver ornaments often lack that neatness of execution which is a characteristic feature in European articles of a similar description. To lay by some money as a provision for a bad day is often a more cogent reason for the possession of gold or silver ornaments than personal adornment. Hence massive solid articles of soft pure gold are preferred to flimsy ornaments made of hard alloyed gold but of superior workmanship. An Indian seldom purchases gold or silver ornaments, but he orders the goldsmith to make them for him, the wages of the maker being paid at the time-honoured fixed rate on the weight of the metal used. Such a system does not encourage superior workmanship. Still Indian jewellery is not devoid of art or of delicacy of finish. Mr. Maskelyne in his Report on jewellery in the French Exhibition of 1866 remarked :—

"It is said that even that delicate and most sensitive instrument of touch, the hand of the Hindu, is not sufficiently sensitive for fashioning the finest sorts of Indian filigree, and that children alone are employed in the manipulation of such a spider-web of wire. Of fabrics so delicate, nothing is to be seen among the jewellery at Paris,—indeed the best of the Indian filigree, and that by no means worthy of its source, is to be found among the articles exhibited under the goldsmith's class. It is to be remarked of this elegant and primitive—perhaps very earliest—form of ornament in precious metal, that it had probably reached its limits for delicacy and design at a very archaic period, and has made no real progress in recent times; that, in fact, the early Greek filigrainer worked with as much facility and delicacy as the Hindu artisan of our day, who inherits the skill and the methods he uses by the direct descent of an immemorial tradition. But there are

other forms of the goldsmith's art scarcely less venerable than that of the filigrains, possessed of great native beauty, and which also have survived in India, through the long roll of centuries, as the Zend and Sanskrit languages have survived there, the inheritance of families or clans. Those forms of art are perishing one by one; as the family in whom it may have been handed down becomes extinct or lets the thread be broken, each of these hereditary industries of India moves on with time to its extinction."

We have in India the most primitive methods of personal adornment in the wild aboriginal races as well as its highest development among the more civilised Hindus and Mahomedans. Bones of animals, tusks of wild boar, plumage of birds, shells and seeds of gaudy colours still afford an endless supply of personal ornaments to the savage tribes of the Indian forests; while on the other hand the skilful *Murassiá-kár* set with unrivalled ingenuity precious stones on massive golden jewellery for the use of the high and the rich. The principal stones used are diamonds, rubies, onyxes, carnelians, emeralds, turquoise, jade, agates, jaspers, &c. After the goldsmith has finished his work the article goes to the enameller to be enamelled on the back, and then it comes to the setter of jewels. Delhi is the headquarters of this industry, and Mr. Kipling makes the following remarks on ths subject:—

Setting of precious stones.

"Another speciality of Delhi is the incrustation of jade with patterns of which the stem work is in gold and the leaves and flowers in garnets, rubies, diamonds, &c. For examples of the best of older work we must now go to the great European collections, where are objects of a size and beauty seldom met with in India. The mouth-pieces of *Hukkas*, the hilts of swords and daggers, the heads of walk-

ing-canes, and the curious crutch-like handle of the *Gosáin's* or *Bairági's* (religious ascetic) staff, also called a *Bairági*, are, with lockets and brooches for English wear, the usual application of this costly and beautiful work. Each individual splinter of ruby or diamond may not be intrinsically worth very much, but the effect of such work as a whole is often very rich. The *Murassiákár* or jewel-setter was formerly often called upon to set stones, so that they could be sewn into jewelled cloths. For this purpose, as when the stone was to be incrusted upon another, as with minute diamonds or pearls on large garnets—a common Delhi form—or on jade, he works with gold foil and a series of small chisel-like tools and fine agate burnishers."

Enamelled Jewellery.

Minakari or the art of enamelling has been known in India from very early times. The art now is not in a very flourishing state, except at Jaipur. It is, however, still practised on gold at Jaipur, Alwar, Delhi, and Benares; on silver at Multan, Bháwalpur, Kashmir, Kángra, Kulu, Lahore, Haidrabad in Sind, Karáchi, Abbottabad, Nurpur, Lucknow, Kach, and Jaipur; and on copper in Kashmir, Jaipur, and many other places. But the work done on gold at Jaipur is the best in the world. "The colours employed rival the tints of the rainbow in purity and brilliancy, and they are laid on the gold by the Jaipur artists with such exquisite taste that there is never a want of harmony; even when jewels are also used they serve but to enhance the beauty of the enamel." The Jaipur enamel is of the *champlevé* variety, that is, the outlines are formed from the plate itself, and the colours are deposited in depressions of it.

Mr. Baden Powell in his work on "Punjab manufactures" mentioned Benares as a place which stood next to Jaipur in the art of enamelling. But very little ena-

melling is now done at Benares. What is made is prepared by order. Enamelling is also executed to a limited extent at Lucknow and Rampur, but the artists confine their efforts to enamelling plate rather than jewellery.

Some of the enamelled work of Delhi is almost equal to that made at Jaipur. It is chiefly employed, as at Jaipur, to decorate the back of jewelled ornaments of gold, a bright translucent red enamel being always preferred. The enamelling of Multan, Jhang, and Kangra is generally of a dark and light blue colour, the blue vitreous enamel being the most common.

A very fine species of enamelling on gold is done at Jorhát in Assam. The colours are blue, green, and white, and the effect is strikingly beautiful. The ornaments produced are lockets, ear-rings, bracelets, and necklaces. The sale is not extensive, and is only confined to the Assamese. The ornaments are often set with precious stones.

Gold and silver plate.

Golden cups are mentioned in the Rig-Veda. Later books also offer abundant evidence to shew that golden plate was in use in India from very early times. The custom followed in ancient India of making presents in large golden trays is thus referred to by Sir Edwin Arnold in his "Light of Asia" in describing the rejoicings that took place at Kapilavastu on the birth of prince Siddhártha :—

"Moreover, from afar came merchant men,
Bringing, on tidings of his birth, rich gifts
In golden trays—goat shawls, and nard and jade,
Turkises 'evening sky' tint, woven webs."

It is not known whether any old specimen of gold or silver work now exists in the country. The chief repositories of such articles, palaces and temples have, in later times, passed through so many vicissitudes, that most of the plate and jewellery must have found their way to the melting pot. Even if any article has by chance escaped this wreck of time, its date cannot be easily ascertained. According to Sir George Birdwood, the oldest example of a really ancient work is a gold casket found within a Buddhist tope near Jellalabad. The casket contained some copper coins, which shewed that the monument was built about fifty years before Christ.

The manufacture of gold and silver plate must be an industry of a very limited extent. The abolition of native Indian courts has no doubt told heavily on the trade, and its revival cannot be hoped for until the heavy import duty levied in England upon such articles is removed.

Most of the jewellers in Bengal can imitate gold and silver plate of any form or pattern. But the demand for such work is small, and, except at Dacca and Cuttack, they are not made unless specially ordered. The filigrain work of Dacca and Cuttack is celebrated for its fineness and delicacy. It is made in the same way as filigrain jewellery. The articles made are generally scent-holders, rose water sprinklers, card-cases, *Hukkas* (smoking bowls), &c. The cost of labour is high, and equals, or in the case of specially good work exceeds, the price of the silver. The silver plate made

at Bhowanipur near Calcutta has of late attracted considerable notice, and the industry may be said to be a growing one. The frosted silver of Bhowanipur is a work of great merit, but looks too much like European imitation. In the North-Western Provinces, Lucknow and Rámpur are the two principal places where gold and silver plate is made. The articles turned out are generally of the same description as those manufactured at Dacca and Cuttack ; but, of late they have taken to making things for European use, like tea-sets, saucers, salt-cellars, sugar-basins and milk-pots. The style of work is different here, and there is a considerable variety in the designs. Some of the work is plain and some ornamental. In some the ornaments are engraved, while in others they are beaten out (*repoussé*). Silver gilt articles are also made at Lucknow.

In the Punjáb, articles of a similar nature like those made in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces are made at Delhi, Kapurthala, Jallandhar, Amritsar, and Lahore. Curious specimens of silver work were sent to the Lahore exhibition from the Kapurthala State. They consisted of dates imitated in silver, and a series of vessels of glass covered with silver work. Mr. Baden Powell stated, that only two men knew how to make this kind of work, one of whom resided at Kapurthala and the other at Amritsar. "The stems of the glass and the rim are covered with silver gilt and flowered (not filigree work), and the bowl with a covering of silver net, made of fine wire. Drinking cups and vases are made in this way." Kashmir is famous for its parcel-gilt

silver ware. The patterns consist of small sprigs of leaves hammered out in relief all over the vessel. Sometimes the ground is silver and the sprigs are parcel-gilt.

Chanda, in the Central Provinces, was formerly famous for its gold and silver work. Sir George Birdwood, in his book on "Industrial Arts of India (1880)," stated that the articles have lost much of their fame, "owing to the decreased demand for their wares under British rule. The District still however, possesses good goldsmiths and silversmiths, whose work is marked by the strongest local character." The industry seems now to have entirely perished, for not only were no specimens sent to the recent Exhibitions, but no mention of it has been made by the Provincial officer in his report to the Government of India on the art-manufactures of the Provinces.

Rajputana, with its native courts, affords great encouragement to the manufacture of gold and silver plate. A very fine collection of such work was sent from Tonk to the Jaipur Exhibition, to which the Jury awarded the first prize, for, as they said, they "were good in design as well as in execution." There has of late been introduced at Jaipur a new style of surface decoration, *viz.*, engraving figures on the plate in such a way as to imitate in metal the clothing of human beings, natural fur of animals, and the feathers of birds. But in the opinion of Dr. Hendley, "such work though clever, is unsuitable to silver, though on gold perhaps it is more excusable, as the value of the latter metal would prevent

frequent use and therefore much cleaning." Larger articles, such as thrones and staves of canopies, are made at Jaipur in precious metals. At Bogru, a town in the Jaipur State, silver plate is made on a moderate scale, by a local goldsmith. The Maharaja of Alwar has a number of silversmiths in his pay, who annually turn out various articles of good workmanship. The articles usually made are tumblers, cups, saucers, tea-pots, *Hukkas*, betel-holders, &c. Processions with figures of men and animals, carriages, and other accessories are often beautifully engraved on the silver tumblers and cups, the designs of which are generally admired. Gold articles of a similar description are made for the State by goldsmiths in the pay of the Chief. Patan, a town in the little State of Jhallawar, has a reputation for its crane-shaped rose-water sprinkler. Perfume boxes, betel-nut trays, tumblers, cups, and smoking bowls with covers and silver chains hanging from them are also made at Patan. Nor is the little State of Bikánir any way behind in this art, for which Kach on one side and the sister States of Rajputana on the other have acquired a celebrity among the wealthy classes of India. The inaccessibility of this State attracted towards her a large number of peaceful merchants, who left their homes to escape the extortion of the later Mahomedan kings and the pillage of the Marhattas. The wealth they brought with them has contributed largely to the development of the art-manufactures of Bikánir. Excellent examples of Bikánir silver work occupied a prominent place at the Jaipur Exhibition and in the later Exhibition in London.

Work almost similar to that made in Upper India and Rajputana is done at Gwalior, Rámpurá in the Indor State, and at Dhar, Alipurá, and Chhatrapur in Central India. The articles made at Gwalior and Rámpurá have a great reputation for their superior design and fineness of execution, those of the latter chiefly consisting of silver *repoussé* work ornamented with gold. Dhar makes an ingenious rosewater sprinkler in the form of a bird.

But no part of India is more celebrated for its work in precious metals than Kach in the Bombay Presidency. The interest lately created among Europeans in the art-manufactures of India has enhanced the demand for such articles, and the industry would have a great future before it, if ever the Government of England could be induced to abolish the import duty on gold and silver plate. The increase in the demand has not produced in this case the usual degeneration in the design and execution of the articles turned out. Dholka, Viragram, Ahmadabad, Junágad, and other places in Gujrat were formerly famous for their plate, but Kach has now taken them all under its wing ; and whether such articles are made at Bombay, Poona, or Ahmadnagar, they all go by the name of "Kach silver ware."

In the Madras Presidency gold and silver wares are made at Dindigul, Palai in Madura District, Godávari, Tanjore, Tirupati in North Arcot District, Cochin, and Vizianagram. Articles in solid silver are also made in the Madras School of Art, from which a candlestick

designed after the manner of a native Hindu lamp, a water-vessel in solid silver, chased and ornamented, and a spoon, with a bowl supported by parrots, the stem ending with a five-headed snake overshadowing the *Lingam*, were sent to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. A card-case, a scent-casket, and a bouquet-holder of filigrain work, a betelnut box with fluted and embossed ornamentation, and a shallow silver bowl with flutted sides and chased centre, were sent to the above Exhibition by the Mahárájá of Çochin, while the Rájá of Vizianagram contributed elephant seats (howdahs) and trappings for elephants and horses used on ceremonial occasions. Among the presents made to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, while he was in India was a shrine screen, of pierced and hammered silver, which in Sir George Birdwood's opinion "is a wonderful example of manipulative dexterity."

There is some originality in the form of trays, scent-holders, betel-boxes, water-goglets, cups, and other articles made by the gold and silver-smiths of Mysore, and they display a considerable amount of delicacy and ingenuity in chasing, ornamenting, and engraving the patterns. For superior workmanship in silver, the wages equal the value of the metal used, and in gold one half its value. Among the presents made to the Prince of Wales was a beautiful golden tray, the rim and cover of which "are elaborately enriched with embossed flowers and leaves; while the bottom is left plain, excepting the well-proportioned border, and a centre panel of flowery geometrical design, which is enchased,

so as not to interfere with its necessary flatness of surface." Scent-bottles and caskets of filigrain work are made at Travancore, and silver wire is often employed for the decoration of cocoanut shells. Zelgandal and Aurangabad are the only places in Haidrabad noted for their silver ware. The articles are made in filigrain work.

Enamelled ware.

The art of enamelling as practised in India has already been described under the head of jewellery. Jaipur occupies the first place in this branch of Indian art-manufactures. It is an old industry in this beautiful city of beautiful handicrafts. The oldest example of Jaipur enamel is the crutch staff on which Mahárájá Mán Singh leaned when he stood before the throne of the Emperor Akbar at the close of the sixteenth century. "It is fifty two inches in length, and is composed of thirty-three cylinders of gold arranged on a central core of strong copper, the whole being surmounted by a crutch of light-green jade set with gems. Each of the thirty-two upper cylinders is painted in enamel with figures of animals, landscapes, and flowers. The figures are boldly and carefully drawn by one who had evidently studied in the School of Nature; the colours are wonderfully pure and brilliant, and the work is executed with more skill and evenness than anything we see at the present day." Of modern articles of note may be mentioned the round plate presented to the Prince of Wales. It took four years to complete it, and, according to Sir George

Birdwood, is "a monument of the Indian enameller's art." It is said that the enamel workers at Jaipur were originally brought from Lahore by Mahárájá Mán Singh. The fact of their being Sikhs and their dependence at the present day on the Punjáb for colouring materials, confirm the tradition. Besides personal ornaments, cups and plates of gold are enamelled, and although silver enamel of good quality is frequently made, the artists do not like to work in this metal, as "the difficulties of fixing the colours and the risks are much greater than when gold is used."

Kashmir stands next in importance in the art of enamelling. The industry has achieved considerable development in the course of the last few years, and Kashmir enamelled works in silver, copper, and brass are now sold by all dealers in Indian art-ware in Bombay, Calcutta, and other places. Betel-boxes, spice-boxes, *Hukkas*, and other small articles are enamelled at Delhi. The Delhi work is not much inferior to that of Jaipur. Enamelling is also done to some extent at Multan, Jhang, Bháwalpur, and Kangra. The Kangra enamel is remarkable for its excellence of blue. A little enamelling of the Kangra style is also done in Kulu, chiefly on articles of jewellery. In the North-Western Provinces, Benares has long been famous for its enamel in gold. The industry is on the decline, and is now only done to order. A little enamelling is also done at Lucknow and Rámpur. A splendid example of Lucknow enamel, in the shape of a *Hukka*, was sent to the Calcutta International Exhibition. A similar example of Lucknow

work was sent to the Jaipur Exhibition by the Rewa State. It was made of silver, the blue and enamelled grounds contrasting beautifully with the flowers of white spinel

An imitation green enamel is made at Pratábgarh in Rajputana. The process of manufacture is not known, as it is a secret jealously kept by two or three families who practise the art. The industry is chiefly devoted to the manufacture of flat plaques of different shapes, which are sold to other artists, and utilised "either as separate ornaments or as backings for enamelled brooches or bracelets, which can thus be worn with either side outmost." Similar quasi-enamel is also done at Ratlám in Central India, the colour there being blue, while that of Pratábgarh is green.

Eucrusted ware.

Under this head may be classed the celebrated Tanjore metal work, the art in which consists of soldering, wedging, or screwing on silver patterns and figures of Hindu deities on copper vessels. The figures are made in the famous Madras or *Swámi* style, and the white figures in high relief on red copper ground produce an effect at once bold and striking.

Damascened Work.

Sir George Birdwood describes "Damascening as the art of encrusting one metal on another, not in *crustæ*, which are soldered on or wedged into the metal surface to which they are applied, but in the form of wire, which, by undercutting and hammering, is thoroughly incorporated into the metal which it is intended to ornament." Prac-

tically, damascening is limited to encrusting gold wire, and sometimes silver wire, on the surface of iron, steel or bronze. As its name implies, the industry originated at Damascus, where it underwent its highest development. It was however, brought to India directly from Kabul and Persia. Kotli Loháran near Siálkot and Gujrát, both in the Punjáb, are the two chief seats of this industry, but the art is also practised at Lahore, Multan, Jaipur, Karauli; Alwar, Datiá, &c. The use for which it was originally invented was the decoration of arms and armour, and the glory of the art has departed with that of the warriors of old who fought with shields and swords, buckles and breastplates, and maces, and matchlocks. The art has therefore got antiquated, but happily the makers have turned it to the ornamentation of articles for ordinary use, chiefly in a European household; and in the manufacture of such things as well as of shields, arms, and armoury which Europeans purchase as curious, damascened work in India still maintains its precarious existence.

Bidri-Ware.

Another style of damascened ware is what is known as the *Bidri* work. This peculiar art derives its name from the town of Bidar, its original home, which according to tradition, was founded by a Hindu king of the same name, four centuries before the Christian era. The place lies about 75 miles to the north-west of Haïdrabad within the dominions of the Nizam. Bidar was long the capital of a Hindu kingdom of the same name, and after its subversion by the Mahomedans it continued to be the

seat of Government under the Bahmani Dynasty of the Musalman sovereigns of the Deccan. It is said that one of the Hindu kings of Bidar invented the manufacture of *Bidri*-ware, who used the articles to hold flowers and other offerings which he daily presented to his household gods. Considerable improvements were introduced into the manufacture by his Hindu successors, but it attained its present state of excellence under the Mahomedans. Like many other handicrafts of India, it declined with the downfall of the Mahomedan Empire, although it attracted the notice of men like Dr. Heyne, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, Captain Newbald, Dr. Smith, and others. Its decline as an industry was so complete that, in the "Oudh Gazetteer," the most comprehensive work on that province yet published, no mention is made of *Bidri*-ware among the manufactures of Lucknow, although for more than a century it had flourished most in the capital of Oudh. The mode of manufacture is very nearly the same in all the places. The manufacture of *Bidri*-ware is carried on under a system of division of labour, the different processes being generally performed by three classes of people, *viz.*, the moulder, the carver, and the inlayer. The moulder prepares the alloyed metal, casts the vessel and turns it to its proper shape by his lathe. The carver engraves the patterns on the surface of the vessel, and the inlayer designs the patterns, inlays the ornament of gold or silver, and finally colours and polishes the article. The four notable seats of *Bidri* manufacture are Bidar, Lucknow, Purnia, and Murshidabad.

In Haidrabad the industry is still an important one, as it commands an extensive sale owing to the practice prevalent in the State of presenting a set of *Bridi*-ware to the bridgroom at the time of marriage. "No dowry is considered complete, among the better class of Mahomedans, unless a complete set of *Bidri*-ware, from bed-legs to a spittoon, is included. The high prices often render it necessary for the father of a family to begin his collection years before his daughter is marriageable."

Brass and copper manufactures.

Brass and copper vessels are usually used in India for domestic purposes instead of porcelain, glass, and silver ware. Brass consists of copper and zinc, but a kind of bell-metal having copper and tin for its component parts called *Phul* in Upper India and *Kansa* in Bengal, is also largely employed in the manufacture of plates, cups, and drinking vessels. Ordinary domestic utensils are not decorated, as in consonance with the Hindu idea of purity, these are required to be scrubbed with earth or sand before being washed each time they are used. Hindus generally use brass vessels for ordinary purposes ; Mahomedans prefer tinned copper. Brass, copper, or bellmetal manufactures may be classed as sacrificial utensils, cooking utensils, plates, cups, drinking vessels, and miscellaneous articles.

Sacrificial vessels differ in different parts of the country, not only in shape, but in the metals of which they are made. On the Bengal side, they are generally made of copper, while in other parts of India brass is

largely employed. Bell-metal is not considered pure enough for such purposes. Images of deities are also made of brass and other metals, and considerable ingenuity is often displayed in their manufacture. The sacrificial vessels are often decorated with floral designs and figures of divinities.

In Bengal, vessels of brass and bell-metal are made in many places, those of Khánkrá near Murshidabad and Jhanjharpur near Darbhángá being considered the best. The other places noted for such manufactures are Calcutta itself, Kánchannagar in Bardwán, Rájsháhi, Kishanganj in Purnia, Islamabad in Dacca, Bánsberiá in Hugli, and Cuttack. Patna makes a peculiar kind of brass tea-urn which is in constant demand among the better classes of Hindus and Mahomedans. Brass articles are for the most part plain being simply moulded and beaten into the required shape, and have no claim to be classed as art-manufactures, although in some a rough attempt is made at decoration with lines, dots or figures of deities and animals. They are sold by weight, the price varying from half a rupee to two rupees a pound, according to the quality of the metal and the labour spent in the manufacture. The Khánkrá vessels are prized for their fine shape and the polish given to the articles.

In the North-Western Provinces, household utensils are largely made at Sultánpur in Oudh, and Umlipatti in the Azamgarh District, besides the ornamented ware manufactured at Benares, Lucknow, Moradabad, Jhánsi, Lalitpur, and Gorakhpur. Besides what is known as

the Benares ware, this sacred city is noted for its sacrificial and domestic utensils, toys, and figures of deities. The most important of the North-Western Provinces brass and copper manufactures are however, the Benares brass ware, the Moradabad brass ware, and the Lucknow copper vessels. All these manufactures have advanced in rapid strides into European favour during the last few years, and at present no dealer in Indian art manufactures considers his stock-in-trade complete without a good collection of these articles, specially of the first two.

Benares ware.

In the variety of the designs, in the excellence of the cast, and the rich colouring which gives to the articles a gold-like lustre, Benares brass ware has not been surpassed by any other town in India. The ware is now largely sold not only in India but all over Europe. Plates, water-goglets, trays, cups, salvers, shields, betel-holders and various articles are made in this style of work. The brass is first moulded into the required shape, and then patterns are engraved.

Moradabad ware.

Moradabad brass ware is, like the Benares ware, universally admired. Its origin has no connection with religion, and it seems to be an art developed, if not originated, by the Mahomedans. The manufacture was not in a very flourishing state before the year 1876. In that year, the Agricultural Department of the North-Western Provinces, then presided over by Sir Edward Buck, persuaded a hotel-proprietor at Allahabad to open a stall

for the sale of Indian manufactures to Europeans going to England who generally made a halt there. The elegant shape of the vessels, with their rich floriated patterns standing out in their gold or silvery brightness on a blank ground, soon attracted the attention of the European visitors, and their sale went up by leaps and bounds. As in the Benares ware, the brass is first moulded into the required shape of the vessel, and then the patterns are chiselled out.

In the Punjab, Amritsar, Peshâwar, Delhi, Jagádhri, Riwári, Hushiárpur, Daská, Gujránwálá, and Pind Dádan Khán are the places most noted for their manufactures in non-precious metals. Delhi is famous for its huge cooking pots, called *Degchás*. Kashmir is famous for its engraved copper ware, a good collection of which was sent to the Glasgow International Exhibition. These articles are now extensively sold to Europeans and consist of trays, plates, claret-jugs, salvers, tobacco-jars, tea-services, &c.

In the Central Provinces, brass utensils were largely made in many places, specially at Bhandárá, Lodhi-Kherá in the Chhindwárá District, Timorni in the Hoshangabad District, Mandlá, and Sambalpur. They consisted of plain ordinary household utensils, like similar articles made in other Provinces, without any pretension to artistic merit, but were much sought after on account of their neatness and durability. But the industry has much declined within the last fifteen years.

Ordinary household utensils are largely made at

Jaipur. They are plain, but highly polished. Of these, Jaipur smoking bowls, called *Gargarás* or *Gurguris*, are noted all over Upper India. Of late, Dr. Hendley has introduced the manufacture of brass trays and other articles with arabesque designs from old Indian patterns in *repoussé*. These are made by several exceptionally skilful workmen. In fact, the Jaipur men can imitate anything given to them. The patronage of a liberal court, which has always been noted for its encouragement of art, has led to many good workmen from different parts of India settling there. Salvers and vases of Hindu shapes engraved with mythological figures, soap-boxes, betel-boxes, &c., pierced with floral and geometrical patterns, are made at the School of Art and in the Bazar. Plates and vessels are also made in the School of Art with designs of mythological or hunting scenes scratched upon them. A beautiful hunting scene was thus depicted on a large plate shewn at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

Wood-carving.

An account of wood carving has already been given under the head of "Decorative wood carving as applied to architecture." The art is also employed in making smaller articles of household furniture.

In Bengal almost the only place where carved furniture of note is made is Monghyr. The wood used is the Indian ebony *(Diospyros melanoxylon)* found on the western hills, on which ivory and horn are sometimes inlaid. The industry is now stationary.

Cabinets, writing boxes, pen-trays, cribbage boards, and other articles of household furniture are made. Toys and personal ornaments suitable for European use are manufactured of ebony as well as of palm and areca-nut wood.

The most important wood-carving, in small work, carried on in the North-Western Provinces is that done at Naginá in the Bijnor District. It is in Indian ebony, on which floral designs are delicately cut out with the chisel. Boxes, pen cases, inkstands, book-covers, and other articles are thus beautifully ornamented. The industry has greatly developed in late years, and a large number of people is now engaged in the trade. In the more elaborate and expensive work, the black is often relieved by silver and mother-o'-pearl mounts, but it is a question how far this extraneous and new style of ornamentation preserves the integrity and the artistic merit of the original work.

In the Bombay Presidency, wood-carving is now principally carried on in Ahmedabad, Surat, and Canara. At Ahmedabad there are some 800 families of carpenters; yet the industry has greatly declined compared to what it was in former times. Mr. B. A. Gupte says: "The art of wood-carving was almost extinct in Ahmedabad; the only articles made being a few samples of elaborate flower-stands, picture-frames, card cases, &c., in blackwood, for the European visitors to the city, but by the enterprise of Mr. Lockwood De Forest an American gentleman, a revival has taken place."

The principal places where sandalwood carving is

Sandalwood carving.

carried on are Canara, Surat, Ahmedabad, and Bombay in the Bombay Presidency; Travancore, Trichinopoly, Haladgi, Raidrug, Tirupatur, Madura, Udiyaghir, Karnul, Coimbatore, Kistna, and Godávari in the Madras Presidency; and Soráb and Sagar in Mysore. The carvings are most elaborate and minute, sometimes representing patterns of intricate foliage and flowers, but more often mythological scenes ornamented with geometrical and floral designs.

Inlaid woodwork.

Wood is inlaid with ivory, horn, brass, and silver. In Bengal, the art is very litle practised. Only in Monghyr ivory and horn are sometimes inlaid on furniture or small articles made of ebony wood. The demand for ivory-inlaid ebony work is very small and is apparently diminishing. There are only six or eight carpenters now in Monghyr, who follow the profession of furniture making and inlaying on wood.

As stated before, the Nagina wood-carvers, in the North-Western Provinces, decorate their more elaborate and expensive work with silver and mother-o'-pearl mounts as a set-off to the black of the ebony of which the articles are made. But the most noted inlaid wood work in the North-Western Provinces is the *Tárkashi* work of Mainpuri. The articles are made of *Shisham (Dalbergia latifolia)* wood, on which foliage and geometrical designs are most minutely formed by hammering in fine brass wire. The surface is then polished, and the article then presents to the eye an intricate

maze of golden patterns running into all directions in endless profusion, though with the usual regularity and symmetry of an Indian handiwork. The art was all but extinct a few years ago, when it fortunately attracted European attention. Though not yet in a prosperous condition, it is however, slowly reviving, and the last few Exhibitions have done it much good. It can be introduced with good effect for pannelling doors, picture framing, &c.

Punjáb is celebrated for its ivory and brass inlay on wood. Ivory inlay is extensively carried on at Hushiárpur, and brass inlay at Chiniot in the District of Jhang. Small square wooden seats, almirahs, wall-brackets, tables, chairs, boxes, desks, rulers, picture-frames, cabinets, and other house-hold articles made of *Shisham* wood are inlaid with ivory at Hushiárpur. A small edging of blackened wood is occasionally introduced to set off the ivory. Brass inlay is also practised at Hushiárpur, but the best work of the kind comes from Chiniot. The brass is cut into thin plates before being inserted on the wood, which is done with great precision and neatness.

In the Madras Presidency, the art of inlaying on wood is chiefly practised in the well-known Vizagapatam work. Work-boxes, card-cases, inkstands, chess boards, and other knick-nacks are made here, chiefly of sandalwood, which are decorated with ivory fret work, tortoise-shell, horn, &c. Cabinet work of ebony and *shisham* wood is inlaid with ivory at Bangalore and Mysore.

On the Bombay side work-boxes, glove-boxes, and other articles are minutely decorated by inlaying on the surface small pieces of ivory, stag-horn, tin, glass, &c. This work is done at Surat, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Kach, and Bombay.

Lacquered ware.

The art of colouring and working wood by putting layers of lac upon it is practised all over India, the Province of Punjáb being the most noted for manufactures of this kind. The art consists in coating an article of wood with lac of different colours, and often cutting out patterns on it with a chisel.

Very little lacquering is now done in Bengal, Murshidabad and Patna being the only places where the industry is practised on a limited scale. It is said that good lacquered ware is made at a place near Sirájganj.

In the North-Western Provinces, lacquered wooden articles are made in many places, notably at Bareilly, Agra, Lucknow, Fatehpur, Sháhjahánpur, Benares, and Mirzapur. Chairs, tables, and similar articles are made at Bareilly; boxes, plates, and small articles at Agra; legs for bedsteads at Lucknow, Fatehpur, and Sháhjahánpur; and toys at Benares and Mirzapur. Each District has a style of its own different from its neighbour. The art of lacquering is, in the North-Western Provinces, more applied to the decoration of bedstead legs than to any other article. Toys made at Benares, Fatehpur, and Mirzapur are more remarkable for their cheapness than beauty. Packs of native cards are made at Fatehpur of

thin wood, painted and lacquered, and also nests of boxes, in the construction of which considerable ingenuity and skill are shown.

In the Punjáb, the Pákpattan, Derá Ismáil Khán, Firozpur, Sahiwál, and Hushiárpur have acquired a particular reputation for their lacquered wares. Pákpattan articles were hitherto considered the best, but of late other places have equalled, if not surpassed, the Pákpattan manufactures. Bed-legs, frames of rope bedsteads, boxes, sticks, chairs, &c., are made in this place. "The work has a fine polish and generally a marbled or mottled appearance, often in two or three colours, and the article finished with a flowered border, which latter is done by a species of handiwork different from the rest, and certainly affording a good instance of the delicacy of native handling."

Inlaid marble of Agra.

The mosaic work of the Tájmahal is now employed in the decoration of plates, cups, boxes, and other small objects. The art consists in inlaying on white marble ground coloured stones, such as jasper, heliotrope, carnelian, chalcedony, &c., in exquisite arabesques. Mother-o'-pearl has recently been introduced in the work, but not with good effect. It is supposed by many that the mosaic decorations of the Tájmahal were of Italian origin. This supposition is upon the statement of Father De Castro, who lived at Lahore at the time when the Táj was under construction, that this celebrated edifice was designed by a Venetian architect, and that the

internal decorations were executed under lhe superintendence of a Frenchman. On the other hand, there is a tradition in the country, that one Isa Muhammad Effendi, a Turk sent to the Emperor Sháh Jahán by the Sultán of Turkey, was the designer of this magnificent mausoleum. In a paper contributed to the *Indian Journal of Art* (I., p. 61), Sir George Birdwood has, however, conclusively proved that mosaic work is of Eastern origin, and that it never flourished in the West. Besides, a close observation of the Italian work of the time has convinced him that Western hands could not have executed the mosaic decorations in the Táj. He says: "From the Orpheus, which is traditionally held to be a likeness of Austin himself, to the pictorial representations of fruits and birds, they are nothing more than clumsy attempts to directly copy oil and fresco paintings in an unsuitable material; and it is quite impossible that the men who devised such artistic monstrosities could have been the same as those whose hands traced in variegated *pietra dura* the exquisite arabesques of the Taj, informed in every undulating line and drooping bud, and bursting flower, with the true principles of inlaid decoration."

Ivory-carving.

Whatever the position of the industry might have been in ancient times, ivory-carving is not in a flourishing state at the present day, if the preparation of ivory for inlay work is excluded from the account. Carved objects in ivory are worked in very few places, the most noted beingMur-

shidabad and Travancore. Ivory in large quantities is brought to Bombay from Africa. A portion of it is reshipped and the rest kept to meet the demand in India. There is also a local supply from the herds of elephents that roam in the jungles of Assam and Southern India. This supply has, however, become very small now, owing to the stringent regulations passed by Government for the protection of wild elephants. The articles generally carved out of ivory are figures of gods and goddesses, men, animals and other toys, combs, ornaments, *Chauris* or fly-drivers, mats, caskets, &c. The Murshidabad manufactures are perhaps the best in India, fully displaying in them the finish, minuteness, and ingenuity characteristic of all true Indian art. They are remarkable also considering the simple and rough nature of the few tools by which they are made. The industry is, however, declining, and it is said that the number of artizans engaged in the work is not now one-fourth of what it was twenty years ago.

Pottery

Sir George Birdwood has pointed out how in India precedence is always rightly given to the shape of the vessel, and the decorations, if any, are always subordinated to the shape. He says :—

"In the best Indian pottery, we always find the reverent subjection of colour and ornamentation to form, and it is in attaining this result that the Indian potter has shewn the true artistic feeling and skill of all Indian workmasters in his handiwork. The correlation of his forms,

colours, and details of ornamentation is perfect, and without seeming premeditation as if his work were rather a creation of nature than of art; and this is recognised, even in the most homely objects, as the highest achievement of artifice."

Unglazed earthern pottery has been made in India from time immemorial. The practice of throwing away the pots in use, and obtaining fresh ones on prescribed occasions has given great impetus to the trade. Every large village in India has its potters, and baked pottery for everyday use is made all over the country. The art of making glazed pottery seems to have come to India from China by way of Persia. The most notable places where artistic pottery is now made are Khulná, Dinájpur, Sewán, and Ràniganj in Bengal; Azamgarh, Lucknow, Sitápur, Rámpur, Aligarh, and Khurjá in the North-Western Provinces; Delhi, Multan, and Pesháwar in the Punjáb; Jaipur; Burhánpur in the Central Provinces; Madras, Madura, Salem, and other places in the Madras Presidency; and Bombay, and Hallá in Sind in the Bombay Presidency.

Glass manufactures.

The manufacture of glass was known in ancient India. Dr. Rájendra Lála Mitra supposes that it was made of pounded crystal. But, at present, the material mostly used for the manufacture of glass is an impure carbonate of soda, called *Reh*, an efflorescence that has of late laid waste large tracts of country in Upper India. Manufacture of glass in India is still, however, in its primitive state, the indigenous production being usually a

coarse blue or green glass full of flaws and air bubbles. This is produced by melting the *Reh* soil over a strong fire Or, where *Reh* is not procurable, quartzose pebbles ground and mixed with an equal quantity of an alkaline ash is the material commonly used. This seems to be the substance which, according to Pliny, the Greeks also employed for glass manufacture. The glass thus obtained is chiefly used in the manufacture of bangles, beads, and crackle ware for perfumes. White glass is obtained by melting broken pieces of European ware, of which small vessels are sometimes made. But glass ware is now almost entirely imported from Europe. Glass vessels of Indian manufacture produced in a few places, as at Patna, have, however, recently attracted European attention, and some of them have been highly admired for their graceful shapes and beautiful colours. In the North-Western Provinces, crackle ware is largely made in the Bijnor District. It mostly consists of bottles or flagons, which are sold to pilgrims who come from a long distance to bathe in the holy water of the Ganges, and who always carry back to their homes a bottle-ful of the sacred water. Small flasks and glasses are made at Deoband, a town in the District of Sahâranpur. These are in various colours and are very effective. Walking sticks of glass are made at Lucknow.

Leather manufactures.

One of the earliest materials of which primitive man made his household utensils is the skin of animals. In the Rig-veda leathern bags to hold water are alluded to. In the early

Vedic period, hides and skins do not seem to have been held impure, nor any articles made out of other animal substances. The feeling against taking life and using animal products either for food, or for the manufacture of dress, shoes, and other articles, originated in a later age, when the Aryans had fairly settled down in the hot plains of India and retained only a faint tradition of the cold, bleak regions beyond the high mountains from which their ancestors had come, and when, living in the midst of a profuse abundance of grains, vegetables, and fruits, they could well afford to extend to the brute creation the benefits of mercy and charity.

Even in later times, however, exigencies of social life necessitated exceptions in favour of the use of leathern articles. Samkha and Likhita declare that water raised from wells in leather buckets is pure and wholesome, and the sage Atri says that "flowing water and that which is raised by machinery are not defiled." Oleaginous substances were also allowed to be kept in leather vessels, because they had to be transported from place to place and earthen jars would not be strong enough for the purpose. At the present day, besides shoes and saddlery, these bottles and buckets are the chief manufactures of leather in this country.

In Bengal, country shoes have almost gone out of fashion, and English shoes, either imported or made in the country, have taken their place. Country-made slippers of brown leather, tanned according to indigenous process, are, however, extensively worn by the people.

In Upper India, country shoes are still almost universally used. These are made of a reddish leather with a curled front, and low sides, and covering the feet only up to a little above the toes. They are often lined with red or green velvet, and ornamented with tinsel and gold or silver embroidery. The slippers made for ladies are often very fine and artistic. Patna, Benares, Lucknow, Rámpur, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Jaipur are the principal seats of manufacture. Delhi sends large quantities of such shoes to other parts of India.

Cotton fabrics.

Notwithstanding the extent of their present production, cotton manufactures in the old style are in their last gasp. The few small pieces of wood and bamboo tied with shreds of twine and thread which the weaver calls his loom, and which he can as easily make himself as buy from the village carpenter, can no more compete with the powerful machinery worked in Lancashire than a village cart of western Bengal can run a race with the "flying Scotchman." Yet the wonder is, that cotton fabrics can still be manufactured with the old primitive loom all over the country. Machinery, with all its modern improvements, seems to contend in vain with a moribund industry, that must linger on as long as the worker in it has nothing better to do than to produce from it sixpence a day as the joint earnings of himself, his wife, a boy, and a girl. Another reason why Indian looms can still compete with Lancashire goods is that the European process of manufacture has not yet been

able to give to the fabrics that strength for which native manufactures have a reputation. Nor has machinery yet been able to make those gossamer fabrics for which wealthy Indians sometimes pay fabulous prices. Thus cotton is still woven all over the country—plain cloths, from the thickest carpet, called *Dari* or *Satranji*, to the thinnest one-threaded *Malmal* or *Eksuti*; striped cloths; and damask cloths with beautiful patterns.

By far the most important of the Indian cotton manufactures in an artistic point of view are the muslins. The value of the Dacca muslins consists in their fineness, to attain which an incredible amount of patience, perseverance, and skill were formerly displayed both by the spinners and the weavers. One way of testing their fineness was to pass a whole piece of muslin, twenty yards long by one yard wide, through the small aperture of an ordinary sized finger ring. Another test was the compass within which a piece could be squeezed. Tavernier relates of a Persian ambassador in Bengal having on his return home presented to his monarch a piece of Dacca muslin turban, thirty yards long, placed within a highly ornamented cocoanut shell, not larger than an ostrich egg. The best test, however, was the weight of the cloth proportioned to its size and number of threads. It is said that two hundred years ago, a piece of muslin, fifteen yards long by one yard wide, could be manufactured so fine as to weigh only 900 grains. Its price was £40. Dr. Taylor, writing in 1840, stated that

in his time a piece of cloth of the same dimensions and texture could not be made finer than what would weigh 1,600 grains. The price of such a piece of muslin would be about £10. It is generally believed that the artists of the present time have lost that manipulative skill and the delicate touch of hand by the aid of which such gossamer web was formerly produced. But there is no doubt that if a demand arises the finest fabric ever made at Dacca can still be made there. A piece of cloth ten yards long by one yard wide cannot be woven in less than five months, and the work can only be carried on during the rains, when the moisture in the air prevents the thread from breaking. It is only an oriental who can feel a pride in the possession of an article of such exquisite fineness, and an oriental alone can spend money for the purchase of a cloth of such ethereal texture. The decline of the Dacca industry is the natural result of the decline in the power and prosperity of oriental nations in Asia, Africa, and Europe. *Malmal* is the general name for all fine plain muslins, both Indian and European, and the special names of the finest qualities made at Dacca are "Presentation," "Sweet like a Sherbet," the "Evening Dew," and "The Running Water." Dr. Taylor mentioned that some thirty-six different kinds of cloth were made in his time (1840), but he must have included in the list many of the patterned and loom embroidered cloths. The chief difference by which the several qualities of Dacca muslins are distinguished at the present day consists in the number of threads in the warp, the

finest qualities having 1,800, the second 1,400, and so on, the threads being finer in proportion to their greater number. Experiments conducted by Dr. Forbes Watson established the superior fineness of the Dacca muslins to similar fabrics made in Europe.

Muslins are also made at Jahánábád, near Patna. In the North-Western Provinces, muslins of a fine quality are made at Sikandrabad in the District of Bulandshahr. These are usually fringed with gold and are used for turbans. Handkerchiefs of fine muslin cloth are also made here. Plain and striped muslins are made at a place called Mau in the Azamgarh District, which are chiefly exported to Nepal. Lucknow also makes large quantities of plain and striped, bleached and unbleached muslins, which are preferred to European cloths for purposes of embroidery. Muslins with damasked patterns are made at Benares and at Jais in the Rái Bareli District; those woven in the former place almost equal in delicacy fabrics of the same kind poduced at Dacca. They are largely used in the manufacture of country caps. Good muslins were made at Tándá in the Faizabad District, and they had a great sale when Oudh had a court of its own. Rampur produces a superior cotton damask, called *Khes*, either plain or with borders in coloured thread, or interwoven with gold thread. Cotton cloths of different kinds are woven at Moradabad, Pratábgarh, Cawnpure, Lalitpur, Sháhpur, Misáuli in Rái Bareli District, Aligarh, Mau in Jhánsi District, Mau in Azamgarh District, Sahárampur, Meerut, &c. Agra turns out large quantities of check and

striped cotton clothes the industry giving employment to more than one thousand men. In the Punjab, muslins were formerly made in large quantities at Delhi. Mr. Baden Powell in his "Punjab manufactures" stated that "these muslin turbans are manufactured in great quantities, of Chinese cotton; about two lakhs of rupees worth are annually imported." The industry has declined in competition with European manufactures. The only place where fine muslins are now woven in the Province is Rohtak. Check muslins are produced at Gwalior. Chanderi, in the Gwalior territory, produces a superior quality of muslin. It is usually left white, but bordered with exceedingly handsome silk and gold lace. In some cases, the silk border is coloured differently on either side. Fine muslins in tasteful colours with silk and gold borders are made at Indor. These are only second in quality to those of Chanderi Cloths of a fine texture, turbans, and other fabrics are woven at Sarangpur in the Dewas state. These are made of thread spun from the naturally-dyed yellow cotton, the product of *Gossypium herbaceum*, var. *religiosum*, commonly known by the name of Nankin cotton These cloths are mostly bordered with silk and they have a great reputation in Central India for their excellence. Turbans and other head-dresses of a fine kind of muslin are made at Orchhá. In the Madras Presidency, the finest muslin is woven at Arni. At present the demand, however, is very small, and the industry is all but extinct. Specimens are now made only to order. In Haidrabad (Deccan) brown-coloured (*khâki*) and other coarse muslins are

made at Ráichur. In Assam, spinning and weaving are done at home, and almost every household has its own spinning wheel and its own loom. Both spinning and weaving are done by women. As in the other Provinces of India, in Assam too English yarn is rapidly taking the place of home-spun thread, except when coarse and particularly durable cloths are required. The cotton grown in the Province is, however, still largely used for domestic purposes.

Silk fabrics.

Silk, though it was originally discovered in China, did not take long to make its way to India. No mention of it is made in the Vedas. But it was common at the time when the great epics, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata, were composed. Fabrics are made of the mulberry silk (*Bombyx mori*, &c.), of *Tasar* silk (*Antheræa mylitta*), of *Eri* silk produced by worms fed upon castor-leaf (*Philosomia ricini*), of *Mugá* silk (*Antheræopsis assama*), of *Cricula* silk (*Cricula trifenestra*), and of Burma silk (*Attacus atlas*). Under the East India Company large quantities of mulberry silk were produced, chiefly in Bengal, and exported to Europe. The industry gradually declined since the abolition of the Company's filatures, and only a few years ago it was in an extremely deplorable state, owing, it is said, to the deterioration which Bengal silk has undergone in quality of late years. The Government of India is now making strenuous efforts to revive the trade. Mr. Wardle who was in this country a few years ago, was surprised to

find that India purchased large quantities of China silk for the more valuable fabrics made in India. He writes:—

"One thought is somewhat saddening with regard to silk in India at the present time. I have recently travelled over the greater part of India, and I have everywhere found, in all the silk centres, that for the more ornamental silk fabrics Indian silk is not used, but that the manufacturers procure their supplies from China on the one hand and Bokhara on the other. This ought not to be. Bengal is capable of producing silk to a vastly extended degree, not only enough for all the requirements of India, which are really very great, both for weaving embroidery, and minor purposes, but for a greatly increased export trade."

In Bengal the alluvial Districts in the Ganges valley are the home of the mulberry silk. Maldah, Bogra, Rájsháhi, Murshidabad, Birbhum, and Bardwán have long been famous for their silk manufactures. Sir George Birdwood states that "there is on record that in 1577 Shaikh Bhik, of Maldah, sent three ships of Máldáhi cloth to Russia by the Persian Gulf." Large quantities of silk fabrics are also made in Bánkurá and Midnapur. The hilly tracts in the west of Bengal, chiefly the Districts of Mánbhum, Singbhum, and Lohárdagá, form the centre of Tasar silk manufacture, while Eri has found a congenial home in the sub-Himalayan regions of North Bengal and Assam. The Muga silk is only produced in the last-named province.

In the N. W. Provinces silk fabrics are made at Benares and Agra. Benares embroidered silk cloths have a reputation all over India. Silk fabrics are made at Lahore, Patiala, Amritsar, Bhawalpur and many other places in the Punjab. In the Madras Presidency, fine

silk cloths are made at Bellary and many other towns. Formerly large quantities of silk fabrics were manufactured in Mysore, but the industry has declined owing to a silk worm disease. Tanna near Bombay has long been famous for its silk manufactures.

Woollen fabrics.

In India, artistic decorations have never been so profusely lavished on manufactures of sheep-wool as on cotton and silk fabrics. *Pashminá*, of which Kashmir shawls are made is not sheep-wool, but a soft down found on the goat in Tibet and Central Asia. Sheep-wool has never been in high estimation as a material for clothing. The climate of the plains is unfavourable for the production of sheep-wool of a superior quality, suitable for the manufacture of fine fabrics. Nor do woollen fabrics keep in good preservation in this climate.

The chief centre of woollen manufactures in India is of course the Punjab. Of sheep-wool manufactures the most common is the blanket. Indian blankets are not like those made in Europe ; and very little attention is paid to softening or felting them. They are coarse and rough. Blankets are not only made in the Punjab, but also in Rajputana, North-Western Provinces, and more or less in other parts of the country. Among finer stuffs, good blankets and shawls were formerly made of a soft sheep's wool obtained from Rámpur or Basáhir, a hill State in the Punjáb. Considerable quantities of woollen stuffs are now made in the Himálayan States, where the cold demands a warmer clothing than in the

plains. *Loi* is a superior kind of sheep-wool fabric largely used in the North-West as a winter wrapper. It is chiefly made at Lahore, Sirsa, Ludhiáná, and Amritsar. *Pattu* is a woollen cloth of the Punjáb Himálayas used for trousers and coats by the hill people. Gloves, stockings, neckties, *Namdás* or felts, saddle-pads, &c., are made of sheep-wool at various places in the Punjab. Cloaks are manufactured of this material in Jaipur. Bikánir serges are considered the best in Rajputana. Jodhpur makes wrappers and petticoats of sheep-wool. These are prepared by Ját and Vaishnava women in their leisure hours. Of late they have been largely purchased by Europeans.

Dyeing and calico-printing.

Until recently these were important industries in many parts of India. They have, however suffered greatly in competition with European goods. Plain dyeing is practised by a class of people called the *rangrez*, and printing by the *chhipi* or *chhipigar*. The dyers and printers are mostly Mahomedans.

Very little dyeing and printing is done in Bengal. A few dyers and printers from Behar and the North-Western provinces have opened shops in the principal towns of the province, especially in Calcutta. Besides Calcutta, the only places in Bengal where cloth-printing is carried on to some extent are the Districts of Patna, Darbhángá, and Sáran. In Calcutta, the cloths, after being stamped, are boiled in a dye solution that imparts to them a reddish tinge which is a fast colour.

Tinsel-printing is largely done in Calcutta. The art consists of stamping on the cloth, by a hand-block, a preparation of gum, and then fixing, upon the patterns thus formed in gum, false gold or silver leaf. Before stamping, the cloth is always dyed a plain colour. Gold foil is generally applied on a violet ground and silver on red. The patterns are either floral or geometrical, but always bold, striking, and tasteful.

The printing and dying industries are still carried on to a large extent in the North-Western Provinces, Punjab and Rajputana. Farukhabed and Lucknow exports large quantities of such stuffs to other parts of India.

Lace, borders and edgings.

Gold and silver wire is used in lace-making, and *Kálábatun* (gold or silver wire twisted with silk thread) in the weaving of brocades and cloths of gold and silver. Lace as understood in Europe, was not known India. Its manufacture has only been lately introduced into the country, chiefly among the native Christians of Madras. Specimens of white lace, black silk and gold lace and purely gold lace were sent from Madras to the Calcutta International Exhibition. They were made by Indian girls in the Christian Mission Schools and the work was admirable. All were of European patterns. In Upper India, lace for European use is made at Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow. The word has been transformed into *Lais*. It is made on a warp of yellow silk with gold or silver wire for woof. This lace is used for military and civil

uniforms, but European lace is now largely employed for the purpose.

Brocades and cloths of gold and silver.

Silk fabrics with raised patterns are called brocades. Gold or silver cloths—*i.e.*, silk woven with gold or silver thread—are known in India by the name of *Kinkhabs*. Silk brocades are made wherever silken stuffs are manufactured on an extensive scale. Murshidabad Benares, Bháwalpur, Multan, Ahmedabad, Surat, Yolá, Poona, and Aurangabad are the places most noted for silk brocades. *Sáris*, made at Baluchar near Murshidabad, with flowers and figures, were a short time ago higly appreciated by Bengali ladies, but these have now very nearly been ousted from the market by cheap "pine-apple" cloths imported from abroad.

Gold and silver wire and *Kálábatún* thread are often introduced in the manufacture of the more valuable fabrics. Sometimes a few bands of gold are put at the end of a cotton muslin or a silk fabric. Punjáb *Lungis*, even the common ones, bear a few bands of gold just at a little distance from the ends. But the ends of the more costly ones are entirely woven in gold, and as these are chiefly used for turbans, one end with the gold is allowed to hang behind, with an effect at once picturesque and becoming. In Bombay, Central Provinces, and the whole of Southern India, gold is almost invariably introduced as a border in superior fabrics made of cotton or silk. In the *Kinkhábs*, however, gold or silver is worked on a silk basis all through the piece, practi-

cally making it in all appearance into a cloth of gold * or silver.

Silver brocades are made with silver wire without any gold coating. False gold and silver *Kinkhábs* are made of gilt copper wire. They are mostly imported. *Kinkhábs* were in former days extensively used by rich men. But English education is rapidly modifying the tastes of the people; and the demand for gold and silver cloths is now decreasing. Besides dresses for wealthy people, gold and silver brocades were formerly used for elephant and horse trappings. In Bengal, gold and silver brocades are made at Murshidabad, but in Northern India Benares is the chief seat of this manufacture. Its embroidered silks and brocades have long been famous all over the world. The varieties of brocades woven at Benares are numerous. Some are rose-coloured, some purple, some black, and some white. The patterns in some are spangled, while through others run scrolls of foliage and flower. There are also various other patterns. It is estimated that upwards of 2,750 workmen find employment in the manufacture of silk fabrics and gold and silver brocades in Benares. Lucknow also makes some brocades, but the industry there is not so important as in Benares. As Benares is in the north, Ahmedabad and Surat are in the south of India famous for their *Kinkhábs*. Sir George Birdwood mentions a piece belonging to the Prince of Wales "as one of the most sumptuous ever seen in Europe. It is

* By gold is meant silver wire with a gold coating.

of Ahmedabad work, rich with gold and gay with colours, and was presented to the Prince by the young Gaikwar of Baroda."

Embroidery.

Embroidery is either worked in loom or wrought by needle-work. On cotton fabrics the patterns are made of cotton, silk, or gold or silver wire twisted with silk thread called the *Kálábatun*. Coloured wool imported from Europe is sometimes interworked with cotton. Silk and woollen fabrics are embroidered with silk, wool, or *Kálábatun* thread. Some of the best gold embroidery is done on a velvet ground or on English broadcloth. Velvet is not made in India, but is imported. The heaviest kind of gold embroidery is done by fixing the fabric to be embroidered on a frame work.

Besides plain and striped muslins, embroidered fabrics of different patterns are turned out at Dacca, the embroidery being either worked by hand in the loom or done by needle. In Calcutta, large quantities of cotton embroidery, are sold among Europeans. Handkerchiefs, ladies' dresses, and clothing for children are so embroidered by men residing in the neighbouring districts. Embroidery is also done at Lucknow in the North-Western Provinces. It was introduced into that town from Bengal, and now gives employment to upwards of 1,200 persons, chiefly women and children of good families impoverished since the abolition of the Oudh Court.

The most noted of all the Punjáb embroidery are the celebrated Kashmir shawls, which, besides Kashmir

itself, are more or less worked at Amritsar, Ludhiáná, Nurpur, Gurdáspur, Siálkot, and other places in the Punjáb, where a large number of Kashmiri immigrants have settled. Mr. Kipling has made the following remarks regarding the present position of the shawl industry in the Punjáb :

"The Kashmir shawls are of two kinds: the first is the loomwoven, in which the pattern is produced in the loom itself by the aid of a vast number of small bobbins carrying the coloured *Pashm*, the shuttle and cross-threads being only used to secure the whole fabric; the second is the cheaper kind, in which the whole of the pattern is embroidered with the needle. The shawls are made in traditional forms, the *Doshála* or long shawl in pairs, the *Rumal* or square shawl, and the *Jámiwár* or shawl always in broad stripes of alternate colour, green and white, red and blue, &c. The shawl trade is a very fluctuating one. As a rule, it may be said that the fabric is too costly in proportion to the appearance it makes. The exports for Kashmir were in value—1880, Rs.21,50,000; 1881, Rs.10,88,000; 1882, Rs.11,31,002. The introduction of the aniline dyes has done a great deal to injure the design and appearance of shawls, especially the coarse crimson known as magenta shawl. Weaving is carried on in Amritsar, where, however, the Chángthán stout wool is obtained, and not the first quality, which never leaves Kashmir. In Gujrát a little coarse shawl weaving is done, and at Núrpur also, but here, and occasionally at Siálkot, shawl edging only is made. The edge of the shawl has to be stiffer and stronger than the shawl itself, and is woven on a silk ground. There is some likelihood that the *Kinara* or edging by itself may become an article of trade, as it might be used for dress trimmings and other purposes."

In Kashmir itself shawl manufacture is now in a deplorable state. The value of the trade was in former days estimated at half a million pounds, but, now the industry is well nigh moribund. Unless means are taken by Government to preserve it, the art of weaving the finest shawls will probably be extinct.

Another important embroidered fabric of the Punjáb that has of late found great favour among Europeans is the *Phulkári* cloth. It is a silk embroidered coarse cotton cloth originally wrought by the peasant women in many districts of the Punjáb and Rajputana. The Ját women use these embroidered cloths for bodices, petticoats, &c.; they are now made into curtains in European houses. *Phulkári* cloths are largely manufactured at Amritsar, Siálkot, Montgomery, Ráwalpindi, Firozpur, Hazárá, Bannu, Hissár, Lahore, Karnál, Kohát, Derá Ismáil Khán, and Rohtak. Those made in Hazárá are probably the best.

Carpets.

The original home of carpet manufacture was the wilds north of Persia—Kurdistan, Kirman, Khorassan, &c. The climate of India is unsuited for the production of that soft wool which could be made to glow with the richest tints and with which the best carpets were made in former times in Central Asia. Nor is the moist atmosphere of many parts of this country favourable for the safe keeping of this magnificent product of art. An Eastern carpet should not be taken for a common floor-cover, but it must be looked upon as a rich tapestry on which the beautiful colours of nature are blended, as an oriental can only blend. The manufacture of such carpets is now a thing of the past. Art formerly belonged only to princes and their wealthy following. The princes of the East knew no hurry, but could wait and pay for a carpet like the one made at Warangul (in Haidrabad,

Deccan) in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century, containing 3,500,000 knots on its entire surface, or 400 knots to the square inch, and the patterns on which were so complicated that a change of needle was required for every knot. This carpet belongs to Mr. Vincent Robinson, and is now shewn in the Indian section of the South Kensington Museum. The public is now the patron of art and the public can generally afford to have the name, not the reality. So things for the most part are now getting to be made and sold not always for any intrinsic merit in them but in virtue of their traditionary reputation.

The manufacture of pile carpets was introduced into India by the Mahomedans, who, to whatever place they went not only encouraged the indigenous arts but brought to it the handicrafts, and occasionally the craftsmen themselves, of Bagdad, Shiraz and Samarcand. Persian carpets were, however, always, preferred to those made in India. A few specimens of these carpets still remain in India, and these are now and then reproduced with more or less accuracy. For instance, a copy of the Hirati carpet that has been in the Jaipur family for over a hundred and fifty years was, sometime ago, made in the Agra Central Prison.

Carpets are now made in many of the jails of India by prison labour. They are also made in the School of Art at Jaipur. The old Persian patterns are generally copied in the jails. New patterns, however, are sometimes invented like the *Taj* and the *Parrot* patterns of the Agra Jail. The manufacture of woollen pile carpets

as a private industry is carried on at Mirzapur, Bareilly, Moradabad, Bulandshahr, Bárabánki and Jhánsi in the North-Western Provinces, and at Multan and Amritsar in the Punjáb. Wool and silk carpets are made by private parties at Warangul and Hammámkundá in the Haidrabad State, and at Adoni, Vadavedi, and other places in the Madras Presidency. It is said that the competition of jail manufactures with those of private firms has greatly injured and, in some places, destroyed the trade of the latter. But at the same time it is doubtful whether private parties would have the capital or the courage to make copies of old carpets like the one made at the Agra Central Prison.





CHAPTER III.

MANUFACTURES ON MODERN METHODS.

Cotton mills: a Hindu pioneer.

Of the manufacturing industries of India, cotton is by far the most important. The first cotton mill in India is believed to be the Bowreah Mills near Calcutta which were started as far back as 1817. But, "according to official statements, the industry dates from 1851 when the first mill was started at Broach." * A Hindu gentleman, Rao Bahadur Ranchorlal Chotalal, was one of the pioneers of the cotton mill industry of India. "In 1848-49, he published a prospectus in a local vernacular paper of a small spinning mill of 5000 spindles with 100 looms attached; but his townsmen [of Ahmedabad] found the project too daring, and too full of risk; and the fact that Bombay had not yet made such a venture, was taken as conclusive of its rashness. Fortunately he found in Mr. Laudan, the owner of a ginning factory at Broach, a colleague who entered fully into his views, and the result

* The "Indian Textile Journal" Directory (1894) p. 8.

was the establishment, in 1854, of a cotton mill at Broach. Soon after the Oriental and the Manockjee Petit mills were started in Bombay, and in 1859, Mr. Ranchorlal Chotalal, with the aid of his local friends, was able to open the Ahmedahbad Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill, which began work with 2,500 spindles. This mill has been managed for the last thirtyfive years by himself, his son, and his grandson, and has now 32,000 spindles and 680 looms."*

Recent progress in cotton industry.

The following table shows ten years' progress in the cotton mill industry in India from 1882-83 :

	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.
1. Number of Mills at work each year ...	62	74	81	89	90
2. Capital employed (as far as known) Rs.	6,64,52,350	8,10,77,250	8,22,17,250	8,48,48,750	8,20,95,050
3. Persons employed No.	53,624	61,836	61,596	71,577	72,590
4. Looms ... ... No.	15,116	16,251	16,455	16,548	16,926
5. Spindles ... .. No.	1,654,108	1,895,284	2,037,055	2,198,545	2,202,602

	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.
1. Number of Mills at work each year ...	97	108	114	125	127
2. Capital employed (as far as known) Rs.	8,99,65,050	9,53,66,625	10,15,78,050	10,90,53,050	11,18,18,050
3. Persons employed ...	80,515	92,126	99,224	111,998	117,922
4. Looms	18,840	22,156	22,078	23,845	24,670
5. Spindles	2,375,739	2,670,022	2,934,637	3,197,740	3,272,988

* The "Indian Textile Journal" Directory (1894), p. 13.

Distribution of cotton mills.

Of the one hundred and twenty seven mills which were at work in 1891-92, no less than eighty seven were in the Bombay Presidency. Of the remainder eight were in Bengal; ten in Madras; five in the North-West Provinces; two in the Punjab; one in Central India; four in the Central Provinces; one in Rajputana; three in Hyderabad; one in Berar; two in Mysore; two in the French settlements; and one in Travancore.

Hindu share in the management of the mills.

The ownership and management of nearly half the mills are in the hands of the Hindus. Among the agents and owners, 26 are stated to be Europeans, 18 Parsees, 64 Hindus, 7 Mahomedans, and 3 Jews.

Export trade in cotton.

"The export trade has been with the China markets, though it has of late fallen off to a considerable extent, owing in the first instance to oversupply, and in the second, to the disturbance in the rate of exchange, consequent upon the closing of the mints in June, 1893. The total shipment of yarns to China during the year 1893 was 311,055 bales of 400 lbs. each while in 1892 it amounted to 407,260 bales of 400 lbs. each. The coarser counts of yarn and cloths also find a sale in almost every part of India, and in Aden, Singapore, Rangoon, and Zanzibar." *

Expansion of cotton imports since 1858.

The following table showing the value of imported cotton manufactures for each year from 1858 to 1892, exhibits their gradual expansion down to 1886. Since

* The "Indian Textile Journal" Directory (1894), p. 9.

that date, however, further expansion has suffered a check.

Year.		Value of cotton twist and yarn in tens of rupees.		Value of cotton goods in tens of rupees.
1857-58	...	943,920	...	4,782,698
1858-59	...	1,714,216	...	8,088,927
1859-60	...	2,047,115	...	9,651,813
1860-61	...	1,748,183	...	9,309,935
1861-62	...	1,472,484	...	8,772,916
1862-63	...	1,270,301	...	8,360,229
1863-64	...	1,529,001	...	10,416,662
1864-65	...	2,191,440	...	11,035,885
1865-66	...	1,961,144	...	11,849,214
1866-67	...	2,572,700	...	12,524,106
1867-68	...	2,698,350	...	14,999,917
1868-69	...	2,779,934	...	16,072,551
1869-70	...	2,715,370	...	13,555,846
1870-71	...	3,357,393	...	15,687,476
1871-72	...	2,424,522	...	15,058,811
1872-73	...	2,628,296	...	14,605,953
1873-74	...	2,628,959	...	15,155,666
1874-75	...	3,157,780	...	16,263,560
1875-76	...	2,794,769	...	16,450,212
1876-77	...	2,733,514	...	15,991,719
1877-78	...	2,850,403	...	17,322,313
1878-79	...	2,779,772	...	14,126,784
1879-80	...	2,745,306	...	16,915,511
1880-81	...	3,699,177	...	22,910,717
1881-82	...	3,222,065	...	20,772,099
1882-83	...	3,378,190	...	21,431,872
1883-84	...	3,465,943	...	21,642,338
1884-85	...	3,360,420	...	21,197,414
1885-86	...	3,172,083	...	21,110,545
1886-87	...	3,318,377	...	25,146,508
1887-88	...	3,581,906	...	23,924,467
1888-89	...	3,746,797	...	27,764,508
1889-90	...	3,482,529	...	26,391,399
1890-91	...	3,768,362	...	27,241,987
1891-92	...	3,514,620	...	25,174,852

Cotton ginning &c. and Hosiery factories.

Besides the cotton spinning and weaving mills, there are nearly four hundred cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing mills, the proprietorship and management of a large number of which are in the hands of the Hindus.

There are also five Hosiery factories in Bombay, of which two appear to be under Hindu management. A Hosiery factory under Hindu management is about to be started in Bengal.

Jute-mills.

The progress in the Jute industry since 1872 has been considerable. The first jute mill is believed to have been started about 1857. In 1872, there were only five jute mills. The number rapidly rose to twenty by 1882. The following table exhibits the progress of the industry since that year :

	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.
1. Number of Mills at work	20	23	24	24	24
2. Capital employed (as far as known) Rs.	2,33,70,000	2,50,70,000	2,69,70,000	2,69,70,000	2,84,70,000
3. Persons employed No.	42,797	47,868	51,902	47,640	49,015
4. Looms ... .. No.	5,633	6,139	6,926	6,683	6,911
5. Spindles ... ... No.	95,737	112,650	131,740	126,964	135,593

	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.
1. Number of Mills at work	25	26	*26	*26	27
2. Capital employed (as far as known) Rs.	3,04,45,000	3,01,95,000	3,02,15,000	3,13,20,000	3,13,20,000
3. Persons employed ...	56,007	59,722	59,806	61,915	66,333
4. Looms	7,389	7,819	8,001	8,101	8,695
5. Spindles	146,302	152,667	155,926	161,845	1,74,156

* The figures in these two columns as given in the Statistical Tables for 1893 are slightly different.

The jutemills produce gunny bags, cloth and yarn. They are mostly owned by joint-stock companies, and, as far as we are aware, are almost entirely managed by Europeans. * Besides the mills, however, there are some fortyfive jute pressing and baling factories in different parts of India, a great many of which are owned and managed by Hindus. The following table shows the expansion in the export trade of the Bengal jute manufactures (gunny bags) since 1870:

Year.	Number of bags exported.	Value in tens of rupees.
1869-70	6,441,863	....
1870-71	6,382,554	.. . ...
1871-72	5,112,421	....
1872-73	6.105,275	......
1873-74	6,594,694	.....
1874-75	8,010,824	....
1875-76	19,263,513	....
1876-77	32,859,545	712,119
1877-78	26,406.539	736,011
1878-79	45,354,133	1,064,832
1879-80	55,908,731	1,170,970
1880-81	52,386.227	1,119,146
1881-82	42,072,819	1,096,562
1882-83	60,737,651	1,453,284
1883-84	63,645,984	1,304,390
1884-85	82,779,207	1,521,323
1885-86	63,760,546	1,103,094
1886-87	64,570,157	1,139,321
1887-88	74,367,620	1,714,404
1888-89	99,790,587	2,500,417
1889-90	97,415,895	2,740,059
1890-91	98,749,416	2,431,361

The first woollen mill in India was started at Cawnpore in 1876. Since then, two mills have been started at Bombay, one in the Gurudaspur district in the Punjab, and one in the Bangalore district in Mysore. All these mills are own-

Woollen mills.

* The Government publications do not give any particulars as to the management of the mills or the nationality of their owners.

ed by joint stock companies. They employ daily, in the average, 2582 hands and produce blankets, serges, flannels, broadcloth &c.

Paper mills.

The paper-industry on modern methods has sprung up only since 1862, when the Girgaum paper mill was started at Bombay. At the end of 1891, there were at work eight paper mills—three in the Bombay Presidency, three in Bengal, one at Lucknow, and one at Gwalior. Of these two belonged to private parties, and the rest to joint stock companies with an aggregate nominal capital of about fortyfour lakhs and a half. The Bally mill, the largest paper concern in India, produces printing and cartridge papers of sorts, cream-laid paper, and blotting and brown papers. The average daily number of hands employed by the mills in 1891 was 2,733. The outturn for that year is estimated at 26,834,692 lbs. valued at Rs. 42,70,394. The raw material used by the mills consists of gunny cuttings, rags, cotton, straw, grasses, waste-paper &c.

Flour and oil mills.

The flour and oil industries which require a comparatively small outlay are in great favour with the Hindus. There were, in 1891, fiftyone flour mills in India. Of these eighteen were in the province of Bombay, two in Sindh, one in Madras, twentytwo in Bengal, two in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, and six in the Punjab. Of these fourteen belonged to joint-stock companies with mostly

Hindu shareholders; the greater majority of the remainder were private Hindu concerns. There were in 1891, sixtythree oil mills in India, of which six belonged to joint stock companies, and by far the greatest majority of the remainder were owned and managed by Hindus. In Calcutta and its vicinity no less than twentythree were under Hindu management.

Glass factory.

Although the value of imported glassware was over seventy lakhs of rupees in 1891-92, India as yet possesses only one glass factory conducted on European methods. It is situated near Calcutta and owned by a joint-stock company called the Pioneer Glass Manufacturing Company, of which the Shareholders and Directors are mostly Hindus. The nominal capital of the company is stated to be three lákhs.

Ice factories.

There were, in 1891, twenty six ice factories in India of which fourteen belonged to joint stock companies. Of the remainder a few were under Hindu management.

Iron foundries.

In olden times the Hindus must have possessed very large iron foundries. "The famous iron pillar at the Kutab, near Delhi, indicates an amount of skill in the manipulation of a large mass of wrought iron, which has been the marvel of all who have endeavoured to account for it. It is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest foundries

in the world, and even now there are comparatively few where a similar mass of metal could be turned out. The exposed portion of this pillar is 22 feet. The depth under the surface is 20 inches, so that the total length of the pillar is 23 feet 8 inches. "Just below the surface it expands into a bulbous form, 2 feet 4 inches in diameter, and it rests on a gridiron of iron bars which are fastened with lead into the stone pavement. The diameter of the pillar itself is 16·4 inches at base and 12·05 inches just below the capital, which is 3½ feet high. The above dimensions indicate a weight exclusive of the capital and the base of 5·7 tons, so that the total weight must exceed 6 tons.

Analyses of the iron have been made both by Dr. Percy, late of the School of Mines, and Dr. Murray Thompson, of Rurki College, who have found that it consists of pure malleable iron without any alloy. It has been suggested that this pillar must have been formed by gradually welding pieces together: if so, it has been done very skilfully since no marks of such welding are to be seen." * With regard to the age of the pillar Mr. Fergusson observes: † "There is an inscription upon it, but without a date. From the form of its alphabet, Prinsep ascribed it to the 3rd and 4th century; Bhau Daji, on the same evidence, to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. The truth probably lies between the two. My own con-

* "Economic Geology of India." pp. 338-339.

† "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" p.508.

viction, is that it belongs to one of the Chandra Rajas of the Gupta dynasty, either consequently, to A.D. 363 or A.D. 400. Taking A.D. 400 as a mean date—and it certainly is not far from the truth—it opens our eyes to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age capable of forging a bar of iron larger that any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this *lát* in roofing the porch of the temple of Kanaruc we must now believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that, after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago."

At the present day, nearly all the larger foundries are owned and conducted by Europeans on modern methods. The largest iron-foundry is that of Burn and Co. at Howrah, near Calcutta, which, in 1891, employed an average number of 1650 persons daily, and turned out goods valued at Rs. 13,50,000.

Potteries.

There are only two potteries on a large scale, both of which belong to Burn and Co., one at Raniganj (Bengal), and the other at Jubbulpore (Central Provinces). In 1891, the Raniganj Pottery Works employed an average number of 1,100 persons daily, and produced pipes, tiles, various ornamental and other works valued at Rs. 1,83,000.

Soap factories.

There are two soap-factories conducted on European methods, both of which are at Meerut in the North-Western Provinces. They are owned by joint stock companies with a large body of Hindu shareholders. The North-West Soap Company produced, in 1891, nine thousand eight hundred and eight maunds of soap valued at Rs, 1,23,507.

Sugar factories.

There are over a hundred sugar factories and refineries noted in the "Statistical tables for British India"—some ninety four in Bengal, five in the Madras Presidency, one in the North-Western Provinces and one in the Punjab. Of these the last seven and one or two in Bengal are conducted on a large scale under European supervision. It is only the smaller factories that are in the hands of the Hindus. The imports of foreign sugar have considerably increased within the last decade, and must have told unfavourably upon the expansion of the sugar industry. In 1883-84, the quantity imported was 736,909 cwts., whereas, in 1891-92, it was 2,213,825 cwts. The exports of sugar, however, have not declined very seriously; the quantity exported in 1883-84 was 1,777,157 cwts., and, in 1891-92, it was 1,137,186 cwts.

Tanneries.

There were, in 1891, forty three tanneries in India. Of these the largest is Cooper Allen and Company's Army Boot factory at Cawnpore which employs an average number of 2,500 persons daily. The only large tannery which is under Hindu management is Stewart Tannery and Leather factory at Agra, which employs an average number of

113 persons daily. Its annual outturn for 1891 was valued at Rs. 81,753.

Rope-making and other industries.

There have also sprung up various other industries, such as rice cleaning, bone-crushing, rope making, and brewing industries, in which steam-power is emloyed. These are, however, almost exclusively in European hands.

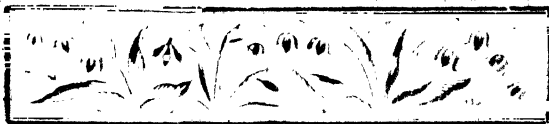
Minor industries.

In connection with the Annual Flower Show of the Institution for Practical Agriculture and Horticulture at Cossipore near Calcutta, an Exhibition of articles, manufactured with the aid of machinery or according to the scientific methods as followed in Europe, was held under the auspices of the Indian Industrial Association of Bengal. The following list of exhibits, with the awards made upon them by the jurors, will show the nature of some of the minor industries which are springing up among the Hindus of Bengal.

Exhibits.	Medal.	Certificate.
Pharmaceutical preparations ...	Gold ...	1st Class.
Pharmaceutical preparations ...	Gold ...	2nd „
Maps	„ ...	1st „
Locks	Silver ...	2nd „
Locks	„ ...	1st „
Scientific apparatus	Gold ...	1st „
Twilled and ornamental silk fabrics	Silver ...	1st „
Ivory carvings	„ ...	1st „
Glazed earthen ware	Bronze ...	2nd „
Match	Silver ...	1st „
Paddy husking machine and paddle boat.	Gold ...	1st „
Preserved fruits in their natural colour.	Silver ...	2nd „
Surgical Instruments	Gold ...	1st „
Brass figures	Silver ...	1st „

Exhibits.		Medal.		Certificate.
Plain and check silk fabrics	...	Silver	...	2nd class.
Papier mache Toys	...	"	...	1st "
Varnish	...	Bronze	...	2nd "
Varnish	...	Silver	...	1st "
Lozenges	...	"	...	1st "
Lamp (new design)	...	Silver	...	1st "
Wax flower	...	Silver	...	2nd "
Toyship	...	Bronze	...	2nd "
Harmoni-flute	...	Silver	...	1st "
Harmoni-flute	...	Gold	...	2nd "
Harmoni-flute	...	Silver	...	2nd "
Photo pictures	...	"	...	1st "
Ink	...	Silver	...	1st "
Ink for polishing shoes ...	...	"	...	1st "
Ink	...	Gold	...	1st "
Whistles	...	Silver	...	2nd "
Steel trunks and Lamp (signaller's)		"	...	1st "
Toys	...	Bronze	...	2nd "
Scales	...	Gold	...	1st "
Biscuits	...	"	...	1st "
Biscuits	...	Gold	...	2nd "





CHAPTER IV.

MINING INDUSTRIES.

Mining in ancient India: Megasthenes.

From the way in which gold and iron are mentioned in the Rigveda,* it may be inferred, that the Indo-Aryans of the early Vedic period were familiar with those metals. We have no information, however, as to whence they were obtained. The first authentic mention of the mineral resources of India is by Megasthenes (about 300 B. C.) "While the soil [of India]" says he "bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornaments, as well as the implements

* Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts" Vol. V. (1884), pp. 87, 88; 149-151; &c.

and accoutrements of war."* Megasthenes gives no information as to the localities whence these metals were procured, except in the case of gold, mines of which are located by him in an elevated plateau inhabited by a people called the Derdai† who are identified with the Dards, "wild and predatory tribes dwelling among the mountains on the north-west frontier of Kashmir, and by the banks of the Indus." From this description, it would seem, that the gold used in Northern India at the time of Megasthenes was chiefly procured from Thibet.

Precious stones and metals in later Sanskrit literature.

Household utensils made of copper, iron, tin, lead gold and silver, and ornaments made of the precious metals are mentioned in the Manusamhitá, but it gives no particulars as to the localities they were obtained from.

Coming to later Sanskrit literature, we find frequent mention of precious stones and metals. ‡ As far as we are aware, however, it is only in the Brihatsamhitá of Varáha Mihira, § that detailed information is afforded about any of the gems. The most common

Diamonds mentioned in the Brihatsamhitá.

* "Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian," translated by J. W. McCrindle, p. 31. See also "Ancient India as described by Ktesias," translated by J. W. McCrindle, p.p. 16, 17, 68, 69.

† These are identified with the Dardæ of Pliny and the Daradas of Sanskrit literature.

For descriptions of "Gold-digging ants" and rational explanations of them, see "Ancient India," translated by McCrindle, pp. 94 *et seq*, and "The Indian Antiquary" Vol. IV, pp. 225-232.

‡ In the *Mrichhakati*, skilful artists are mentioned as examining pearls, topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, &c.

§ An astronomer who lived in the first half of the 6th century A. D.

gems, he says, are: "Diamond, sapphire emerald, agate, ruby, bloodstone, beryl, amethyst, vimalaka, quartz (?), crystal, moongem, sulphur-hued gem (?), opal, conch, azure stone, topaz, Brahma stone, Jyotirasa, chryssolite (?), pearl and coral. The diamond found on the bank of the Vená is quite pure; that from Kosala country is tinged like Sirisa-blossom; the Surashtrian diamond is somewhat copper-red; that from Supara, sable. The diamond from the Himálaya is slightly copper coloured; the sort derived from Matanga shows the hue of wheat blossom; that from Kalinga is yellowish, and from Pundra grey." *

The Vená, in this passage, is identical with the Weinganga, on a tributary of which stood the ancient mines well known under the name of Wairágarh, a town distant about 80 miles to the south-east of Nagpur. † Surástra is Surat; it was merely a port whence the gem was exported. Matanga and Kalinga probably included the Kistna and the Godaveri or Golconda diamond localities. ‡ Mahá Kosala identified with Berar and the Nagpur country probably included the ancient diamond mines of Sambalpur. Pundra comprised North-

* "The Brihat Samhitá" translated by Dr. H. Kern. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. VII, pp. 125-126.

† The diamond mines of Wairágarh or Birágarh are mentioned in the *A'in-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II p. 230).

‡ Telingana which comprises many of these localities is supposed by Cunningham to be "only a slightly contracted form of Tri-Kalinga." ("Ancient Geography of India" p. 519).

ern Bengal. It extended to the foot of the Himálayas, and possibly gave its name to precious stones other than diamonds obtained from those mountains.

From the passage in the Brihatsamhitá it appears, that nearly all the important diamond mines of India were worked about the beginning of the sixth century A. D. As far as we are aware, however, there is no information about the methods of mining in the ancient Sanskrit literature, nor any which localises the precious and other metals even in the vague manner of the Brihatsamhitá. The fact is, mining and smelting in ancient, as in modern India, were carried on by lower class Hindus and aborigines, * who were beneath the notice of the Bráhman authors.

Ancient mines of gold, silver &c.

We have, however, abundant indirect evidence of the working of gold, silver, copper, and iron mines in ancient India on a rather extensive scale. The statement of Megasthenes with regard to the mineral resources of the country has been quoted already. Ktesias refers to the silver mines of India, which, he says are deeper than those in Bactria. "Gold also" he says "is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed from the *sands*" but is found on mountains. Pliny (first century A. D.)

* Iron-ore is mined and smelted bythe aborigines especially of Dravidian extraction. The mining and smelting of copper in the Himalayas are conducted by Hinduised aborigines. The Panna mines are worked by Gonds and Kols. The higher class Hindus act as middlemen. They supply capital, and enjoy the lion's share of the profits; but, as regards technical knowledge of mining and smelting, they possess none.

referred to the country of the Nareœ, who are identified with the Nairs of Malabar, as comprising numerous mines of gold and silver.

More satisfactory evidence than all this is the discovery of extensive and numerous ancient mines of gold, copper, and silver. The ancient gold mines in the Wynaad region, "indicate different degrees of knowledge in the miner's art. They consisted of 1, quarrying on the outcrops of veins ; 2, vertical shafts ; 3, adits ; 4, vertical shafts with adits ; 5, shafts on underlie Among these the most remarkable are the vertical shafts ; they are even when in solid quartz sometimes 70 feet deep, with smooth and quite plumb sides. What the tools were which enabled the miners to produce such work in hard dense quartz no one appears to be able to suggest. The fragments of stones obtained trom these various mines were pounded with hand-mullers, the pounding places being still seen, and the pounded stone was then, it is believed, washed in a wooden dish and treated with mercury." †

Mining in recent times : Precious stones.

India is said to have supplied the whole world with diamonds till A. D. 1728 when the diamond mines of Brazil were opened. At the present day, the only diamond mines which are regularly worked are those of Panna in Bundelkhand. In Akbar's time, the value of the annual

* "Ancient India as described by Ktesias," translated by J. W. McCrindle pp. 16-17.

† "Economic Geology of India" pp. 182-183.

outturn of these mines is said to have been eight lakhs of rupees. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the produce was estimated at one lakh and twenty thousand rupees of which the Panna Raja received one fourth. The outturn in recent years is stated to have been much less than formerly. An European Company have recently been prospecting for diamonds in the territory of the Nizam, in which some of the ancient diamond mines are situated; but, the result does not yet appear to be promising.

The other precious stones which are still mined and worked by Hindus on indigenous methods are garnet, agate, onyx and carnelian. In the Kishengarh state, in Rajputana, there are rather extensive mines from which good garnets are obtained. The Raja is said to derive a large revenue from them. There are also garnet mines in the Jaipur and Udepur states. With regard to agate, onyx and carnelian "though none of these exactly come under the denomination of precious stones, still, when wrought into ornamental objects, they have sometimes commanded very high prices. In the art of cutting and polishing them the lapidaries of India have long been renowned,—for so long indeed that some of the very earliest allusions to the country are connected with this particular art. It is probable that the polished and cut pebbles of India have been spread over the world to an extent of which few people are conscious. It is said that the pebbles which the tourist or visitor is induced to buy at any well-known seaside and other resorts in Europe, as mementos of the places, have

not only been originally produced but have been cut and polished in India. If it be so, the trade is a more creditable one than that which sends sham jewels to Ceylon, because the stones are really what they pretend to be true pebbles, and they are often extremely beautiful objects. It has sometimes been thought that in the name brooch the source of the pebbles which were first employed for the purpose is recorded, but the derivation is said to be from the French *broche*, a spit or skewer. From Barygaza, the modern Broach, the famous onyx and murrhine cups of the early Greeks and Romans were obtained, it is believed. Nero is said to have paid 300 talents or £55,125 for one of the small cups made of murrhine or carnelian (?), which was probably not very different in any respect from those to be obtained in Bombay at the present day."*

There are many places in the Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency where the minor precious stones mentioned above are found. Of these the best khown are Jabbalpur and Ratanpur. The Ratanpur mines situated in the Rewakantha District (Bombay Presidency) are said to have afforded occupation to the lapidaries of Broach and Cambay for the last two thousand years. The average annual produce of these mines for 1878 was estimated at sevent thousand rupees.

Gold and silver

Gold-washing still affords a more or less supplemental means of subsistence to a small class of lowcaste Hindus in different parts of

* "Economic Geology of India." p 504.

India. But gold-industry, worth the name, is at present, carried on with European capital and under European management in Mysore and the Wynaad. The output of the Mysore mines for 1889 was 78,649 ounces, valued at Rs. 43,93,150, and that for 1892 was estimated at 163,187 ounces valued at Rs. 89,60,210. Except probably at a place in the Kudapa District (Madras Presidency), silver is not now known to be mined for anywhere else; and there too it is extracted from galena in a very petty scale, and by a tedious and wasteful process.

Copper.

Though there are numerous ancient copper-mines of an extensive character in various parts of India, the mining and smelting of copper on the indigenous methods are now carried on in a small way only in outlying tracts where the heavy cost of transport places the imported copper at a disadvantage.

Attempts to work copper ores on modern methods.

Various attempts have been made by Europeans from time to time to work the copper ores of India especially in the Nellore district (Madras), and in the Singbhum district (Bengal). The latest attempt is that of a Joint Stock Company with a capital of £185,000 to work the copper-ores of Baragunda in the Hazaribagh district. The outturn of the Baragunda mines for 1890 was estimated at 305 tons valued at Rs. 2,34,000.

Indigenous copper-mining.

The following are the more noteworthy among places where copper-ores have been until recently, or are still mined and smelted in a petty manner: Daribo in the Alwar state;

Singhana,* Khetri, and Babai in the Jaipur state; Dhanpur, Dhobri and Pokhri in Kumaun and Garhwal districts; and at various places in Nepal and Sikkim. An idea of the petty scale in which these mines are generally worked will be obtained from the fact, that the annual produce of the Daribo mine fifteen years ago was only 3 tons 8 cwts., and even that amount is stated to have been diminishing owing to the influx of imported copper.

Deep-mining is not practised owing chiefly to the want of suitable apparatus for draining the mines. At Pachikhani, the only place where copper-ores were found by the writer, in 1891, to be worked on a tolerable scale in Sikkim, the deepest mine went down to a depth of about 55 feet only; and water had collected to such an extent even at this depth, that the miners were talking of abandoning it, though the ore there was very rich.

The mines are long meandering passages averaging about a yard or so in height and width. The tools generally used are an iron hammer and a pointed chisel; small picks also are sometimes used. The ore (usually copper-pyrites) is pounded, washed, and then made up into small balls with cowdung. After drying, these balls are roasted. The roasted balls are pow-

* Large quantities of blue vitriol, alum, and copperas are manufactured from the decomposed slate and refuse of the Singhana mines. The slates and refuse are steeped in water, which is afterwards evaporated, when the blue vitriol is first crystallised out, then the alum, and lastly the copperas. ("Economic Geology of India," p. 261).

dered ; and the powder is smelted in a closed furnace about a foot and a half deep.

The following figures give the quantity and value of imported copper since 1876 :

Year	Quantity (cwt.)	Value (in tens of rupe
1875-76	236,016	1,207,500
1876-77	272,353	1,398,102
1877-78	320,103	1,498,175
1878-79	289,853	1,284,169
1879-80	386,173	1,620,155
1880-81	381,683	1,620,017
1881-82	338,108	1,467,462
1882-83	450,098	1,938,376
1883-84	530,226	2,207,841
1884-85	552,420	2,070,018
1885-86	652,973	2,093,840
1886-87	615,049	1,994,009
1887-88	532,635	2,001,928
1888-89	8,490	563,313
1889-90	568,961	2,222,354
1890-91	446,448	1,813,591
1891-92	511,088	2,089,024

Iron.

The indigenous iron industry has been well nigh crushed out of existence by imported iron. It now affords only a precarious and supplementary means of subsistence to a small class of Hinduised and other aborigines in outlying tracts, especially in the wilds of Central India and the Central Provinces. The following extracts from a paper by the writer bearing upon the iron industry in a portion of the Jabalpur district (Central Provinces) applies generally to the industry as carried on at present in other parts of India.

Indigenous method of smelting iron-ore.

"The furnace, as usual, is of a most primitive type. It is about 4 feet 6 inches in height. It is built of mud, with which some straw is mixed. The making up of the furance costs a rupee or so. The bellows which supply the blast are

about a foot and a half high when stretched. They are made up of goat's skins obtained from Jabalpur at a cost of Rs. 4 per pair : the making-up costs a rupee. A pair of bellows lasts one full season (November to May). The entire cost of the furnace and bellows and other requisites amount probably to not more than Rs. 7. The blast is supplied through a pair of clay tuyeres, which are renewed every day. The fuel used is charcoal. The furnace is worked for 12 hours, from about 8 in the morning to late in the evening. Two men are required to work it, one at the bellows and the other to put in ore and fuel and let out the slag. Their wages vary from 2 to 3 annas each per day. The furnace is first filled up with charcoal. When it gets well heated, ore is let down through a hole at the top one small basketful at a time weighing from 5 to 7 seers. Some 25 to 30 such basketsful (or 3½ to 4½ maunds) of ore are consumed by a furnace in one day." *

Attempts to work iron-ores on modern methods: The Barákar Iron works.

There are very rich and extensive iron ores in various parts of India especially in the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces: and attempts have from time to time been made by Government and private parties (Europeans) to work the ores on a large scale on modern methods. The attempts, however, have all ended in failure except in the case of the Barakar Iron Works. The working of the excellent iron ores of India on modern methods is placed under great disadvantage, as they are usually remote from coal of the desired quality. But at Barákar, in Bengal, the close proximity of such coal to abundant iron ores of fair quality led to the establishment, in 1874, of an European Company under the name of the "Bengal Iron Company." The Company, however, failed in 1879,

* "Records of the Geological Survey of India." Vol. XXI (1888), pp. 87-88.

owing chiefly, it is supposed, to the initial error of starting with insufficient capital which amounted to £100,000 only. Three years later, the property was bought over by Government; and under the management of Ritter Von Schwartz, the concern proved successful. It has again passed recently into the hands of an European Company, who have made arrangements to carry on the works on an enlarged scale. The success of the Company appears to be assured. In 1891, the daily average of persons employed at the Barákar Iron works was 821; and the out-turn (pig-iron) was 11,822 tons valued at Rs. 6,19,508.

Recent attempt to start iron works in Mysore.

In Southern India various attempts have from time to time been made to work the excellent iron ores which abound there on a somewhat large scale, with wood-fuel; but they have ended in failure. The last attempt of the kind of which we have any information is by a Madrasi gentleman Dr. Dhankoti Raju. In a paper, which he read at the Industrial Conference held at Poona in August, 1891, he said, that he had visited England, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, with a view to study the iron-industry as carried on in those countries; and that he had been granted important concessions by the Government of Mysore for the establishment of iron and steel works in that Province, "on a pretty large scale and on modern scientific principles." He further said, that he had imported machinery from Europe, and made preliminary arrangements for the establishment

of the works.* We have not, however, had any information about the result of the enterprise. The following figures show the gradual increase of imported iron (excluding steel, machinery and millwork, hardware and cutlery) since 1858 :

Year.	Quantity in tons. †	Value in tens of rupees.
1857-58	....	494,094
1858-59	....	1,107,222
1859-60	....	571,839
1860-61	....	454,438
1861-62	....	603,222
1862-63	....	678,312
1863-64	....	724,706
1864-65	....	586,712
1865-66	....	488,374
1866-67	....	784,888
1867-68	....	1,461,300
1868-69	....	1,425,655
1869-70	....	1,188,086
1870-71	....	799,895
1871-72	....	841,490
1872-73	....	752,576
1873-74	....	795,516
1874-75	....	1,247,348
1875-76	101,192	1,424,598
1876-77	112,559	1,528,406
1877-78	121,886	1,435,561
1878-79	118,265	1,446,015
1879-80	105,558	1,229,385
1880-81	133,280	1,547,541
1881-82	122,626	1,414,384
1882-83	157,597	1,870,494
1883-84	177,183	2,140,491
1884-85	180,114	2,014,909
1885-86	174,658	1,934,706
1886-87	164,019	1,782,990
1887-88	216,079	2,447,395
1888-89	200,140	2,515,179
1889-90	180,420	2,414,317
1890-91	193,828	2,562,307
1891-92	184,025	2,321,283

* Report of the first Industrial Conference held at Poona, pp. 94-96.

† It is not stated in the "Statistical Abstract" whether the quantity includes manufactured articles or not.

Coal: the present condition of the industry.

Coal-mining is quite a new industry in India. The importance of coal began to be felt with the spread of Western civilisation with its railways, mills, and workshops; and coal-mining has been making rapid progress since 1858. In 1857-58, the total output of coal in India was 293,443 tons. In 1890, it was no less than, 2,168,521 tons. The following tables show the progress made in the Indian coal-mining industry from 1881 to 1891:

	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Number of collieries worked...	47	55	61	66	68
Persons employed	—	20,051	23,172	24,541	22,745
Quantity of coal produced in tons	3997,730	1,130,242	1,315,976	1,397,818	1,294,221

	1886.	1887	1888.	1889	1890	1891
Number of collieries worked	70	68	67	72	82	87
Persons employed ...	24,794	28,438	29,301	29,953	32,971	34,902
Quantity of coal produced in tons ...	1,388,487	1,564,063	1,708,903	1,945,354	2,168,521	2,328,517

Of the Indian coal fields those of Bengal are the most important. In 1891, of the 87 Indian collieries employing 34,902 labourers (men, women, and children) no less than 77 were located in Bengal, which employed 24,834 persons; more than two-thirds of the total produce of 1890 was contributed by Bengal. Of the remaining collieries, one was in the Punjab (Dandot); three in the Central Provinces (Mohpani and Warora);

three in Assam (Lakhimpur District); one in Rewa State; one in Nizam's territory; and one in Beluchisthan.

Hindus in the coal industry.

Though a Hindu * was one of the chief promoters of the oldest and richest coal company in India, the Bengal Coal Company, there are, as far as we are aware, only three large coal properties at the present day which are owned by Hindus. The great majority of the more considerable mines are worked with European capital and under European supervision.† Of the three large mines under Hindu management, that at Siarsol, opened in 1845, turned out, in 1891, 45,030 tons, and employed 823 men, women, and children; and the Jemari colliery, started in 1854, yielded, in 1891 32,296 tons. There is also a large number of small collieries in Bengal owned and managed by Hindus.

The following figures give the imports of coal since 1876:—

Year.		Quantity in tons.		Value in tens of rupees.
1875-76	...	383,427	...	665,535
1876-77	...	519,749	...	931,710
1877-78	...	601,257	...	1,008,155
1878-79	...	475,960	...	889,477

* Dwáraka Nath Tagore. His biographer, Kissory Chand Mitter, says that he established it with the assistance of Mr Deans Campbell. ("Life of Dwarka Nath Tagore"—p. 108).

† Nearly all the smaller mines in Bengal, however, are owned and managed by Hindus. They are generally worked on modern methods, but on a small scale. From information courteously supplied by Mr. R. C. Dutt, Commissioner, Burdwan Division, we are able to state, that there were no less than thirty such mines in that Division, in 1893.

Year.		Quantity in Tons.		Value in tens of Rupees.
1878-80	...	587,928	...	1,138,208
1880-81	...	683,768	...	1,239,855
1881-82	...	637,124	...	1,020,044
1882-83	...	628,824	...	1,019,883
1883-84	..	708,358	...	1,163,790
1884-85	...	741,129	...	1,267,213
1885-86	...	790,930	...	1,308,415
1886-87	...	765,668	...	1,316,615
1887-88	...	848,878	...	1,663,911
1888-89	...	833,478	...	1.907,213
1889-90	...	601,478	...	1,308,589
1890-91	...	784,664	...	1,543,442
1891-92	...	736,971	...	1,250,493

Comparing these figures with those given above with regard to the progress of the Indian coal-mining, it will be seen how the development of the latter has kept the imports down. The increased demand due to the expansion of industries on European methods and the extention of railways has been almost entirely met by the indigenous coal; and strenuous efforts are being made to drive the foreign coal out of markets where it still holds its own.

Salt.

Salt is obtained by evaporation at various places on the Madras, the Bombay, and the Orissa coast, and from some Salt Lakes in Rajputana of which the best known is the Sambhur Lake. The produce of the Sambhur Salt Lake, in 1891, was 2,162,130 maunds valued at Rs. 3,73,868. Salt is also obtained by mining in the Punjab, which contains enormous deposits of rock-salt. The largest and best known of the Punjab salt mines are the Mayo mines in the Salt-range. The mines were formerly

much more numerous, but they "merely consisted of small openings at first, which were afterwards unsystematically enlarged, until they became dangerous. Since the annexation of the Punjab, it has been found useful for facility in collecting the revenue, to lessen their number greatly." The Punjab mines yielded, in 1891, 2,206,450 maunds, valued at Rs. 1,03,427. In the Kohat District, salt is got by open quarrying not by mining as in the salt-range. The chief quarries are at Malgin which have been worked from very ancient times ; at Bhadur Khel opened in the seventh century ; and at Jatta opened about the middle of the seventeenth century. The produce of the Kohat mines, in 1891, was 632,599 maunds valued at Rs. 2,48,078. The total quantity of salt produced in the Indian empire (including Burma) in 1891, was 26,684,375 maunds valued at Rs. 51,71,945. The imports have remained more or less stationary during the last few years, seldom much exceeding ten lakhs of maunds The mining and manufacture of salt are carried on chiefly by Government.

Mica.

Mica is sometimes used instead of glass for lanterns and doors of furnaces. It is also employed as a glazing material. In small pieces it is largely employed in India for the ornamentation of temples, banners &c.. Powdered mica is occasionally used for ornamenting cloths and pottery. Mica has recently been found in large plates measuring two

to three feet in diameter and thickness in the Nellore district, Madras Presidency. In the Bengal Presidency, it is at present obtained by mining chiefly in the district of Hazaribagh. The mica mines are on a small scale, and are owned and worked chiefly by Hindus. In 1891, the Hazaribagh mines employed nearly three thousand persons daily, and produced 2,520 maunds valued at Rs. 84,883.

Steatite.

Steatite or soapstone is obtained by mining or quarrying at various places for the manufacture of plates, bowls, vases small idols, figures of animals &c., notably in the Salem district (Madras), in the Gya district (Behar), and in the Manbhum and Singbhum districts (Bengal). The beautiful bluish-gray soapstone which is so largely used at Agra for the manufacture of finely carved ornamental objects is obtained from a village in the Jaipur state.

Limestone.

Limestone is largely quarried for the manufacture of lime or for building and other purposes. Among the more extensively worked quarries, may be mentioned those of Katni (Jabalpur district, Central Provinces), and of the Khasi and Jaintia hills (Assam).* Lime made at these places is in great demand in Bengal. There are marble quarries in Rajputana, the best known being those situated near Jhirri in the Alwar state, at Makrana in the Jodhpur state, and near Raialo in the Jaipur state. White marble

* The out-turn of the Khasi and Jaintia quarries for 1891 was estimated at 14, 15, 257 maunds valued at Rs. 1, 30, 276.

from the last named place is largely employed for making screens known as *jalee*, which has been referred to in a previous chapter. The marble of which the Tajmahal is built was obtained from the Makrana quarries. "From distant parts of India orders for temples are sent to Makrana, and the blocks of pure marble cut and ready to be put in place are forwarded to their destination." The marble quarries near Jhirri were at one time extensively worked, but are not much worked now.

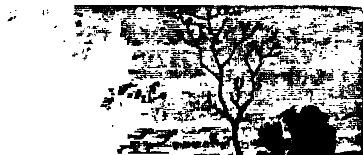
Building stones.

Besides limestone and marble, various other rocks have from very ancient times been quarried in India for building purposes —granite, gneiss, basaltic rocks, laterite, slate, and sandstone. At Gya some of the Buddhistic rails and the floorings of temples are made of granite. There are many quarries for the extraction of gneiss and granite in the Madras Presidency. Basaltic rocks are utilised for building and other purposes in parts of the Deccan, in Malwa, and in the Rajmahal hill* area. The Kangra Valley Slate Quarry Company in the Punjab raised, in 1891, slates to the value of Rs. 40,636. But, of all the building stones of India, sandstone is the most important. It was employed as long ago as the third century B. C. by the Buddhist emperor, Asoka, for the construction of *láts* or monoliths, some of which are of great size, and are partly polished. The most important of the sandstone quarries are at Fatepur Sikri, Rupas, Chunar, Mirzapur, and Pratabpur. Fatepur Sikri

* The Rajmahal Stone Company raised, in 1891, stone to the value of Rs. 1,21, 187.

and Rupas supplied stone for portions of the Taj-mahal, for Akbar's palace at Fatepur Sikri, for the Jama Masjid at Delhi, and for several other structures of note. Chunar sandstone has been largely used at Benares and many other places in the North-Western Provinces from very ancient times. The quarries of Mirzapur "with those of Partabpur and Seorajpur, have supplied Mirzapur and Allahabad with material for the construction of their buildings, both ancient and modern." †

† "Economic Geology of India" p. 545.





APPENDIX.



The following extracts from a resolution issued by the Government of India last year indicate the steps recently taken by Government for the development of the scheme undertaken in 1880-81 for agricultural enquiry and improvement.

2. "One of the chief recommendations made in the report of the Famine Commission in 1880 was the formation of Agricultural Departments, of which the ultimate aim was to be the improvement of Indian agriculture. In 1881, the Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture was created for the purpose of directing the policy to be followed in carrying out the Famine Commission's recommendations; and in December of that year the Resolution was issued in which a comprehensive scheme based on the suggestions of the Famine Commission was drawn up. The Resolution commenced by explaining that before any attempt could be made to improve the agriculture of the country it was necessary to enquire into, and collect information regarding, the agricultural conditions in each province.

3. The first step to be taken in this direction was to organise the land record establishments, and during the twelve years which have since elapsed, these establishments have in most provinces been brought into fair working order, so that they can now be utilized for the collection of facts and statistics.

4. Another measure was to constitute a system of scientific enquiry by means of experts in those branches of investigation, which were beyond the scope of the ordinary establishments. With this object there have been successively established the office of Reporter on Economic products and the Civil Veterinary and Bacteriological Departments. The Departments of Meteorology and Geology already existed, but the attention of both has been called more distinctly than before to the work of practical investigation. At the same time the trustees of the Indian Museum have consented to carry out through their staff enquiries connected with Economic Entomology and Zoology; while the Botanical Survey, previously restricted to three provinces, has been extended over the whole of India.

5. None of these Departments or institutions, however, were connected with agriculture proper, and from 1882 to 1888 representations were made to the Secretary of State that the scheme of enquiry could not be completed without an agricultural expert, who should organize and develop a system of agricultural investigation in those directions in which scientific control was wanted. In 1889 Dr. Voelcker was sent out to India by the Secretary of State—"to advise on the best course to be adopted in order to apply the teachings of Agricultural Chemistry and in order to effect improvements in Indian agriculture." Dr. Voelcker's preliminary recommendations led to the appointment, in October last, of an Agricultural Chemist, who with the aid of a laboratory assistant, appointed at the same time to teach in the forest School at Dehra, will take the position ot the expert asked for by the Government of India.

His duties will be necessarily connected with a larger field than that implied by the term "Agricultural Chemistry," and it is one of the objects of the present Resolution to indicate to some extent what the duties and functions of the Agricultural Chemist will be.

6. In the detailed report now submitted, Dr. Voelcker makes numerous recommendations in the direction of agricultural improvement and reform, many of which cover the same ground as those of the Famine Commission. His suggestions come, indeed, mainly within the scope of the programme set out in the Resolution of 1881, to the principles of which the Government of India still adhere as forming the basis of the scheme of agricultural enquiry and improvement; and although his suggestions point, as did the Resolution of 1881, to the

ultimate establishment of positive measures for improvement they do so with the same proviso that "before any real improvements can be effected in agriculture, the institution of organised enquiry into existing methods is absolutely necessary." The Government of India desire therefore, that for the present the main duty of the Agricultural Chemist should be to take his place in the scheme of enquiry, rather than to institute what may prove to be premature efforts in the direction of agricultural improvement.

7. It will, in the first place, be necessary for the Provincial Departments of Agriculture to carry out more effectively than has hitherto been done the instructions for establishing the system which in the Resolution of 1881 was briefly designated as "district analysis." The subject was discussed at the Agricultural Conference held in 1890 at Simla, but has not as yet been fully understood. The object of the scheme, was to define with some precision, through the aid of the statistics collected by the land-records agency, the tracts in each district which are subject to Famine, or to use the words of the Resolution, in which the "agricultural operations of the country are liable for any reason to fall below the standard of full efficiency." When some progress has been made in a careful analysis of agricultural tracts, the expert will be usefully associated with the Agricultural Departments in investigating the causes of failure, and in suggesting the remedies to be applied. As soon as this stage has been reached, the greater number of those recommendations of the Famine Commission and Dr. Voelcker, which deal with positive measures of remedy and improvement, will have to be taken under serious consideration and although it may be the case that in some directions inquiry has proceeded sufficiently far to justify immediate action, especially in tracts where agricultural depression is extreme, yet there is no doubt that in the main a considerable period must still be occupied in the preliminary work of investigation.

8. Another branch of enquiry is concerned with the existing methods and practices of agriculture throughout India. This will be entrusted primarily to the Agricultural Chemist. It will involve the collation and collection of facts and statistics contained in gazetteers, settlement reports, and other such sources of information, and will require both personal investigation in the field, and continual communication with the officers of the Agricultural Departments.

9. The necessity of ascertaining by continuous and scientifically-directed trial on experimental farms what are the possibilities of improving existing methods, was indicated in the Resolution of 1881, and measures have been taken in almost every province to establish farms for this purpose. The inspection of farms; the general direction of the system on which experiments are to be conducted; and the preservation of continuity in experiment will be further and important duties of the new officer.

10. The scheme of agricultural enquiry will also entail a systematic analysis of soils, water, manure, &c., in the laboratory, and these will be conducted by the Agricultural Chemist and the Assistant.

11. It will at the same time be essential that, with the co-operation of the Educational Department, measures should be taken which will render the agricultural population capable of assimilating new ideas, and of understanding any suggestions made to them, as time goes on for the improvement of their agricultural methods; and which will fy them to take that active part in the scheme of agricultural reform, without which no effective results can be expected. The necessity of adapting the educational system to the requirements of the agricultural population was not dealt with in the Resolution of 1881. The Government of India, however, in the 25th paragraph of the Resolution on Education, issued by the Home Department in June 1888, recommended that this subject, among others, should in each province be brought under the consideration of a Committee. The question of agricultural education was also discussed in a valuable note submitted by Mr. F. A. Nicholson to the officers who reported in May, 1889, on the Agricultural Department of the Madras Presidency. In that note, Mr. Nicholson urged that in developing the efficiency of an Agricultural Department, it would be necessary to consider 'what means will render its operations more efficient by promoting the intelligence and receptivity of the ryot, by developing the agents rather than the mere methods of production, and by provoking them to take the initiative instead of waiting for an impluse *ab extra*.'"

END OF VOLUME II.

A HISTORY OF HINDU CIVILISATION DURING BRITISH RULE

BY

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TO

THE MARQUIS OF RIPON,

WHO, DURING HIS VICEROYALTY IN INDIA,

LABOURED, WITH A LOVING HEART,

FOR THE WELFARE OF MY COUNTRYMEN,

AND WHOSE NAME WILL EVER BE CHERISHED BY THEM

WITH GRATITUDE, I RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

PREFACE.

I have attempted in this volume to give some idea of the nature and operation of the influences which have affected the Hindu intellect under British Rule. In doing this, I have indicated, in a general way, how these influences have moulded the modern literature of India. It is my intention to present in the next volume a more complete account of the present intellectual condition of the Hindus as reflected in literature. Considering the diversity of the vernacular literatures of India, I am probably showing more presumption than discretion in undertaking this task ; and, I must say, its execution will largely depend upon the co-operation I may be fortunate enough to secure from those parts of India with the literary history of which I cannot claim more than a very super-

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INTRODUCTION.

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Decline of the Hindu intellect since the twelfth century.

Hindu intellect had been in a state of arrested development for nearly six centuries when the foundation was laid of the British Empire in India. During that long period, the Hindus had produced nothing of a strikingly original character. The last great name in the annals of Hindu philosophy was that of Samkaráchäryya who lived about the ninth century; the last great name in Hindu mathematics was that of Bháscaráchäryya who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century.

Chief cause of the decline: the Caste-system.

The decline was synchronous with the Mahomedan conquest and was no doubt facilitated by it. The depressing influence of foreign domination can never be otherwise than detrimental to healthy progress of a high order. But Hindu civilisation carried the germs of its decay within it. The Caste-system upon which it is based, rendered its continued development an impossibility, because it contravened the fundamental conditions of such development. It protected the different classes of Hindu society from the stress and strain of strenuous competition; but in doing so it rendered a halt in its onward march inevitable. It made life easy and contented; but it did so freeing it, to a considerable extent, from ceaseless struggle, the hard, inexorable condition of continued intellectual and industrial progress. It promoted spirituality and quietism, but it suppressed industrialism and combativeness which are among the principal motive forces of modern progress.

The Caste-system, however, does not deserve the large measure of odium which is usually cast upon it. It was probably the best solution possible, at the time it was formed, of the great social problem which is at present exercising the minds of Western philosophers,

the problem, namely, how to distribute the good things of the world so as to liberate the lower classes from the vices and miseries of destitution. No such solution is possible now. The Western proletariat have been given political equality. But no steps have been taken to secure to them that measure of economic equality without which political equality is worse than meaningless—positively dangerous. The policy of *laissez faire* hitherto pursued by the most advanced nations of the West has landed them in a critical situation; and some form or other of State Socialism is now being influentially advocated as a means out of it. Viewing the caste-system, as originally developed in the light of recent Western developments and movements, we are inclined to think that it does credit to the head no less than to the heart of the Aryan sages of ancient India who conceived and constructed it, especially if we consider the condition of political morality which prevailed among the other civilised nations of the time. It is a system of organised inequality, but of inequality so adjusted as not to press very severely upon the classes affected by it. The dark-skinned aborigines of India were not made slaves; but they were assigned a well defined position, though that position was the lowest in the society of the Aryan

conquerors. The treatment which the Súdras received was no less humane, and infinitely less calculated to produce friction than the treatment which, at the present day, the "blacks" receive at the hands of the "whites" in parts of the United States after a century's war cry of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and after so many centuries of the altruistic influence of Christianity.

Caste specially injurious to the cultivation of physical sciences.

The Bráhmans, as a class, did not seek material aggrandisement; government, trade, in short, every occupation calculated to further material interests they left to the lower classes, and thus they effectually secured themselves against the desire for encroachment. What they sought to restrict within the two highest classes, and especially within their own class, was spiritual and intellectual advancement; and that is of a nature which does not usually excite the jealousy of the mass of the people. This monopoly, however, was all the more detrimental to intellectual progress beyond a certain stage, because it was of such an immaterial character that the lower classes would not think it worth their while to contest. Competition artificially limited and secured within a well defined body restricted the range of favourable variation in intellectual development which was thus placed, to a great extent,

beyond the action of the law of natural selection—a law as supreme in the case of intellectual as in that of physical development. The isolation of the intellectual class was specially injurious to the progress of those branches of knowledge which increase the comforts, conveniences and luxuries of civilised life. The Bráhmans were averse to material progress. They looked down with undisguised contempt upon arts and manufactures, upon, in fact, all occupations which had not spiritual or mental culture as their primary object. Wrapped up in serene philosophic contemplation, taking but little interest in the struggles after material progress carried on by the lower classes whom they looked upon as the "vulgar herd," they carried mental science to a high pitch of perfection, while they neglected physical science to a most serious extent.

Illustration how caste hindered progress.

Directly, the caste-system prevented, in course of time, the spread of knowledge beyond a small, privileged, hereditary class; and indirectly, it led to the neglect of the physical sciences. It is precisely because it did so, that the Hindu intellect has remained in such a condition of barrenness for so long a period, and the Hindu civilisation has remained stationary while other peoples, un-

hampered by caste restrictions, have been making rapid strides towards progress. The claim of Western civilisation to intellectual superiority over Hindu civilisation—in fact, over all ancient civilisations—rests upon the unrestricted diffusion of knowledge and upon the advance made in physical science. It rests upon the increased enlightenment of the race, not upon the increased intellectual capacity of the individual. Intellectual progress under modern civilisation has spread over a wider area; it covers a larger variety of subjects; but, the mental power of the individual now is not higher than it was in ancient times. The great names in the intellectual world of the present day are no greater than the great names in the intellectual world of antiquity. The intellectual calibre of a Cuvier or of a Darwin cannot be said to be superior to that of a Kapila or of a Kanáda. The great men of the Western civilisation differ from the great men of the Hindu civilisation in the fact that the former represent the progress of a much larger body than the latter. The intellectual giants of the present day have been nourished not only by the accumulated knowledge of past civilisations,* but also by the acquired knowledge of the whole modern world. The sages

* "What the centuries have done for us" well observes Mr. Henry

of antiquity standout as a few stupendous heights towering above a slightly elevated plain. But, the most prominent men of the present day are like peaks but slightly higher than innumerable other peaks surrounding them on all sides. True, to continue the metaphor, time will reduce—nay, plane away—many a peak that looks so majestic now. But, making all allowance for the destructive action of time, there can be no doubt, that the great men of the Western civilisation will, even after the lapse of many centuries, greatly outnumber the great men of the ancient civilisations. The eminent names that cluster round a single feat of the intellect at the present day are more numerous than all the eminent names connected with all the great intellectual efforts of ancient India. We can form some idea of the damaging influence of the caste-system upon Hindu progress, when we consider from what different ranks of the Western society have risen the men who have contributed to the building up or expansion of a modern scientific theory; how men who began life as indigent mechanics are ending it as great philosophers or honoured inventors; how the sons of parents altogether

George "is not to increase our stature, but to build up a structure on which we may plant our feet." ("Progress and Poverty" Book X, Ch. II).

unconnected with literature or science have risen to literary or scientific eminence.

The anti-caste influence of the British contact; the doctrine of equality.

The anti-caste influence of the British contact has given Hindu civilisation a fresh impetus to progress by relaxing the restrictions of the caste-system which, as we have just seen, was the primary cause of the halt which Hindu civilisation made about the time of the Mahomedan conquest. Foremost among the new forces which have come into play with the British rule is the doctrine of equality. It is no new doctrine. It is at least as old as Buddhism. But it is only in recent times that it has been endowed with sufficient vitality to be a motive factor in the world's progress. The tendency of legislation and of political movement in the West for the last century has been towards democracy. The goal has certainly not been reached. The greatest advance in political equality has so far only rendered more glaring the social inequality between the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the labourer. It should be observed, however, that the socialist agitation in the West, which is yearly gaining ground and attaining solidarity, will result sooner or later in new principles of progress. What these principles and their consequences will be

no one can predict. But whatever they be, they will rest upon a broader basis of altruism than what modern civilisation rests upon. Progress has, in the past history of the world, often shifted its principal seat, from the East to the West; and, in the West, from one portion of it to another. But it has always added to the totality of its past acquisitions. Modern civilisation has not only retained the achievements of ancient civilisation, but has added to them considerably; and the civilisation of the future, wherever its centre * may be, is expected to do the same with regard to the civilisation of the present day. The altruism of the future civilisation is expected to be more real and more embracing than the altruism of the present civilisation.

* Mr. Pearson has indulged in a rather interesting speculation on this point. "The day will come," says he, "and perhaps is not far distant, when the European observer will look round to see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression or under tutelage, but independent, or practically so, in government, monopolising the trade of their own regions, and circumscribing the industry of the European. . . . . . . We were struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought of as destined to belong to the Aryan races, and to the Christian faith; to the letters and arts and charm of social manners which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile, and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs." ("National Life and Character," 1893, pp. 84-85).

Influence of the doctrine of equality.

The present state of inequality between the different classes of Western society is by no means of a very exceptional character. Such inequality has existed from the remotest antiquity. It is, however, now so keenly felt, and is fraught with so much danger to Western society, because the proletariat now claim equality as a matter of right, and consequently chafe under a sense of injustice if the conditions of existing society make the many starve while the few roll in wealth and luxury.* Industrial evolution on Western principles has not yet

* A revolution, however, is impending. Modern civilisation has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. "Even the best of modern civilisations" appeared to one of the greatest exponents of modern thought, "to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion, that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want, with its concomitant moral and physical degradation, among the masses of the people, I shall hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation. What profits it to the human Prometheus that he has stolen the fire of Heaven to be his servant, and that the spirits of the earth and of the air obey him, if the vulture of pauperism is eternally to tear his very vitals and keep him on the brink of destruction?"—Huxley, "Method and Results," p. 423.

proceeded far enough in India to produce such enormous economic inequality as is observable in Western society; and the Hindu community has not yet been permeated by aspirations for equality to such an extent as to feel the injustice of existing inequality. The spread of the doctrine of equality in India is confined as yet to the educated community who form an insignificant fraction of the total population. It has not yet led to any serious disturbance of social order, not even to a strike worth the name. The evils which are exercising the minds of philanthropists and philosophers in the West have not yet shown themselves among the Hindus. In politics, the democratic spirit of modern Europe has not yet gone further than strictly constitutional agitation by educated men for a moderate share in the administration of their country partly by representation on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils and partly by admission into offices hitherto reserved for the British. In religion, it has led to movements like the Bráhma Samáj. In literature, it has wrested the monopoly of authorship from the hands of the Bráhmans; and writers of all castes from the highest to the lowest now join hands in literary comradeship. If the greatest novelist of modern Bengali literature is a

Bráhman,* the greatest poet and the greatest dramatist are Káyasthas.† In this respect, however, the spread of Western ideas of democracy has only intensified the change set on foot by the Vaishnava Revolution a few centuries ago which, to a great extent, abrogated caste-distinction.

Increased sense of individuality: its influence upon Hindu literature.

The progress of every community requires the suppression of individuality to some extent. But the ancient civilisations carried the suppression very far, and Hindu civilisation probably further than any other. The existence of the individual was made subservient to the existence of the community. Even in literature, the author often merged his individuality in his work. Huge works like the Mahábhárata, and many of the Institutes and the Puránas bear unmistakable evidence of being the compositions of numerous writers whose names even have not been preserved. The all but entire absence of historical literature in Sanskrit may be partly attributable to this suppression of the individual. When authors were so unmindful

* Bankim Chandra Chatterji, born 1838, died, 1894. Several of his novels have been translated into English.

† Madhusudan Datta, (1824—1873) and Dinabandhu Mitra (1829—1873).

of the preservation of their own names, it is not to be wondered at, that they should have cared so little to transmit to posterity the lives of kings whose works must, in their estimation, have been of far less value than theirs; and the memory of kings was left to be preserved as best as it might be in the ballads of courtly bards, or, in more enduring form, in grants and inscriptions.

The wide prevalence which modern civilisation has given to the doctrine of equality has put the individual forward to an extent unknown in ancient civilisation. The tendency of the suppression of the individual encouraged by the latter has been to exalt authority, and to discourage originality. During the last seven centuries the best of Sanskrit authors, with but few exceptions, have ventured only to write commentaries. They followed the lead of some ancient work of authority, though some of them were endowed with the keenest intellect, and could have produced, if they chose to do so, original works of exceptional merit. On the other hand, though there is much that is objectionable, and worse, in the obtrusive self-assertiveness of the individual in modern civilisation, it has, nevertheless, furthered intellectual progress to no small extent. It has sapped the foundations of ancient

authority, and relaxed the restraints of conventionalities sanctioned by immemorial usage. Ambition has a freer scope, and the intellect has been soaring into regions unknown in ancient civilisations. The Hindu intellect has ventured out of the accustomed and well-beaten paths of theology and metaphysics. Paths which had been used in ancient times, but which for centuries remained practically closed have lately been not only reopened, but also widened and extended; and new paths have been coming into view which promise to lead in directions not even dreamt of by the sages of antiquity. The medical and mathematical sciences which had yielded such notable results to the ancient Hindus, but which received scarcely any attention, for nearly seven centuries preceding British Rule, are now being cultivated again on the improved methods of the West. History, biography, novel (in its modern forms), archæology, and the different branches of natural science are subjects almost entirely new in Hindu literature. It is true, the emancipated intellect has been producing much that is worthless and even mischievous; and the printing press makes such productions a source of positive danger to society. But evils like this are unavoidable under modern conditions of progress; and it would probably be no exaggeration

to say, that the English influence, of which the sense of individuality fostered by aspirations for equality is one of the main factors, has caused a renaissance of Hindu literature.

Superficial character of the recent renaissance of Hindu literature.

This renaissance is marked, however, rather by extent of surface than by depth. The range of vision of the Hindu mind has widened considerably. The works of the Hindus now treat of subjects which were beyond the conception of their forefathers. But, excepting a very few productions of genius, they are wanting in that depth and originality, that freshness and vigour of mind which always accompany healthly progress. The new life does not as yet appear to have acquired that strength which is essential for great works. To judge from the works that annually come out of the Indian press, there is undoubtedly an increasing amount of literary activity. But the activity is chiefly displayed in ephemeral tales and journalistic articles. Works with any prospect of occupying a permanent place in literature are very rare.

No doubt, in this dominant feature of superficiality, modern Hindu literature resembles, to a great extent, its prototype, the Western literature. The great majori-

ty of the books that appear in the West are also destined to live a short life. They are mostly written with the express purpose of affording amusement, of enabling the votaries of pleasure or of Mammon to while away an idle hour. But, there can be no denying the fact, that proportionately a great many more works of abiding interest appear in the West than in India.

Causes of this superficiality: transitional state.

One reason of this serious deficiency in Hindu literature is, no doubt, the transitional state through which the Hindus are passing at present. They must assimilate the progress made in the West during the stationary period of their civilisation, before they can produce anything of a strikingly original character. They must go over the ground already prepared by the Western intellect, before they can break new ground.

In the first stage of English education, its recipients showed, at least in Bengal, a marked and undiscriminating preference for Western habits and Western methods of progress. Everything Western was admired and adopted, and everything Eastern despised and rejected. In social polity, the tendency was observable in the aggressive attitude of the English-educated young

men towards the social institutions of the country. In religion, it was manifested in the conversion to Christianity of some of the most promising among them. The Hindu intellect was emancipated from the bonds of Hindu tradition only to put on the shackles of Western custom. For a time there was irrational, nay slavish, imitation. It was forgotten, that the lasting progress of a community depends not upon wholesale change, but upon gradual adaptation to new environment, not upon the total extinction of the force of tradition, but upon such an adjustment between it and the desire for change, that the latter will only have a more predominant influence than the former. But, a reaction soon followed which showed that the internal forces of Hindu civilisation had only been dormant, but had not become extinct. They have, for sometime past, exerted a rather healthy conservative influence, which is indicated, among other things, by a more diffuse respect for Sanskrit literature. The Vedas, the Mahábhárata, the Rámáyana, the Bhagavatgítá, the works of Charaka and Susruta, and the systems of Hindu philosophy are now far more extensively read than before either in the original or in translations. The desire for change is now restrained by the conservative influence of Hindu

tradition. The efforts of the Hindu intellect are beginning to be directed more towards assimilation than towards imitation of Western thought. But the process of assimilation is always slow and tedious. Before the many things in Western civilisation that are fit for assimilation are found out by experiment, many more things that are unfit must be rejected. In an experimental or transitional state like this, perfected forms of intellectual work must be excessively rare.

Anomalous position of English among the literary languages of India.

The renaissance of Hindu literature, if it is due to one thing more than to another, is due to English education. Nearly all the Hindu writers of note within the last fifty years have been English-educated men. Purely vernacular, or purely Sanskrit education has done but little to enrich vernacular literature. Bengali literature which at the commencement of the present century was much poorer than Hindî, and scarcely as rich as Máráthi, is now the richest of all the vernacular literatures; and it is in Bengal that English education has been imparted longer than in any other part of India.

But English education has not made English the sole literary language of India. In English schools, English is studied as the principal language, and the vernacular

or Sanskrit as the subordinate or second language. The educated Indians generally correspond in English. The work of the numerous political, social, and literary associations which have sprung up under English influence is usually carried on in English. Still, as a literary language, English holds a subordinate position. In the Bombay Presidency, there were published, in 1891, altogether 71 books in English, whereas the number of publications in Máráthi and Guzeráthi amounted to 223 and 297 respectively. In Bengal, during the same year, there were registered 1,347 publications in Bengali, and only 385 in English. Readers, especially the most educated portion of them, prefer to read English books, because a knowledge of English is the *sine qua non* of worldly advancement, and because English gives one the key to the intellectual treasures of modern civilisation. Writers, on the other hand, prefer to write in the vernaculars, because they can express themselves better in them than in a foreign tongue.

Consequences of this anomaly.

One consequence of this anomaly is, that the number of authors is disproportionately great. There are not sufficient readers, especially of the cultured class, to support, appreciate, and honour them. The greatest and most popular of Indian

novelists, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, who would hardly suffer by comparison with any European novelist of the present day, scarcely made more than two thousand rupees a year from his novels. Except a very few writers of school books, no Indian authors can earn a living by literary labour. They are either busy professional men or Government servants. Considering the enervating nature of the Indian climate, one can hardly expect from such men works requiring long-continued application and research. A leisured class of literary and scientific men such as we have in the West has not yet arisen in modern India. The learned Bráhmans, especially at the principal seats of Sanskrit learning, formed such a class in pre-British India. They were supported and honoured by the Hindu community. They pursued literature and science, undisturbed by the cares and anxieties of a living, and stimulated by the appreciation of pupils and fellow-Pundits, who formed the little world in which they moved. Their number, glory, and influence have diminished to such an extent, that they may be said to be practically extinct, at least for all purposes of modern progress. But a new class has not yet taken their place; and the want of a well recognised literary language combined with the circumstances to be

noted presently render the rise of such a class, at least in the near future, highly problematical.

The extreme poverty of the people.

The extreme poverty of the people is a serious obstacle to progress to an extent it is difficult to guage. True, they have always been poor. It cannot be established, at least conclusively, that they have become poorer under British Rule. But their civilisation was well adapted to the conditions which determined it. Arts and manufactures thrived upon small capital. Tuition was paid for or not according to the means of the pupils. Books and appliances had not to be bought, or if they had to be bought, they cost very little. The style of living was very simple. The community maintained the institutions which were designed for the spread of knowledge.

Its effect upon Scientific progress.

Now, the Hindus have been brought into competition with a people the richest in the world. Their average annual income, according to the highest official estimate, does not exceed £ 2; and they have to compete in the struggle for progress with a people whose average annual income is no less than £ 33. They are vastly poorer

than the poorest people in Europe. Yet, they must advance upon European conditions or they must retrograde which means going backward to a position for worse than what they occupied during the stationary period of their civilisation before the establishment of British rule They are required to run a race with one of the swiftest peoples of the modern world, on paths hitherto unknown to them but familiar to their foreign competitors, without the requisite equipment. Their arts and manufactures must perish, they must allow their country to be drained by foreigners, because they have not the capital and the enterprise of the latter. And their case appears to be hopeless under present conditions because their poverty will not certainly diminish as the drain goes on.

The general poverty of the people is also detrimental to higher intellectual work. Natural science is the intellectual speciality of modern civilisation. Its acquisition, however, is a matter of heavy expense. Well equipped laboratories are essential. But the people are too poor to afford them. The few that could endow scientific research do not do so, because they do not appreciate it. They would subscribe liberally to honour or to please high-placed British officials ; but a cry for funds for the diffusion of scientific and technical education

would be a cry in the wilderness. The private colleges have to adapt themselves to the means of the people and charge very low fees—in Bengal, generally, only three rupees a month for lectures on all subjects. They cannot provide the requisite means for effective scientific education. Until quite recently, the education in the Government colleges was of a literary character. It is only within the last decade that attempts have been made by Government to spread scientific and technical education. Even now, such subjects as Zoology and Botany which are of such vital importance in connection with Western thought, are taught in only one institution in the Bengal Presidency—the Medical College of Calcutta. There too the teaching is subordinated to the immediate professional requirements of medical students and is unaccompanied by laboratory work worth the name. There is only one institution in the Bengal Presidency—the Presidency College of Calcutta—where a chair of Geology has been in existence since 1892. Thus, the people are too poor to afford effective scientific education in the institutions directly supported by them; and Government has hitherto been apparently too indifferent to place scientific education on anything like a sound basis. It cannot be said that

Government is not at all alive to the importance of natural science in modern civilisation. It has for sometime past carried on research by European agency in various branches of science. The educational or economic benefit of such research to the people of India has been so slight as to be almost inappreciable, compared especially to what it has cost them. It has benefited only a few members of the European community who can well afford its expense.

Its influence upon general literature.

Poverty does not usually stand so much in the way of intellectual work of a purely literary character as it does in that of intellectual work of a scientific character. In India, however, it entails special disadvantages which are not felt in Europe. In European countries, there are rich libraries to which a poor man intent upon intellectual advancement can have easy access. In India, there are but few libraries worth the name. They are immeasurably inferior to the great libraries of Europe, and, besides, are not easily accessible.

The national poverty of the Hindus also tells seriously upon their literary development in other ways. They are engrossed by anxious cares how to earn a bare living. They have neither the means nor the leisure to pursue or encourage higher intellectual work.

Intellectual work on modern conditions necessitates a much greater strain on the nervous system, and, therefore, requires a correspondingly greater amount of nourishing food than in ancient times. The high-pressure work of the present day is not possible upon such a simple style of living as the Hindus have been accustomed to hitherto. That style was no doubt adapted to their civilisation. It is, however, a distinct disadvantage to them now, whether in the higher or the lower forms of intellectual work, as they have to compete with a people with a very much higher standard of living. Work performed by a constitution nourished upon twenty rupees cannot generally be so efficient as work performed by a constitution nourished upon treble that amount. It is true, a slightly lower standard of living gives a people some advantage in competition. But, the difference in the standards of living must not be so great as what exist between the Hindus and the English. Efficiency and success, under present conditions, demand a rise in the standard of living of the Hindus, so that it may approximate, though not equal, that of the English with whom they have to compete. The necessity is felt by the Hindus. But the cost of living has immensely increased of late; not,

Standard of living.

however, the means to meet the increased cost. Work under new European conditions has to be performed upon such necessaries and conveniences of life as were suited to the old environment. The inevitable consequence of such an anomalous state of things is apparent in the rapid spread of such diseases as diabetes among those who have to live by brainwork in some shape or other.

Influence of European luxuries.

It should be noted, however, that the tendency of the introduction of the outer forms, the luxuries and amusements, of European civilisation has been to intensify the effects of the national poverty of the Hindus. People are but little guided in their mode of living by philosophy. Fashion rules them Even the most rational men are found among the most irrational votaries of fashion. The desire for show appears to be almost innate in all classes in all parts of the world; and the Hindus are no exception to the rule. Formerly, however, the gratification of this desire was determined by the indigenous standard of luxuries which was well adapted to their material condition. But, at the present day, there is a marked tendency among the upper classes to adopt the Western standard of luxuries. In the West, modern civilisation has raised the standard of luxuries considerably. There, the rise

has been attended by good as well as evil consequences But, from the point of view of material progress, which is the special aim of Western civilisation, the former outweigh the latter. The multiplication of wants in the West has been partly the cause, and partly the natural outcome of the immense accumulation of wealth and of the remarkable progress in mechanical invention which have gone on there during the last fifty years. "In the atmosphere of luxury that increased wealth produces, refined tastes, perceptions of beauty, intellectual aspirations appear. Faculties that were before dormant are evoked, new directions are given to human energies, and, under the impulse of the desire for wealth men arise to supply each new want that wealth has produced. Hence, for the most part, arise art and literature, and science, and all the refinements and elaborations of civilisation, and all the inventions that have alleviated the sufferings or multiplied the enjoyments of mankind." * All this is true in the West. In India, the spread of Western luxuries, without the previous accumulation of wealth or the preparation of mechanical talent as in the West, cannot imply progress, either present or prospective.

* Lecky, "Rationalism in Europe" Vol. II. pp. 366-367.

The Indians have neither the capital nor the mechanical knowledge and enterprise to compete successfully with the Western peoples. Free trade in their case means their exploitation by the West without any equivalent advantage to them. They do not even always enjoy an equality of opportunity. Anybody from the West, for instance, can establish himself anywhere in India and "develope" its resources or carry on trade as he likes. Such action, is, indeed, invited, encouraged, and even, to some extent, helped by Government. But, in English colonies in South Africa, Indians have recently been deprived of the rights which other British subjects exercise, and to which all subjects of Great Britain are entitled by international custom. In the case of the Europeans, their home markets failing to absorb their manufactures, and their own territories failing to afford sufficient scope for their ambition, energy, and the desire for the accumulation of wealth, they have for sometime past been subjugating weaker peoples outside Europe and annexing their territories—leaving, it should be observed by the way, the gospel of Equality and the banner of Liberty in their homes. In the case of the Indians, their industrial progress has not yet been sufficient to enable them to meet the demands of their own markets. And,

under present conditions, there is hardly any hope that they will ever be able to do so : they have to run a race with a people who have had the start of a century, and who are armed with all the advantages of long experience, accumulated capital, and invigorating climate. The development of tastes for European luxuries in the Indians, in the present state of their industrial development, means in those few who can afford it the further enrichment of the already rich capitalist classes in Europe and the corresponding impoverishment of the already poor industrial classes in India ; and in the case of those who cannot afford such development, but are led to it by pressure of fashion—and they are by far the most numerous class—it means also embarrassment and possible ruin, the sacrifice of necessaries to luxuries, of substance to shadow.

Outer forms of European civilisation : the railway &c.

The features which distinguish modern civilisation from the ancient, which, in fact, constitute that civilisation in the popular mind—the railway, the electric telegraph, and various other comforts and conveniences of modern civilised life—have been gradually introduced into India under British rule. There is one conclusion

sometimes drawn from the more striking among them which has only to be stated to show its fallacious nature. The rapid expansion of the railway system in recent times is not unoften pointed to as indicating the progress of India. A moment's reflection will show that it does not do so in any way.

Do not indicate progress of India.

All the railways have been surveyed and constructed by English Engineers; they are managed by Englishmen; the machinery and other plant required for their construction and maintenance almost entirely come from England. The captial, the enterprise and the education that are necessary for the construction and maintenance of the railways are all British. They loudly proclaim Western civilisation in India; but they do not indicate the progress of India in any way whatever. Not only so; their extension has, in one sense, been detrimental to the future progress of the Indians. The lines which are likely to be most remunerative have been constructed already. If Indians be ever able to undertake the construction of large railways themselves, they will find that the most promising outlets for their new-born enterprise have been closed already.

The railways have undoubtedly had some educational

value. "It is needless to point out," says Lord Ripon, "how improved communications and increased facilities for travel break down obstinate and long established prejudices and widen men's minds in a single generation . . . . The introduction of railway travelling has had a direct and necessary influence in weakening and in certain respects overcoming the distinctions and prejudices of caste." *

Educational and economic effects of Indian railways.

Every word of this statement is perfectly true. By facilitating intercourse railways have certainly helped social and political progress of the Hindus to some extent. They have been of great use in transporting food to those parts of the country which are affected by famines. They have also by facilitating transport developed the export trade in raw produce. The wheat trade especially has undergone considerable expansion of late. But the cultivator, if he gains at all, does not gain to the extent it is generally supposed. The yield from his land has not been sensibly affected by the railways. It is the same now as it was in pre-railway times, or even less. He unquestionably gets better prices for his crops.

* *Paternoster Review*, October, 1890.

But a portion of his increased profits is consumed in enhanced rent. A portion also goes to pay enhanced wages for labourers, though, unfortunately, the enhancement is not in the same proportion as that of the prices of food-grains. The profits which he has left after meeting these charges may be considered to be only the equivalent of the grain he would have stored, had not the introduction of railways offered him tempting prices to sell it. Whether he is any gainer for having cash instead of a store of grain is a doubtful point, especially when we consider that the temptation to spend money, when one has it in hand, upon festivities and upon various European articles which the railway has brought to his doors is very great. The danger of these articles consists in their attractiveness and comparative cheapness. The cultivator and his family probably make a better show of respectability than they ever did before. But when famine threatens, they find they have little money and scarcely any store of grain to fall back upon.

In considering the effect of railways upon the economic condition of India it must be borne in mind, that they have, while facilitating the transport of food to famine-stricken districts, have also facilitated the transport of European manufactures and thus helped to

destroy indigenous industries. The artisans whom these industries afforded occupation have been yearly swelling the number of needy peasants and labourers. No doubt, a portion of the artisan class finds employment in the railway workshops as smiths and carpenters; and many more find work as labourers in the mines, factories and tea-estates which the railways have helped to develop. Their number is estimated at one million and a quarter. This is no doubt a set-off against the heavy loss which the industrial people have suffered owing to the extension of railways. But the testimony of District officers is almost unanimous in showing that the greater majority of them are driven to be labourers or agriculturists. Large towns with urban populations have dwindled into inconsiderable villages. The increase of agricultural at the sacrifice of artisan population is certainly not advantageous for India. It is true the mass of her people must from time immemorial have been mainly agricultural. But there can be no doubt that a great portion of her wealth depended upon her mining and manufacturing industries, as indeed the wealth of every country must do. No country that is purely agricultural can ever be rich. Down to the early years of the present century, India did not export her food grains,

but cotton, silk and various other manufactures. It was especially to participate in the trade of these manufactures that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English came to India. About the end of the last century (1798—99) the value of piece goods and Organzine silk exported from India to England amounted to over a million and a half pounds sterling. No cotton goods were then imported into India; iron and steel to the value of only £36,530 pounds were imported. Now the relations have been reversed. She sends abroad her spare food, and imports foreign manufactures. Her people are dependent upon Europe for most necessaries of life except food, not to speak of luxuries. The clothes they wear come from Manchester; the ploughs with which they till their land, the axes with which they cut their trees, are made of English iron; knives, scissors, cooking utensils, matches, in fact most of their household requisites are of European manufacture. The almost wholesale ruin of indigenous manufactures has directly and indirectly helped to produce a most serious state of congestion throughout British India.

It is true, handmade things such as those which the Indians used to make could not have long compered

with machine-made articles. They might however, have gradually adapted to the new order of things. But cheap means of communication, amongst which railways are most prominent, did not give them the time. The present state of things in India is indeed very sad. No doubt, railways are not solely responsible for it. Free trade, which again, is one of the so-called benefits which have been conferred upon India, is also partly responsible. The Englishmen are now about the only people in the world who strictly follow the principles of free trade ; India (including Burma) is now the only extensive mart where English manufactures are admitted free of duty. The absence of a tariff combined with the extension of railways has helped to kill the indigenous industries, and has considerably handicapped the people in their endeavours to revive them.

We have already seen how railways have indirectly contributed to impoverish India by helping the substitution of foreign for indigenous manufactures. They have also done this directly, though to a very small extent. There are three kinds of railways in India : guaranteed, subsidised and State. For the guaranteed and subsidised railways, India has long had to remit to England a large amount as interest. "The country is

too poor to pay for its elaborate railway system and irrigation projects, and, being compelled to borrow in England, has incurred an ever-accumulating debt at what has unfortunately proved to be an ever-increasing rate of interest." * This does not represent the entire drain. The superior management of all the railways is in the hands of the British; the savings out of the salaries of the Managers, Traffic Superintendents, and other superior Railway officers, swell the annual drain from India.

The Indian railways generally traverse tracts of deep alluvium subject to floods and require very high embankments to keep them above the flood-level. These embankments obstruct not only surface-drainage, but also subsoil percolation to some depth; and obstructed drainage must add to the insalubrity of a place.†

* H. J. S. Cotton, "New India," p. 61. "The railways, so far from being a commercial success, have entailed the heavy burden of over £47,000,000 on the Indian tax-payer . . . . The Indus Valley, and Sind-Punjab and Delhi railways are the most signal instances of bounty-supported lines, but to a less extent all the wheat-carrying lines are only worked by the help of the State."—Connell on "Indian Railways and Indian Wheat," *Statistical Journal*, 1885, pp. 244—253, quoted in Pearson's "National Life and Character" p. 98.

† "There is too much reason to believe," says Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, "that they (the Indian railways) have, by the obstruction to drainage

Influence of Indian railways upon Hindu progress not considerable.

We have dwelt at some length upon the influence of the Indian railway, because it is usually and influentially held to be one of the most important developmental forces in the progress of India. It would probably be no exaggeration to say, that if the benefits conferred by the Indian railways be weighed against the evils attending them, it is doubtful which way the scale will turn. Their influence upon intellectual progress has been indirect, and , on the whole, not very considerable. It is true, without them such political movements as the National Congress would have been delayed. But we are not sure whether the delay would have done much, if any, harm ; whether, in fact, slower development would not have afforded a firmer and sounder intellectual basis for these movements. Had railways been con-

which they cause in some places, materially injured the general health of the population. The new lines now under construction and contemplation which, if I may use the metaphor, break up inferior soil, are naturally supported by the local officials, whose isolated position is ameliorated by railway extension, and by engineering authorities for whom the railways find employment. The promoters of these railways, who most loudly insist on the profitable character of their speculations, are not, however, really deceived, for they will not invest their money without a guarantee from Government and other substantial privileges. If they believed in their experiments they would proceed in them without Government assistance." "New India," p. 63.

structured and managed by indigenous agency they would have indicated progress, and would have been a developmental force of immense value. But constructed and maintained by foreign agency, with foreign material, they are not such incalculable benefits to India, as they are often asserted to be. The cool assurance and placid self-complacency with which such assertions are made would make one suspect a vein of irony in them, had it not been well known as a habit of thought with all powerful nations of the world, that what they consider to be good for themselves and for their country must be good for every other people and every other country, however divergent the circumstances may be. There are benevolent Englishmen who cannot conceive conditions under which the products of their civilisation can be anything but unmitigated blessings.*

* There are a few reflecting men among them who think otherwise. Frederick John Shore of the Bengal Civil Service, for instance, wrote long ago:—

"More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction, which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the native Governments which we have supplanted; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation; our anxiety to benefit the

Reflections on the civilising methods of the Western nations.

Any form of bureaucracy which determines and executes what is good for its subjects without consulting their wishes and taking their help, without, in fact, closely associating them with it, is not likely to succeed in its purpose. The failure becomes greater and more certain when the bureaucracy is a foreign one with a civilisation entirely different from that of the people. The truth of this proposition is so obvious, that it is incredible it should be so generally forgotten by the Western nations generally in their dealings with uncivilised peoples or peoples with civilisations different from their own, in Asia, Africa, and America; so incredible, indeed, that one cannot help suspecting the sincerity of their altruistic professions.* The methods of the political or

people—in short, our virtues of every description—were descanted on as so many established truths, which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed, was almost sufficient to appal the boldest."

* If the present aggressive policy continues, it is possible that the East would in the end be absorbed by the West. "There has been no period in history" observes Benjamin Kidd "when this ascendency [that of the Western peoples] has been so unquestionable, and so complete as in the time in which we are now living. No one can doubt that

commercial missionary of the West are such as may well create such suspicions and make the realisation of the dream of Peace descending in a "drapery of calico" dreamt of by the Manchester politicians as remote as ever. It is, indeed, strange that he should ever seriously think that he is civilising peoples while he is depleting their resources, giving them shadows while taking away their substance, or even striking at the very root of their existence.

Suppose you take possession of the estate of a man who is without your capital and your mechanical knowledge— -we shall not inquire into the defensibility of the means. You effectively prevent thefts on the property, and develope its resources, taking the whole of its yield as the price of your labour and the interest of your capital, except the wage of the proprietor who works as your labourer. A good portion, if not the whole, of what is left after discharging the cost of his food, is spent upon clothing and little attractive fineries which are manufactured by sections of the community to which you

it is within the power of the leading European peoples of to-day—should they so desire—to parcel out the entire equatorial regions of the earth into a series of satrapies and to administer their resources, not, as in the past, by a permanently resident population, but from the temperate regions, and under the direction of a relatively small European official population."—" Social Evolution" Ch. X.

belong. You do not settle upon the estate, you do not in any way identify yourself with the community to which the owner belongs. All the wealth you acquire is spent in a way so as to benefit yourself and your community, except an insignificant fraction of it which is paid for the menial services of the members of the owner's community. You have, it is true, relieved him of the responsibility of defending what little property he can now call his own, and, even perhaps disburdened him of the arms he possessed. It is possible, that with your fineries, which it is your interest to sell him, he assumes a more "civilised" appearance than he ever did before. It is possible that he has, now and then, the comfort of a ride on a railway which you have built, and which you maintain with the proceeds of his estate. But, notwithstanding all this, can the condition of the owner be said to be better than when, though he had to defend his estate from occasional depredations with his own arms and the help of his own people, he had still all the actualities and all the possibilities of real ownership? Would it not be a mockery to tell him that he might compete with you if he liked, knowing very well that he has neither your industrial experience, nor your capital—augmented not a little, be it remarked, by the

profits from his estate—nor the prestige and the numerous other advantages conferred by the possession and administration of his estate?

The exclusive policy.

In one sense, it was no doubt advantageous to India that she came under British Rule just about the time when Europe was, so to say, modernised; for, she was thus brought under the renovating influence of modern civilization. In another sense, however, the circumstance was distinctly disadvantageous to her. As in the case of organisms, the union of highly specialised civilisations, if possible, is seldom fertile. Western civilisation is of a type markedly different from the Hindu civilisation. The discordance between the two is enormous; the former is as remarkably material as the latter is spiritual. There can be but little real sympathy between them; and it still remains to be seen whether their union will lead to any abiding result, unless the character or structure of one or both undergo considerable modifications so as to diminish the amount of the existing specific difference between them. The British by getting out of the ancient into the modern stage of progress about the end of the last century, placed a gulf

between them and the Hindus which it is difficult to bridge over. Had they advanced less along the path of modern material progress, there would have been greater sympathy. As it is, the Hindus have not yet been even partially assimilated into the British system of administration. The tendency of every civilised nation is to depreciate every other civilisation which is different from their own. The greater the difference, the greater is the depreciation. The inhabitants of the Celestial empire are not more dogmatic in considering all outsiders as barbarians than the inhabitants of modern Europe. Even such a cautious and thoughtful writer as Walter Bagehot considers the Western civilisation to have failed in producing a " rapidly excellent effect " in India, because it is " too good and too different. " * Too different it undoubtedly is, but whether it is "too good " or not is at most a highly controvertible question. It is true, many of the British administrators are actuated by a noble sense of duty towards the dumb millions committed to their care. But, the altruistic development of Western civilisation does not appear yet to have proceeded far enough to invest the sense of duty with the motive force of living sympathy, and to

* "Physics and Politics," fifth edition, p. 145.

make it superior to self-interest. The British have always been credited with being an eminently "practical" people. Though this feature of their character has not been appreciated by some of their foreign critics, it has, no doubt, contributed largely to their national prosperity. But, success, such as it is usually understood, is, certainly not in direct ratio to altruistic development, generally, indeed, it is securable by a process directly antagonistic to the ethical process, by a disregard, or, at least, by a not very scrupulous regard for the well-being or the rights of others. The ultimate question between every two nations, even more than between every two human beings still is, in the highly expressive, though somewhat exaggerated language of Carlyle: "Can I kill thee, or canst thou kill me?"

These brief considerations afford, we believe, the explanation of the exclusive and unsympathetic policy of British Rule in India, though the reasons usually assigned for it are, as we shall presently see, somewhat different. The Mahomedans certainly had not such a high standard of administrative efficiency as the British have. But their civilisation was more akin to Hindu civilisation; and the Hindus were consequently, more *en rapport* with their Mahomedan rulers, than

they are with their British rulers. "In many respects," admitted Lord William Bentinck half a century ago, "the Mahomedans surpassed our rule: they settled in the countries which they conquered: they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges: the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this, cold, selfish, and unfeeling."

Tranquillity maintained by British Rule favourable to progress.

The order maintained under British Rule throughout the length and breadth of India is undoubtedly favourable to progress. Its importance, however, as a condition of progress must not be exaggerated. As in the case of the individual, so in that of the nation, perfect tranquillity is not incompatible with a state bordering upon lifelessness, the negation, if not the reverse of what is usually understood by progress. The tranquillity maintained by a Government in which the people have a substantial share not only indicates advancement, but also aids it materially in various ways. But the tranquillity

But to a small extent owing to its exclusive policy.

maintained by such an exclusive system of administration as the British in India can be neither indicative nor pro-

motive of progress, at least beyond a certain point. It is true, since the close of the last century, especially since the time of Lord William Bentinck, the British administration has been pervaded more or less by the liberal spirit of modern Europe. The statute of 1833 declared, for the first time, that no Indian "shall by reason of his birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment" under the British Government. The administration of Lord William Bentinck, who was Governor-General of India at the time, is memorable for a number of important steps taken by it in Indian interest, one among which was the admission of the Indians to posts of greater responsibility than what they had held till then, since the commencement of British Rule. The next decided step in this direction was taken in 1853, when the institution of an annual competitive examination in England for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service opened it to the Indians. Since then, especially since the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, a certain amount of local self-government has been granted, and quite recently steps have been taken to secure representation, though in a very restricted and obviously tentative form, in the Provincial as well as Imperial Legislative Councils.

Present extent of the exclusion.

Even now, however, the British administration is practically exclusive to an extent which is seriously detrimental to progress.* The people of India are entirely excluded from the Military and Political departments which are recruited by competition in England to which they are not eligible. The Covenanted Civil Service, or the Imperial

* The liberal spirit of modern civilisation appears just now to be diminishing instead of increasing in intensity, at least as regards its application to peoples outside Europe. The impulse given to liberalism by the democratic struggles in Europe in the beginning of the present century appears lately to have been losing its energy. It is but seldom that members of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy give such free and bold expression to liberal sentiments as men like Macaulay did half a century ago. "Are we to keep these men [Indians] submissive?" urged Macaulay "or do we think we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? or do we mean to awaken ambition and provide it with no legitimate vent? who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the people of India from high office. I have no fear, the path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and of national honour." True there are at the present day a few statesmen of the stamp of Macaulay, at least in Europe. Humanity owes a large debt of gratitude to them. But theirs is a cry in the wilderness. It has not for sometime past led to any effective action. Forty years of agitation for even such a measure of bare and obvious justice as the holding of the open competition for the Civil Service of India in India as well as in England has not only come to nought, but principles are being laid down, and in part acted upon, which are undisguisedly antagonistic to the liberal spirit of the Charter of 1833, and of the Queen's proclamation of 1858.

Civil Service as it is sometimes called, is open to them. But, the fact of the preliminary competitive examinations being held in England acts as a very serious deterrent in their case. They do not certainly enjoy an equality of opportunity with the British subjects of Her Majesty. So serious and so obvious is their disadvantage, considering their extreme poverty and other circumstances, that Sir Stafford Northcote, who was for sometime Secretary of State for India said: "It seems a mockery to tell them to come and compete in Westminister if they like." The result is, that they are still practically excluded from the higher services the entrance to which lies through competition in England. In 1892, the Imperial Civil Service was composed of 939 members of whom only 21 were Indians.* From a parliamentary return issued in 1892, it appears, that the total amount, at that time, of annual allowances of not less 1,000 rupees for each person, of Europeans,

Indians, for instance, who entered the Public Works Department by passing examinations in India were formerly eligible, at least theoretically, to the highest grades. There was no distinction, at least theoretically, between them and those who entered the department by competition in England. Quite recently, however, the latter have been constituted into an Imperial Service with pay and prospects much higher than those of the former who would form only a Provincial Service

* Strachey's "India," 1894. p. 58.

whether, resident or not resident in India, was about 170,000,000 rupees (taking payments in sterling at *1s. 1d.* per rupee), nearly a fifth of the gross revenue ot India. The fact is significant when it is remembered, that the total allowances received by the Indians in the service of their government do not amount to more than a fifth of the total allowances paid to the European servants of the Government.†

Alleged reasons for the exclusive policy.

That the existence of a government is for the good of the governed is now a well recognised maxim of European politics. The validity of this principle even in the case of the Indian administration has long been admitted, at least since the time of Lord William Bentinck; and the exclusion of the Indians from responsible administration has hitherto been generally justified on the ground of their

† Proceedings of the House of Commons Feb. 1895. The total amount of annual allowances to Europeans, at less than 1,000 rupees for each person, is not known. The late Secretary of State in the course of a debate in the House of Commons said, there were in the civil establish ments of the Government 7,991 Europeans, 5347 Eurasians, and 119,514 natives. It was pertinently asked, however, "what do you pay to each ?" The 119, 514 "natives" no doubt include the pettiest clerks, and probably even peons at Rs. 7 or 8 a month.

supposed unfitness.* Determination of fitness or unfitness can seldom be strictly impartial when it is left to the judgment of officials who have not much in common with, and are more or less prejudiced against, the parties to be judged, and who are themselves deeply interested in the result of their decision. The ground of unfitness is, however, not heard of so much now-a-days, except in the case of a few comparatively small departments the dark recesses of which have not yet been held up to the light of even such public opinion as there exists in India. The exclusion of the Indians is now usually justified upon the ground of policy. Sir John Strachey, for instance, says :—

"Let us give to the Natives the largest possible share in the administration. In some branches of the service there is almost no limit to the share of public employment which they may properly receive. This is especially true of the Bench, for the performance of the judicial duties of which Natives have shown themselves eminently qualified, and in which the higher offices are equal in importance and dignity and

* The Government has been likened to a "paternal" government looking after the people as a father looks after his children, keeping them off from the exercise of responsible functions of the State lest such exercise should do them any harm. The analogy scarcely holds. The great test of affection—and paternal affection is no exception to the rule—is self-denial. The father gives more to, than he takes from, his children.' However, though the analogy does not hold, and is, perhaps, not meant seriously, it undoubtedly assumes the claim of the people to be governed in their own interest.

emolument to almost any of the great offices of the State. Even on the Bench, however, there are important administrative duties for which some degree of English supervision is necessary, nor would it be *politically wise* to place this great department of the government altogether in Native hands. Prejudices of race may be regretted, but they cannot be ignored, and it would be a dangerous experiment to give to native judges too wide a power of control over English Magistrates. Subject to these limitation, I would grudge to the Natives few judicial offices. *But let there be no hypocrisy about our intention to keep in the hands of our own people those executive posts*—and there are not very many of them *—on which, and on our political and military power our actual hold of the country depends. Our Governors of provinces, the chief officers of our army, our magistrates of districts and their principal executive subordinates ought to be Englishmen under all circumstances that we can now foresee.*" *

"The claim to a larger share of the highest offices" says Sir George Campbell "might be considered in the double aspect of the fitness of the literary native as compared to the European, and the political effect. Again we come to the question, do we desire to prepare the natives for political freedom? And again we are not yet prepared to answer it."†

Depression of material condition, a consequence of the exclusion.

One of the consequences of the "unshared rule of a close bureaucracy from across the seas" as Sir C. Dilke designates British rule‡ has been to retard material development, and therefore indirectly, intellectual develop-

* "India," 1894, pp 389-390. The italics are ours.

† "The British Empire," p 84.

‡ "Problems of Greater Britain" P. 146. Sir W. Hunter writing in 1880 said: "I believe that it will be impossible to deny them [the Indians] a larger share in the administration. There are departments, conspicuously those of Law and Justice, and Finance, in which the natives will more and more supplant the highly paid imported officials from

ment as well. The British officers, while in active service, have to make large remittances home. While in retirement, large payments have to be made from the Indian revenues for their pensions in Europe. The drain on the resources of India due to these remittances is considerable, and repeated year after year must ultimately tell seriously on her material condition. The process of depletion is slow, but it is none the less sure. It is sometimes contended, that, the drain is the price of the peace and tranquillity which India enjoys at present. Undoubtedly, it is so. But, the price is too high for the substantial benefits it secures, and is beyond the means of the people. The foreign element is reducible within much narrower limits than at present, and with it the drain it necessitates, without any serious detriment to Indian interests. But even if it were not, it would be better for the Indians if their Government

England. There are other departments, such as the Medical, the Customs, the Telegraph, and the Post Office, in which the working establishments now consist of natives of India, and for which the superintending staff will in a constantly increasing degree be also recruited from them." ("England's Works in India" Madras edition, pp 118-119), The course of events within the last fifteen years has not justified Sir William Hunter's belief.

were to conform its standard of "civilised" administration to their means.

What Sir George Cornewall Lewis wrote half a century ago holds good even at the present day; and he was not, it should be observed, a sentimentalist, or mere theorist, but a practical politician who had occupied high and responsible offices of the State: "It is lamentable to think how little good has hitherto resulted to them [the people of India] from the acts of a government which has of late years been, perhaps, the most benevolent which ever existed in any country."*

Alleged indications of material prosperity—Expansion of trade.

Tranquillity is only a subordinate condition of progress which, in the absence of other and more important conditions, can do but little good; and one of the most important antecedents of intellectual progress, especially on modern methods, is material progress. The importance of the subject demands our earnest attention.†

* "On the government of Dependencies" by Sir G. Cornewall Lewis (originally published in 1841), London, 1891, p. 265.

† The subject has been further treated of in Ch. V. of this volume. See also Introduction to Vol. I. and Book IV.

The great expansion of the trade of India in recent years is pointed to as irrefragable evidence of equivalent material development. The expansion when analysed is found to consist principally in the exports of food grains and in the imports of cotton and iron manufactures. With regard to the former, the production of land, acre for acre, has not increased; if anything, it has decreased.* Scientific agriculture has as yet made no progress. Its adoption is beyond the means of the people. The food grains that are exported are supposed to represent the suplus left after meeting the requirements of the country. "It may, however, be alleged with some truth, that if the whole population ate as much as they could, this surplus would not exist. The grain exports of India represent many hungry stomachs in India.......If all the poorer classes in India ate two full meals every day, the surplus for export would be much less than at present. That surplus only proves that the yearly supply of food in India is greater than the effec-

* "Wheat-land in the North-Western Provinces which now gives only 840 lbs. an acre, yielded 1140 lbs in the time of Akbar......The average return of food grains in India shows about 700 lbs per acre; in England wheat averages over 1700 lbs." Hunter "England's Work in India," Madras Edition, p. 88.

tive demand for it." * It is true, a good deal of land, which had either never been cultivated before or had run to waste during the troublous times consequent upon the disruption of the Moghul Empire, has recently been brought under cultivation. But the additional land thus cultivated is hardly sufficient to meet the demand of the additional population. Besides, already, "the clearing and cultivation of the jungles have been carried to such an excess in some parts of India as to seriously alter the climate. For forests, and the undergrowth which they foster, not only husband the rainfall, but they appear to

* Sir W. Hunter "England's work in India," pp. 75-76. A speaker in the course of a debate in the House of Commons last year observed :

"In the Colonies and in European countries there was an excess of imports over exports. In the United Kingdom for the past ten years—1883 to 1892—the excess had been 32 per cent., in Norway it was 42 per cent., Sweden 24 per cent., Denmark 40 per cent., Holland 22 per cent., France 20 per cent., Switzerland 28 per cent., Spain 9 per cent., Belgium 7 per cent., and so on. Anyone with common sense would of course admit that if a quantity of goods worth a certain amount of money were sent out an additional profit is expected in return. If not, there could not be any commerce; but a man who only received in return 20 of the 100 sent out would soon go into the bankruptcy court.* * * * On the average of 10 years (1883 to 1892) India's excesses of exports every year, with compound interest, would amount to enormous sums lost by her. Could any country in the world, England not excepted, stand such a drain without destruction? They were often told they ought to be thankful, and they were thankful, for the loans made to them for public works; but if they were left to themselves to enjoy what they produced

attract it." "The pasture grounds of the villages have also, to a large extent, been brought under the plough and the cattle in many districts have degenerated from insufficient food. The same number of oxen can no longer put the same amount of work into the soil."*

The expansion of the import trade in cotton and iron manufactures can hardly be considered a gain to India, considering that they have displaced the indigenous cotton and iron manufactures without giving rise to any other manufactures to compensate for the loss. During the ten years 1883 to 1892, the exports of India averaged about 770,000,000 rupees per year; the annual average of imports, on the other hand, amounted, in round num-

with a reasonable price for British Rule, if they had to develop their own resources, they would not require any such loans, with the interest to be paid on them, which added to the drain on the country. Those loans were only a fraction of what was taken away from the country. India had lost thousands of millions in principal and interest, and was asked to be thankful for the loan of a couple of hundreds of millions. The bulk of the British Indian subjects were like hewers of wood and drawers of water to the British and foreign Indian capitalists. The seeming prosperity of British India was entirely owing to the amount of foreign capital. In Bombay alone, which was considered to be a rich place, there were at least £10,000,000 of capital circulating belonging to foreign Europeans and Indians from native States. If all such foreign capital were separated there would be very little wealth in British India." Dadabhai Naoroji, Proceedings of the House of Commons, August 14th 1894.

* Hunter *op cit* pp. 65-66.

bers, to 940,000,000 rupees. The result of this annual trade deficit of about 170,000,000 rupees is that a "large part of the increased production is not retained by the Indian peasant."*

Growth of population not a good test of material prosperity in India.

It is true, the last census returns show a small increase of population. But, it should be observed, that in a country like India, where marriage is almost universal,† where multiplication far from being kept under prudential restraint is, on the contrary, considered by the greater portion of the people a sacred duty, and where easy climatic conditions render subsistence upon little food possible at least up to a certain point, the growth of population is by no means a good test of national prosperity. "Looking at the prevalence of marriage" says Mr. Baines, late Census Commissioner for India "it is clear that more than the existence of a

* Sir George Campbell "The British Empire" p. 70.

† "Of women in India between 15 and 25 years old, 87 per cent. are married; but in Europe the highest proportion, to the west of the Leith, is in France, where it is only 22. In the remaining period, from 25 to 40, the ratio of wives in India falls to 81 per cent., whereas in the West, it advances to about 70." The Census of India, 1891, General Report, p. 60.

few millions of widows more or less, is required to account for the comparatively slow growth of the population under the impetus of so enormous a number of births. The clue is to be found in the accompanying high mortality. The birth rate is, indeed, very far above that of any European country, if we except Russia, and reaches nearly 48 per mille on the whole country. But the death rate is equally abnormal, even if we omit the more frequent occurrence of famine and epidemic disease in India, and may be taken to reach, on an average, 41 per mille." *

Growth comparatively small.

The increase is comparatively small, as will be seen from the following table :

	Country	Annual Increase per cent.		Country.	Annual Increase per cent.
1.	New South Wales...	5·10	15.	Germany ...	1·07
2.	Queensland ...	4·39	16.	Canada ...	1·07
3.	Victoria ...	3.22	17.	Greece ...	1·05
4.	United States ...	2·48	18	Belgium ...	0·99
5.	Saxony ...	2·00	19.	Denmark ...	0·99
6.	New Zealand ...	1·70	20.	*India* ...	0 93
7.	Algeria ...	1·56	21.	Austria ...	0·76
8.	South Australia ..	1·40	22.	Switzerland ...	0·64
9.	England and Wales ...	1·28	23.	Bavaria ...	0·65
10.	Egypt ...	1·25	24.	Italy ...	0·62
11.	Holland ...	1·18	25.	Norway ...	0.60
12.	Prussia ...	1·15	26.	Spain ...	0 55
13.	Portugal ...	1·14	27.	Sweden ...	0·50
14.	Hungary ...	1·08	28.	France ...	0.06

* "Census of India, 1891, General Report, p. 62.

A part of the increase shown by the last census is due to improved enumeration. The total increase in Bengal is 7·3 per cent. "But," observes the Census Superintendent, "if we exclude that part of it due to more accurate enumeration, it probably does not exceed 6 per cent., and may be less"* The Census Superintendent of the Punjab says, "that a certain unknown proportion of the increase recorded is due to better enumeration."† Commenting upon the increase, the Census Commissioner for India observes: "It is indeed an open question whether the actual rate is not a little below this (9·3 per mille.) ...... There are persons especially amongst the forest tribes, who now appear for the first time in the return, though, no doubt they should have been in that of 10 years back also."‡

Partly due to improved enumeration.

The increase has mainly been in outlying parts of the country where the pressure of population is not felt as yet.

Growth mainly in outlying parts of the country.

"With a few exceptions" observes the Census Commissioner, "such as the groups with a density of from 10 to 33 per cent., above

* "Census of India, 1891" Vol. III.

† "Census of India, 1891," Vol. XIX.

‡ "Census of India, 1891, General Report" p. 73.

the general mean, which contain several of the famine districts of Madras where the increase has been abnormal, the rate of increase varies with remarkable regularity inversely as the specific population. The most thinly-peopled tracts, such as those of Sindh, Lower Burma and the Assam Hills, show a rate nearly double the mean. This diminishes to about one and a half times that rate as the North-West and Central Province hills, the Western plains of the Punjab, and the Southern portion of the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, come on to the list: and here it remains, until the mean density is nearly reached. Just above that point, there is a drop, caused by the preponderance of the Berar districts with a few of those in the South of the North West Provinces. The fall continues through the next group, where the non-famine districts of Bombay are strongly represented. Then follows the rise consequent on the rebound from scarcity in Madras. The decline then continues, and takes a sudden drop again where the average density is 434, that of the water-logged tract of the North-West Provinces, where there has been a slight recession of the population."*

Taxation in India, why heavy.

Taxation in India judged by the amount it realises is certainly not heavy; yet, the people of India are generally considered, even by high English officials, to have been taxed nearly to the utmost extent of their resources.† The taxation would

* Census of India, 1891, General Report p. 75.

† The contrary is sometimes asserted by people who ought to know better. But "all who are acquainted with Indian finance know" as Sir Auckland Colvin says "that the burden of taxation is in danger of be-

not have been such a drain upon their resources, and would not have been felt so heavy, had not such a large part of the revenue, the entire amount raised from those two objectionable sources—salt and opium—gone clean out of the country without any equivalent return. Had the revenue been spent in the country, the entire community, especially the industrial classes, would have been benefited in some way or another; and increased prosperity would have rendered enhanced taxation less burdensome and less exhausting.

It speaks well of the vitality of the civilisation of the Hindus, that they have stood so well as they have the domination of such an excessively industrial and exploiting community as the British. They have not become extinct, nor have they bordered upon extinction like savage races in a somewhat similar situation. It is true, in former times, hordes of barbarians, like those of Central Asia and Central Europe occasionally committed serious

coming excessive, and that the further margin of resource to which taxation can be applied is incredibly small, both in itself, and from pressure of political considerations." (Letter in the *Times* in reply to a speech delivered by Mr. Fowler on January 28th at the Northbrook Indian Club).

Lord Mayo said: "A feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction exists among every class, both European and Native, on account of the constant increase of taxation which has for years been going on. * * * * My belief is that the continuance of that feeling is a political danger, the magnitude of which can hardly be over-estimated."

depredations. But the depletion of weaker peoples accomplished by the nations of modern Europe is none the less serious, because it is effected more slowly and with civilised weapons. These weapons are none the less dangerous because they are usually not seen, and are wielded none the less effectively, because they are wielded by civilised and knowing peoples pleading the inexorable necessity of the sacrifice of the weaker peoples for the cosmic progress of the stronger.

Signs of material depression.

There are already signs of exhaustion. Whatever test is applied, wheher it be the test of taxable income,* of trade, wage-rate,†

* Mr. S. Smith M. P in moving for a full inquiry into the finances of India said (August, 1894):

"Only one man in 700 comes within the category of £50 a year. I will make a further statement. The right hon. gentleman is well aware that in this country one penny in the income tax yields £2.000,000 sterling. In India it yields considerably less than £200,000. India cantains 220, 000,000 of people under British rule. These people yield on the income tax less than one-tenth of what 38,000,000, yield in the United Kingdom. The meaning of that is that every million of the people in India yield just one-sixtieth of what a similar number yield in this country. If this is not conclusive of the poverty of the people, nothing will satisfy the most exacting mind. It is indeed difficult to realise the small amount of wealth that there is in India."

† Wages have risen in some places, but very slightly, certainly not in proportion to the rise in the prices of the staple food grain. see Book V, ch V.

death-rate,* or increase of population, it will be seen that the material condition of the people of India is highly depressed at present; and the existing conditions leave but little room to hope for its prospective improvement. The British Government is no doubt very anxious to secure India against foreign encroachment, and the old natural frontiers have in recent years

* The following figures show the death-rate between 1880 and 1891: 1880, 20·98; 1881, 24·05; 1882, 23·93; 1883, 23·17; 1884, 26·44; 1885, 26·12; 1886, 25·34; 1887, 28·35; 1888, 25·74; 1889, 27·98; 1890, 29·99; 1891, 28·09. This increase is all the more significant, as during the decade 1883 to 1892, there were no cases of widespread failure of crops. The death-rates in all the provinces were higher—and in the great majority of cases considerably higher—in 1 94 than in the previous year, as will be seen from the following statement:—

	1894.	1893.
North-Western Provinces	42·51	24·10
Central Provinces	37·22	27·70
Punjab	36·52	28·18
Bengal	34·88	28·21
Bombay	36·26	27·20
Assam	30·69	30·28
Madras	20·0	19·3

It is true, the figures are not equally reliable for the different parts of India. But they may be supposed to represent the truth approximately, or else they would not be published by the Government.

The Commissioners of the Calcutta Municipality observe in their last annual report:

"The health officer attributes the increased mortality from fevers in Calcutta almost entirely to the defective state of the sewerage. But it is difficult to accept this explanation unreservedly as it will be observed, on a reference to the annual reports of the sanitary commissioner for Bengal, that there has also been a corresponding rise in the death-rate from

been greatly extended. But all such extension adds to the exhausting drain from India. The good is prospective and problematical, the evil is present and certain. It is hardly any advantage to a man to have the most effective means for securing his property against possible depredation, if it means the certain diminution of the property to an amount which it is not worth securing even against more imminent danger.

The British administration is no doubt pervaded by the humane impulses of a civilised government. But, the measures taken by it to alleviate misery or promote happiness have somewhat the effect, so pithily expressed by a Bengali poet of "sprinkling water on the top of a tree while it is being cut away at the root."

Moral effect of the exclusive policy.

The exclusive policy of British Rule has been no less unfavourable to progress morally than it has been economically. Its tendency has been to add to the enervating influence of a tropical climate and foster mental passivi-

fevers in other parts of Bengal during the same period, and that being so, it is only reasonable that the increased mortality is in part to be attributed to some other cause of a general character, applicable alike to Calcutta and the country around rather than to any local peculiarities."

ty. "The nation as a whole, and every individual composing it, are without any potential voice in their own destiny. They exercise no will in respect to their collective interest. All is decided for them by a will not their own, which it is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regimen? What development can either their thinking or their active faculties attain under it? * * * A person must have a very unusual taste for intellectual exercise in and for itself, who will put himself to the trouble of thought when it is to have no outward effect, or qualify himself for functions which he has no chance of being allowed to exercise. * * * * * The public at large remain without information and without interest on all the greater matters of practice; or if they have any knowledge of them, it is but a *dilettante* knowledge, like that which the people have of the mechanical arts who have never handled a tool. Nor is it only in their intelligence that they suffer. Their moral capacities are equally stunted * * * * Leaving things to the Government, like leaving them to Providence, is synonymous with caring nothing about them, and accepting their results when disagreeable, as visitations of nature. * * It is an inherent

condition of human affairs, that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others, can make it safe or salutary to tie up their hands. Still more obviously true it is, that by their own hands only can any positive and durable improvement of their circumstances in life be worked out."*

Present conditions on the whole unfavourable to sound intellectual development.

We have nothing to add to these forcible words of one of the greatest thinkers of modern Europe to show their application to the case of the Indians. Some of the new conditions introduced by British Rule are as unmistakably favourable to progress as there are others antagonistic to it. The more notable among the former are the diffusion of Western education and of the doctrine of equality along with it, and the tranquillity which pervades the length and breadth of India. Among the adverse conditions we have noted the transitional state through which Hindu society is passing at present; the present anomalous position of English among the literary languages of India; the excessive poverty of the Hindus as compared with the people with whom

* "Considerations on Representative Government" by John Stuart Mill. Ch. III.

they have to compete: the great discordance between the Hindu and the English civilisations, which has given rise to want of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled; and the exclusive policy of British Rule. So long as the influence of the unfavourable conditions is not minimised, so long sustained intellectual efforts of a very high order must be very rare.

The present depressed state of the Indian mind—a state which if always unfavourable to sound intellectual development—may be realised by reversing the existing conditions.

"Let us conceive the leading European nations to be stationary while the Black and Yellow Belt, including China, Malaysia, India, Central Africa, and Tropical America is all teeming with life, developed by industrial enterprise, fairly well administered by native governments and owning the better part of the carrying trade of the world. Can any one suppose, that in such a condition of political society, the habitual temper of mind in Europe would not be profoundly changed? Depression, hopelessness, a disregard of invention and improvement would replace the sanguine confidence of races that at present are always panting for new worlds to conquer. Here and there, it may be, the adventures would profit by the tradition of old supremacy to get their services accepted by the new nations, but as a rule there would be no outlet for energy, no future for statesmanship. The despondency of the English people, when their dream of conquest in France was dissipated, was attended with a complete decay of thought, with civil war, and with

standing still, or perhaps a decline of population, and to a less degree of wealth. The discovery of the New World, the resurrection of old literature, the trumpet of the reformation scarcely quickened the national pulse with real life till the reign of Elizabeth. Then, however there was revival because there was possibilities of golden conquest in America, speculative treasures in the reanimate learning of Greece, and a new faith that seemed to thrust aside the curtain drawn by priests, and to open heaven. But it is conceivable that our later world may find itself deprived of all that it valued on earth, of the pageantry of subject provinces and the reality of commerce, while it has neither a disinterred literature to amuse it, nor a vitalised religion to give it spiritual strength."*

* C.H. Pearson, "National life and Character,' 1893, pp. 130-131.



BOOK V.

INTELLECTUAL CONDITION.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU INTELLECT FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH RULE.

The intellectual life of a community, like that of an individual, passes through youth and manhood to old age. These three stages in the history of the Indo-Aryan intellect are roughly marked by the three periods* into which we have found it convenient to divide Hindu history previous to the British rule. In the Vedic period we find the Indo-Aryans in all the simplicity, the vigour, and the credulity of adolescence. In the next period they show the robustness, and the philosophical spirit of matured manhood. The last period exhibits them in the decay and decrepitude of old age.

* Vedic, Buddhist-Hindu, and Purânic, Vol. I. p. 1.

THE VEDIC PERIOD—THE AGE OF BELIEF.

The Rigveda.

The Rigvedic Aryans, like many other peoples in their intellectual infancy, looked upon the striking phenomena of nature with awe, and worshipped them as gods. To them there was divinity in the storm "causing the earth, the mountains, and both the worlds to quake"; in the fire consuming and blackening the woods with his tongue; in the sun "standing on his golden chariot," the soul of all things moving or stationary; in the Dawn chasing away darkness and awakening all creatures to cheerfulness. The Indo-Aryans invoked these and various other deities in songs which have been preserved in that remarkable collection, the Rigveda. In some of them we detect poetic powers of no mean order. In others, again, we discover the inquisitive mind and the generalising spirit which are among the most important antecedents of intellectual progress. One of the bards boldly speculates about creation: "when earth was not, and the far stretching sky was not, what was there that covered? which place was assigned to what object? Did the inviolate and deep water exist?—Who knows truly? Who will describe? When were all born? Whence were all these created?" "Sages" says another bard "name variously that which is one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mátarisvan." "In the beginning" says a third "there arose Hiranyagarbha—He established the earth and this sky—He is alone God above all gods."

But the philosophical spirit discernible in these and similar passages in the Rigveda did not bear any fruit until the very close of the vedic period. For some centuries subsequent to the composition of the hymns of the Rigveda, the works produced by the Indo-Aryans were chiefly manuals for the proper performance of sacrifices. The chanting of the hymns to the vedic deities was accompanied by sacrifices—offerings of grain, milk, animals, and soma-juice. The sacrificial portion of the worship appears at first to have been of a very simple character. Gradually, however, it increased in complexity until the poetical Nature-worship of the Rigvedic Aryans was practically replaced by a dry creed of sacrifice and penance. There arose different classes of priests who performed different duties at sacrifices. One class prepared the ground and the altar, got the sacrificial requisites ready, and immolated animals; another was entrusted with the duty of singing; a third with that of reciting hymns; and the fourth class of priests was charged with general superintendence. It was provided, that every hymn must be recited in a particular manner —nay, every word, every syllable must be pronounced in a prescribed way. The minutest rules were framed for penance not only for mistakes committed and observed during a sacrifice, but also for hypothetical mistakes which might have escaped the observation of the priests.

The Bráhmanas.

When the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, the Aryans lived in the Punjab or its immediate vicinity.

For some centuries subsequently, the great majority of them were busily occupied with extending their territories eastward and southward ; and there arose powerful kingdoms like those of the Videhas, the Kosalas, and the Kásis. During this period of warfare and expansion, the task of preserving the vedic hymns naturally fell to a limited section of the Aryan community. There were several circumstances which favoured this restriction of vedic knowledge within a small class. The hymns, over a thousand in number, were transmitted orally from generation to generation. With the gradual expansion of the Aryans territorially and numerically, it became impossible for the great majority of them to preserve so many hymns in their memory, especially as the language of the hymns tended to become, in course of time, obsolete. There were many in out of the way places who could not even have access to the possessors of vedic lore. There must have been others again who were too busily occupied with the struggle for life to afford time for instruction. But the Aryans had great veneration for the hymns. It was these which had led their ancestors to victory and prosperity. The greater their ignorance, the greater and more superstitious was their veneration. A halo of sanctity spread round the hymns. The families which preserved them, which furnished men to recite them, and to perform the sacrifices accompanying them, gradually formed the priestly class (the Bráhmans). Monopoly produced its inevitable consequences. The Bráhmans having it all their own way, not unnaturally tried to increase the in-

fluence of their class by increasing the number and complexity of the functions upon which that influence was based. As vedic specialists, they not unnaturally attached an exaggerated importance to the subjects which formed their lifelong study. They dissected the hymns, and studied their metres, their words, nay even the syllables, as histologists of the present day would study the minute constituents of the animal or vegetable tissues. As they displayed their analytic ability in the study of the vedic hymns, so they also exhibited their synthetic powers in building up vast and complicated systems of sacrificial ceremonies. It is highly probable that in doing so they were not unmindful of the material interests of their order; and increase in the wealth of the Aryan community consequent upon territorial acquisitions enabled its well to do members to celebrate sacrifices and make gifts to the priests upon a scale of grandeur and munificence unknown in previous times.

After a time, however, towards the close of the vedic period probably about B. C. 1000 * after the Aryans had settled down in their newly acquired territories and got time for reflection, an important movement, in which the Kshatriyas, the next caste, took the leading part, began in reaction against the dogma of the efficacy and importance of sacrifice. The ascendency of the Bráhmans was based upon this dogma; and to question it was to strike at the very root of that ascend-

* It need scarcely be observed, that the dates given are only very roughly approximate.

ency. The spirit of inquiry of which we have faint glimmerings in the hymns of the Rigveda now began to shine in the Upanishads. They put forth the doctrine of the superiority of spiritual knowledge to sacrificial ceremonies. "The wise who perceive him [supreme spirit] within their self" says one Upanishad "to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others." "Those who imagine," says another, "that oblations and pious gifts are the highest object of man are fools; they do not know what is good." With the movement initiated by the Upanishads commenced the age of enquiry which we shall find at its culmination in the next period.

Chhandas; Siksha' &c.

That the superstitious veneration in which the hymns of the Rigveda came to be held in time and the gradual complication of the sacrificial ceremonies and the extravagant importance attached to their proper performance was productive of some good, there can be no doubt. The mystical virtues assigned in the Bráhmanas* to the different metres of the Rigveda led to their systematic study under the title of Chhandas or Prosody. The minutest rules were framed for the proper pronunciation and accentuation of the hymns; and these rules under the title of sikshá or Phonetics were probably appended at first to some of the Bráhmanas. But they

* He who wishes for beauty and wisdom should use the Gáyatri hymn. One who wishes for long life should use Ushnish verses. He who desires wealth and glory should use Brihati verses: and so on: (Haug's Aitareya Bráhmana, ii, pp. 12 ff. c.f. Satapatha Bráhmana quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts iv. p. 12.)

were soon superseded by systematic treatises, the latest editions of which have come down to us under the title of Prátisákhyas. * Elaborate lists were made of vedic words; and they were explained and commented upon by a class of writers, the Nairuktas, the latest and most celebrated of whom was Yáska.†

Astronomy.

The superstitious belief in the importance of performing sacrifices at auspicious moments gave rise to the science of astronomy, just as the superstitious belief in the mystic virtues of the vedic hymns favoured the growth of the science of language. In the Bráhmanas there are frequent allusions to astronomers or astrologers. In the third book of the Aitareya Bráhmana there is a passage of considerable interest in connection with astronomy which has been thus rendered by Dr. Haug: "The sun does never set nor rise. When people think the sun is setting (it is not so). For having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below and day to what is on the other side. When they believe it rises in the morning. (This supposed rising is thus to be accounted

* Prof. MaxMüller considers the Prátisákhyas to be more ancient than Pánini's grammar. Prof. Goldstücker however, holds the latter to be more ancient.

† Yáska lived probably before the 7th century B. C. He is referred to by Pánini (Goldstücker's "Panini" pp. 224 ff). "I doubt" says Prof. MaxMüller "whether even at present with all the new light which comparative philology has shed on the origin of words, questions like these [whether all nouns are derived from verbs] could be discussed more satisfactorily than they were by Yáska." (Hist. A. S Lit. pp. 168-169)

for). Having reached the end of the night it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making day to what is below and night to what is on the other side. In fact, the sun never sets." *

Geometry.

The science of Geometry arose out of the rules for the construction of altars at sacrifices. The altars were of very various shapes square, triangular, oblong, circular, falconshaped, heron-shaped &c. "Squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares, or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares, and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs; and so on. The last task and not the least, was that of finding a circle, the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square." † These operations necessitated a series of geometrical rules which were collected under the title of the Súlva sútras dating from the 8th century B. C.

THE BUDDHIST-HINDU PERIOD THE AGE OF REASON.

High value set upon knowledge.

The seed of rationalism sown by the Upanishads yielded a rich harvest in the next period. A high value was set upon knowledge and wisdom. In one of

* "Aitareya Bráhmana," ii, p. 242.

† Thibaut, Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, p. 227. See R. C. Dutt, "Civilization in Ancient India" Vol. I p. 270.

the works of the period, seniority among the Bráhmans is declared to be according to their knowledge. The ignorant Bráhman is compared to a wooden horse or an antelope made of leather, which has nothing but the name. The measure of greatness is declared to be neither age, nor birth, nor wealth, but knowledge and wisdom. It is stated, that no good whatsoever results from presents made to ignorant Bráhmans. The right of keeping a treasure if found is claimed for a learned Bráhman only.*

Secularisation of knowledge.

In the Vedic period, there was no knowledge apart from religion. Grammatical, metaphysical, or astronomical speculations formed only subsidiary portions of the works appended to the Vedas, the Bráhmanas, and the A'ranyakas, and were ancillary to the great objects of sacrifice The first step towards the secularisation of knowledge was the composition of concise manuals on some of these subjects under the title of Sútras, like the Prátisákhya sútra dealing with phonetic rules and the Súlva sútra treating of geometrical principles. In their style and mode of treatment, they contrast favourably with the Bráhmanas. They too, however, were mere appendages of the different Vedas, and thus restricted research within a narrow groove.

* Manusamhitá, II. 154-158, III. 142. Though, in its present form one of the latest works of the period we are treating of, there are reasons to believe, that the Manu-Samhitá is based upon one of the earliest, the Mánava Dharmasútras.

Knowledge was, however, soon freed from the bonds of religion, and for nearly fifteen centuries led a glorious career of independence. The first start of the Indo-Aryan intellect was, as we have seen already, in the direction of the science of language. To Yáska and a number of grammarians whose names alone have been preserved succeeded the great Pánini who lived probably about the seventh or eighth century, B. C.* "Panini's grammar" says Weber "is distinguished above all similar works of other countries partly by its thoroughly exhaustive investigation of the roots of the language, and the formation of words; partly by its sharp precision of expression, which indicates with an enigmatical succinctness whether forms come under the same or different rules. This is rendered possible by the employment of an algebraic terminology of arbitrary contrivance, the several parts of which stand to each other in the closest harmony, and which, by the very fact of its sufficing for all the phenomena which the language presents, bespeaks at once the marvellous ingenuity of its inventor, and his profound penetration of the entire material of the language." † Since the time of Pánini the most important contributions to the science of language have been made by Kátyáyana who lived a few

Science of language

* Panini's date is still one of the many disputed points in the history of ancient India. See Goldstücker's "Panini" pp. 129-141, 224-227; Weber, "History of Indian Literature" (translation, pp. 217 ff; Max Müller, "History of ancient Sanscrit Literature" pp. 163 ff.

† Weber, *op cit.*, p. 216.

centuries after Pánini, Pátanjali who flourished about the second century B.C., and by Amara Sinha whose date has been assigned to about the 6th century A. D.

Systems of philosophy: the Sámkhya.

The rationalistic spirit was nowhere better exhibited than in several of the systems of philosophy. Of these the Sámkhya is the oldest, * as it is certainly the boldest. Kapila, the author of this system, starts with denying the efficacy of the Vedic rites. Herein he was not singular, as several of the Upanishads had also done the same before him. But he went further. He would admit nothing that could not be known by the three kinds of evidence recognised by him—perception, inference, and testimony. And he would not admit the existence of a Supreme Being as it could not be proved by such evidence. Kapila derives everything except Soul from matter; the five elements, the sense organs, the organs of action, intellect, consciousness, and mind are all derived from Prakriti, or the eternal primordial principle. The five grounds given by Kapila for this conclusion are very remarkable. First, specific objects are finite in their nature and must have a cause. Secondly, different things have common properties, and must be different species of the same primary genus. Thirdly, all things are in a constant state of progression and shew an active energy of evolution which must have been derived from a primary source. Fourthly, the existing

* Weber, *op cit* p. 235. For analyses of the Sámkhya and other systems of philosophy referred to here, see Colebrooke, "Miscellaneous Essays."

world is an effect, and there must be a primary cause. And fifthly, there is an undividedness, a real unity in the whole universe which argues a common origin. "The latest German philosophy" says Mr. Davies "is a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more elaborate form, but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground, that it occupied more than two thousand years ago; but on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat. Kapila recognised fully the existence of a soul in man, forming indeed his proper nature—the absolute ego of Fichte—distinct from matter and immortal; our latest philosophy, both here and in Germany, can see in man only a highly developed physical organisation. 'All external things' says Kapila 'were formed that the soul might know itself and be free.' "'The study of psychology is vain' says Schopenhauer, 'for there is no Psyche.'" *

The Nyáya.

The Nyáya as a philosophical system is based upon the Sámkhya, and differs from it mainly in admitting the existence of a supreme soul and in recognising analogy as a kind of evidence in addition to the three kinds—perception, inference, and testimony—admitted by the Sámkhya. The speciality of the Nyáya is the development of dialectical method. It discusses methods of reasoning with the greatest subtlety. It starts with sixteen topics for discussion which leave nothing to be desired to the

* "Hindu Philosophy," Preface.

most contentious dialectician. First of all, there is the proof and the thing to be proved. Then follow doubt, motive, instance, determined truth, argument or syllogism, confutation, ascertainment, controversy, jangling, objection, fallacy, perversion, futility, reasoning. The Nyáya syllogism consists of five parts—the proposition, the reason, the instance, the application of the reason, and the conclusion. The following is a generally quoted instance of Nyáya syllogism :

1. The hill is fiery (Proposition).
2. For it smokes (Reason).
3. Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen (Instance).
4. The hill is smoking (Application of the reason).
5. Therefore it is fiery (Conclusion).

The Vaisesika.

The fundamental principles of the Vaisesika philosophy of Kanáda are that all material substances are aggregates of atoms, and that as such aggregates they are perishable though the atoms themselves are eternal, invisible, and intangible. Kanáda recognises seven categories : substance, quality, action, community, particularity, coherence, and non-existence. In the first of these categories are included earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and the internal organ. Quality comprises colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, extension, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, intellection, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion and volition. Action comprises upward and downward movement, contraction, dilation, and general motion. Community denotes qualities common to a number of objects. Particularity denotes

simple objects devoid of community. Coherence is constant relation, such for instance, as subsists between yarn and cloth.

The Pu'rva mi'ma'nsa' and the uttara mi'ma'nsa'.

These three systems of philosophy—the Sámkhya, the Nyáya, and the Vaisesika are among the grandest monuments o' the Indian period of philosophical inquiry. In them we find anticipated some of the most important scientific truths of the present day. There is scarcely any trace of dogmatism or superstition in them Discussions are conducted with a closeness of reasoning and are pursued to their logical conclusions in a manner such as we would expect in any philosophical work of the present day. But side by side with the heterodox rationalistic schools, there were two orthodox systems the Púrva Mímánsá, and the Uttara Mímánsá. The former endeavoured dogmatically to maintain the absolute authority of the Vedas (comprising the Bráhmanas) which it holds to be eternal and revealed. Its conception of duty is the performance of sacrificial ceremonies prescribed by the Bráhmanas. The Uttara Mímánsá or Vedánta of Vyása Bádaráyana is based upon the Upanishads and inculcates pantheism. It is a protest against the heterodox rationalistic systems one of which—the Sámkhya—did not, recognise a Supreme Soul, and the others, though they admitted it, considered it to be distinct from the individual soul. The protest, however, was well worthy of the age which produced it. It is more a system of religion than of philosophy as generally understood, but of religion

probably the most philosophical that the world has yet seen. The manner in which the pantheism of the Upanishads is systematised in the Vedánta, shows how the rationalistic spirit of the age had influenced religion. It would probably be no exaggeration to say, that the Vedantic conception of the Supreme Spirit is the loftiest that humanity has yet been capable of. "The supreme Being is one, sole existent, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable, ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness." He is the first cause. "All this universe is indeed Brahma; from Him does it proceed; into Him is it dissolved; in him it breathes." "The sea is one, and not other than its waters; yet, waves, foam, spray, drop, froth, and other modifications of it differ from each other." "Like sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space apparently subdivided in vessels containing it within limits, the supreme light is without difference or distinction."

The mathematical sciences.

The mathematical sciences, like the mental and natural sciences, were also liberated from sacerdotal influence during the period under review, and were pursued to a very high state of development. The earliest Indian mathematicians whose works are still extant are the compilers of the old Siddhántas, Parásara, Garga &c. The dates of these works are a century or two before Christ. After them comes A'ryyabhata who was born in A.D. 476. The motion of the solstitial and equinoctial points was

noticed by him. He was also acquainted with the true theory of lunar and solar eclipses, as well as with the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference was given by him as 3·141, which is as near an approximation to modern calculations as we could reasonably expect. Before the close of the seventh century, there arose two other mathematicians of note, Varáhamihira and Brahmagupta. The former is known as the author of the Panchasiddhántiká (a compilation from five older astronomical works) and the Brihatsamhitá. The latter, which has been translated[7] by Dr. Kern, is a work of great magnitude dealing not only with subjects strictly appertaining to astronomy, but also with various miscellaneous matters such as portents, gardening, house-building, precious stones, furniture &c. &c. Brahmagupta who wrote about A. D. 628 is best known as the author of the Brahmasphutasiddhánta. It comprises twenty-one chapters; "of which the first ten contain an astronomical system consisting (1st and 2nd) in the computation of mean motions and true places of the planets; 3rd, solution of problems concerning time, the points of the horizon, and the position of places; 4th and 5th, calculation of lunar and solar eclipses; 6th, rising and setting of the planets; 7th, position of the moon's cusps; 8th, observation of altitudes by the gnomon; 9th, conjunction of the planets; and 10th, their conjunction with stars. The next ten are supplementary, including five chapters of problems with their solutions; and the twenty-first explains the principles of the astro-

nomical system in a compendious treatise on spherics, treating of the astronomical sphere and its circles, the construction of sines, the rectification of the apparent planet from mean motions, the cause of lunar and solar eclipses, and the construction of the armillary sphere." *

Medical sciences.

The progress of the medical sciences kept pace with that of the others. The oldest writer whose works have come down was Charaka. He is referred to by Serapion, one of the earliest of the Arab physicians as well as by Avicenna and Rhazes.† Avicenna acknowledges his obligations to Indian authorities. Numerous drugs of Indian origin are noticed by the Greeks previous to the Arab authors. It is even supposed that Hippocrates derived assistance from the Hindus. Prof. Dietz has shewn that the Arabians were familiar with the Hindu medicaments, and extolled the healing art as practised by the Indians, quite as much as that in use among the Greeks; that a variety of treatises on medical science were translated from the Sanskrit into Persian and Arabic, particularly the more important compilations of Charaka and Susruta; and that Manka and Saleh, the former of whom translated a special treatise on poison into Persian, held appointments as body physicians to Harun-al-Rashid [eighth century A. D.].‡

* "Algebra &c. of Brahmagupta and Bhascara" by H. T. Colebrooke, 1817, pp. xxviii.-xxix.

† Dr. Royle's "Essay on the antiquity of Hindu Medicine" p.p. 37-38."

‡ Royle's "Antiquity of Hindu medicine," p. 64.

Chemistry forms one of the eight divisions in which the treatise of Charaka is divided. There can be no doubt that the Arabians derived their knowledge of this subject from the works of the ancient Hindus; and as the originals were unknown in Europe they got the credit of being the discoverers.* The chemical skill of the Indo-Aryans was peculiar and remarkable. They knew how to prepare muriatic, nitric and sulphuric acids. "The number of metals which the Hindus" says Royle "were familiar with, and their acquaintance with the various processes of solution, evaporation, calcination, sublimation and distillation, prove the extent of their knowledge of chemistry, and the high antiquity of some of the chemical arts, such as bleaching, dyeing, calico-printing, tanning, soap and glass-making."

"The oxides of several metals as of copper, iron, lead, tin and zinc, they were well acquainted with and used medicinally. Of lead, we find mention of both the red oxide and of litharge. With the sulphurets of iron, copper, antimony, mercury, and arsenic, both realgar and orpiment, they have long been familiar. Among the salts of the metals, we find the sulphates of copper, of zinc, and of iron, and of the latter the red distinguished from the green: the diacetate of copper, and the carbonates of lead and of iron, are not only mentioned in their works, but used medicinally."†

Medicines were derived by the Hindus from the

* Royle's "Antiquity of Hindu medicine," p.p. 40 ff.

† Royle's "Antiquity of Hindu medicine" pp. 43-44.

vegetable and animal, as well as the mineral kingdom. Susruta describes a very large number of medicines prepared from plants. Various animals and animal substances were utilised as medicines: skins, nails, hair, blood, flesh, bones, fat, marrow, bile, milk, urine, dung, &c. The Hindus were perhaps the first who had the boldness to apply mineral drugs internally. Among the minerals used in medicine are mica, diamond, precious stones, brimstones, ammonia &c. The metals employed by physicians of the time of Susruta were gold, mercury, silver, copper, lead, tin, zinc, antimony, iron and arsenic. The doctrine of antidotes is treated of by both Charaka and Susruta.

Surgery had early attained a high stage of development. The ancient Hindus were bold and expert surgeons, and performed some of the most difficult operations, such as lithotomy, extraction of the dead fœtus, paracentesis, thoracis and abdominis, &c. The great variety of surgical instruments, as well of astringent or emollient applications, bandages, &c., proves the nicety and care which they displayed in this branch of the medical science.*

The subjects treated of in the works of Charaka and Susruta are much the same; but surgery is the speciality of the latter as medicine is that of the former. The work of Susruta is divided into six books each of which is subdivided into various chapters. The first book treats principally of preliminary matters, such as the requisites for

* Wise's "commentary on the Hindu system of Medicine", pp. 187 ff.

surgical practice, the mode of visiting and observing the sick, and the classifications of diseases and of medicines. The second book deals with the diseases of the nervous system, hæmorrhoids, calculus in the bladder, fistula in anus, skin diseases, urinary disorders, Erysipelas, Elephantiasis &c. The third book treats of the anatomy of the human body, the management of pregnancy and parturition, the treatment of infants &c. In the fourth book, such matters as inflammation, wounds, ulcers, stone in the bladder, lithotomy and diabetes are dealt with. The fifth book treats of the preservation of food and drink from poison; the vegetable, animal and mineral poisons; snake-bites, and bites of dogs, jackals and of insects, &c.*

Laws.

The laws of a people are a good index of their intellectual condition. The laws of the period under review as preserved in the Manusamhitá show a great advance upon those of the Vedic period as preserved in the Bráhmanas, or even in the Dharma Sútras.† Trial by ordeal prevailed in Vedic times. "They bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: 'He has taken something, he has committed theft.' (When he denies

* A very small portion of the Susruta Samhitá (the greater part of Book I) has been translated into English. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1883.

† The existing *Dharma Sútras* belong to the very close of the Vedic, or the commencement of the Rationalistic period. The date of the Manusamhitá may be approximately given as about a century or two before or after Christ.

they say); 'Heat the hatchet for him.' If he committed the theft, then he grasps the heated hatchet, he is not burnt, and he is delivered."* Though this barbarous form of trial appears to have been abolished by the close of the Vedic period, the judicial procedure appears still to have been very rude. In the Dharma Sútras of Gautama, the thief is directed to appear before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand and proclaiming his deed. If the king pardons him and does not slay him or strike him, the guilt falls on the king.

But in the Manusamhitá the forms of judicial procedure are laid down in a manner such as to extort the admiration even of James Mill who was prejudiced to a degree against everything Hindu. "They display," says Mill, "a degree of excellence not only far beyond itself in the other branches of law, but far beyond what is exemplified in more enlightened countries."† One of the most important objects which the judicature should have in view is the avoidance of delay; and this object is secured by a number of wise regulations.‡ Cases brought before a tribunal are to be thoroughly investigated. A plaintiff who having knowingly called a witness disclaims him, or who consciously, contradicts himself, who does not prove what he has alleged, or who declines answering a question properly put is declared to be

* Chhandogya. VI. 16.
† "History of British India." I.
‡ Manu, VIII, 58 ff.

nonsuited. The witnesses are to be assembled in the middle of the court-room, and the judge is to examine them after having addressed in the following manner: "What ye know to have been transacted in the matter before us, between the parties reciprocally, disclose at large and with truth." A scale is laid down for the punishment of perjured witnesses. If a witness speaks falsely through covetousness or terror or friendship, he is to be fined 1000 *panas*; if through distraction of mind, 250; if through lust, 2500; if through wrath, 1500; if through ignorance, 200; if through inattention 100.*

The civil laws indicate, on the whole a high stage of intellectual progress. They are treated under twelve heads: non-payment of debts, deposits and pledge, sale without ownership, partnership, resumption of gifts, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreements, rescission of sale and purchase, disputes between owners of cattle and servants, disputes about boundaries, altercation between husband and wife, and inheritance.† The idea of property and the different modes of its acquisition by possession, by purchase, contract, labour, donation, and inheritance, are clearly comprehended.

General literature.

The general literature of the period boasts of names quite as great as any connected with the sciences. It is noteworthy, however, that poetry and fiction flourished towards the

* Manu VIII, 120-121.
† Manu VIII. 4-7.

close of the period after the sciences had attained maturity, in fact while they (with the single exception of mathematics) were either stationary or already on the decline. Kálidása, Bháravi, Bhartrihari, Dandin, Bánabhatta, Bhavabhúti, all wrote between the sixth and the eighth centuries. That the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata existed in crude forms long before the Christian era, there can be no doubt. But they received their final touches probably not long before the commencement of that era. The fact that poetry and fiction were carried to a high stage of development, during the last two or three centuries of the period under review, without any corresponding progress in those branches of literature which call for a sustained exercise of the reasoning faculties, shows, we venture to believe, that Hindu civilization was already on the wane. One reason of such high development of Sanskrit poetry during that period probably is, that it was then that Hindu mythology such as we know it now took shape ; and Hindu mythology is the perennial source from which our great poets, ancient as well as modern, have drawn their subjects. Ráma and Sitá, Nala and Damayantí, Mahádeva and Umá who are among the heroes and heroines of Kálidása, Bhavabhúti and other great poets are scarcely known in the Vedic, or the earlier part of the philosophical period ; or, if known, the beautiful legends associated with them had not yet sprung up. The Vedic cults, Bráhmanism and Vedantism, were ill calculated to inspire poetry, because the former was a dry creed of rites and ceremonies, and the latter, though far nobler

and far more philosophic, was, nevertheless, an equally dry creed of salvation by meditation. The rationalism of the earlier portion of the philosophical period, while it furthered the development of the sciences, retarded the growth of *belles lettres*. Poetry began to shine forth in all its glory, as modern Hinduism arose with its myths and legends about gods and goddesses. The very fact of the supersession of an essentially non idolatrous creed like that of Vaidikism by an essentially idolatrous creed like that of modern Hinduism argues a decline of mental vigour. And this decline is apparently reflected in the literature of the closing century of the Buddhist Hindu period ; for while remarkably rich in works of poetry, in epics, dramas and novels, it is as remarkably poor in scientific works. Philology and medical and mathematical sciences became more or less stereotyped about the close of the seventh century soon after the time of Varruchi, Amara Simha, Susruta, Varáhamihira and Brahmagupta.

THE PURÁNIC PERIOD – THE AGE OF DECAY.

Mathematical science.

The decay of Indo-Aryan intellect began with the ninth century, and was accompanied by important political and religious revolutions. The Rajputs who had hitherto been but little known now rose into prominence. They overthrew the older dynasties and established their rule over nearly the whole of Northern and Western India. Those were troublous times not only in politics, but also

in religion. Buddhism was extirpated ; and modern or Puránic Hinduism was firmly established. The decay was hastened by another revolution three centuries later—the establishment of the Mahomedan Empire. Before the close of the twelfth century Sanskrit works appeared from time to time which bore the stamp of originality. There was the great mathematician Bháscaráchárya, who wrote his masterpiece, the *Siddhánta Siromani*, about the middle of the twelfth century. Bháscara dealt with such subjects as interest, permutation and combination, progression, indeterminate problems and mensuration of surfaces and solids. The rules are exact, and nearly as simple as in the present state of analytical investigation. Algebra was carried to a high degree of perfection.* The points in which the Hindu Algebra of Brahmagupta and Bháscara, appears distinguished from the Greek are besides a better and more convenient algorithm :—

(1) The management of equations involving more than one unknown quantity.

(2) The resolution of equations of a higher order in which if the Hindus achieved little, they had at least the merit of the attempt.

(3) General method for the solution of indeterminate problems of the first and second degrees, in which they went far beyond Diophantus and anticipated discoveries of the modern algebraists.

* Colebrooke in his "Algebra from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bháscara," has shewn that the Arabians borrowed their Algebra from the Hindus.

4) The application of Algebra to astronomical and geometrical demonstrations, in which they also hit upon some matters which have been reinvented in more modern times.*

The *Siddhánta Siromani*† of Bháscara treats of the general view of the sphere, cosmography, the principles of the rules for finding the mean places of the planets, the construction of an armillary sphere, the cause of eclipses of the sun and moon, the principles of the rules for finding the times of rising and setting of the heavenly bodies, the use of astronomical instruments &c.

Since the time of Bháscara India has produced only one astronomer of distinction—Raja Jay Sing of Amber who flourished during the first half of the eighteenth century.

"Jay Sing went deep, not only into the theory, but also the practice of the science, and was so esteemed for his knowledge, that he was entrusted by the emperor Mahomed Shah with the reformation of the calendars. He had erected observatories with instruments of his own invention at Delhi, Jeypoor, Oojein, Benares, and Mathura, upon a scale of Asiatic grandeur; and their results were so correct as to astonish the most learned. He had previously used such instruments as those of Ulug Beg (the royal astronomer of Samarcand), which failed to answer his expectations. From the observations

* Colebrooke *op. cit.* p. XVI.

† It has been translated into English by L. Wilkinson and Bápudeva Sástri.

of seven years at the various observatories, he constructed a set of tables. While thus engaged, he learned through a Portuguese missionary, Padre Manuel, the progress which his favourite pursuit was making in Portugal, and he sent several skilful persons along with him to the court of Emanuel. The king of Portugal despatched Xavier de Silva, who communicated to the Rajpoot prince the tables of De la Hire. 'On examining and comparing the calculations of these tables (says the Rajpoot prince) with actual observation, it appeared there was an error, in the former, in assigning the moon's place of half a degree; although the errors in the other planets was not so great, yet the times of solar and lunar eclipses he found to come on later or earlier than the truth by the fourth part of a ghurry, fifteen puls (six minutes of time).' In like manner, as he found fault with instruments of brass used by the Toorki astronomer, and which he conjectures must have been such as were used by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, so he attributes the inaccuracies of De la Hire's tables to instruments of inferior diameters. The Rajpoot prince might justly boast of his instruments. With that at Delhi, he, in A.D. 1729, determined the obliquity of the ecliptic to be 23° 28′; within 28″ of what it was determined to be the year following by Godin. His general accuracy was further put to the test in A.D. 1793 by our scientific countryman, Dr. W. Hunter, who compared a series of observations on the latitude of Oojein with that established by the Rajpoot prince. The difference was 24″; and Dr. Hunter does not depend

on his own observation within 15″. Jey Sing made the latitude 23° 10′ N., Dr. Hunter 23° 10′ 24″ N. From the results of his varied observations, Jey Sing drew up a set of tables, which he entitled Zeij Mahomedshahi, dedicated to that monarch; by these all astronomical computations are yet made, and almanacs constructed. It would be wrong,—while considering these labours of a prince who caused Euclid's Elements, the treatises on plain and spherical trigonometry, Don Juan Napier on the construction and use of logarithms, to be translated into Sanskrit,—to omit noticing the high strain of devotion with which he views the wonders of the "Supreme Artificer," recalling the line of one of our own best poets:

"An undevout astronomer is mad." *

General literature.

In the field of general literature, there were Mágha, the author of *Sisupálabadha*, who lived in the eleventh century; Sríharsha, the author of *Naishadha*, Jayadeva, the author of *Gitagovinda*, and Somadeva, the author of *Kathásaritságara* all of whom flourished before the close of the twelfth century. These were men far inferior to the great men of the last period. But even such as they were, they have not had their equals since. The history of Sanskrit literature from the thirteenth century is almost a blank. Sanskrit learning flourished at a few places, such as Mithila, Benares and Nadiyá; and there arose from time to time eminent scholars such

* Tod's "Rajasthan"—Annals of Amber, Chapter II.

as Raghunáth, Raghunandan and Sáyanácharya,* who have left their mark behind. But they were few and far between, and they showed at best the possibilities of the Hindu intellect during a period of decay and degeneration.

Thenceforth mathematics and medicine, in which the Hindus had probably made more progress than any other nation of antiquity, were gradually reduced to empiric arts, by which impecunious astrologers and needy quacks earned a bare living. The last great name in the annals of Hindu science was that of Bháscaráchárya. The last great name in the annals of Sanskrit poetry was that of Jayadeva. The last great name in the history of Sanskrit prose was that of Somadeva. The few courts of Hindu kings, such as that of Bijaynagar in Southern India, which escaped the grasp of the Mahomedans, still fostered Sanskrit learning; it was also kept up at such places as Benares and Nuddea. But during the five centuries and a half of Moslem supremacy, Sanskrit literature can boast of only a few commentators, such as Sáyanácharya, of Bijaynagar, and Raghunandan, of Naddia, and Sanskrit science of only one astronomer, Rájá Jay sing of Jaypur.

The fact of the decline of Hindu civilization being

* Raghunáth flourished at Nadiyá (in Bengal) about the end of the fifteenth century. He wrote various works on the Nyáya philosophy and was the founder of a distinct school of that philosophy. Raghunandan lived during the first half of the sixteenth century. He wrote extensively on Smriti (Hindu law and ritual). Sáyanácharya was the great commentator of the Rigveda.

nearly synchronous with the Mahomedan Conquest, has led to the assumption of an intimate connection of the one with the other. That the Mahomedan Conquest is, to a certain extent, responsible for Hindu degeneracy, admits of no question. Alberuni, who wrote half a century before the invasion of Shahabuddin Ghori, referring to Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud, who made frequent incursions into Hindusthan, between (A. D. 976 and A. D. 1026)* says :—

"God be merciful to both father and son! Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate hatred towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu Science has retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and has fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places."

The Mahomedan conquest, as we have already observed, was, no doubt, partly responsible for the decadence of Hindu literature and Hindu science. But the caste-system was equally, if not in a greater degree, responsible for this decadence. Hindu literature and Hindu science before the thirteenth century meant Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit science. In pre Mahomedan times, at least since the Vedic period, the cultivation of literature and science was practically confined to the Bráhmans. The great poets, the great mathematicians, the great doctors, the great writers of

* Alberuni's India, translated by E. C. Sachau. Vol. I, p. 22.

fiction, were all Bráhmans, just as the great warriors were all Kshatriyas. The mass of the people had as little to do with learning as they had to do with war. They were debarred from the study of the sacred books. Alberuni says: "Hindus differ amongst themselves as to which of these castes is capable of attaining to liberation; for, according to some, only the Bráhmana and Kshatriya are capable of it, since the others cannot learn the Veda."* From this passage it appears that the Vaisyas, who had formerly enjoyed the right of studying the sacred books, had lost it by the middle of the 12th century, if not earlier. Together with the Súdras, they must then have greatly out-numbered the higher classes, as they do now. Amongst the names that adorned the Courts of Bhoja of Dhar, or of Vikramáditya of Ujjain, we do not find a single Súdra or Vaisya. The vernacular dialects, the dialects in which the mass of the people spoke, had not yet been developed. Sanskrit was still the language in which books were written. These books could have had but an extremely small cirle of readers, and that only amongst the Bráhmans and the Kshatriyas. To the Vaisyas and the Súdras, who formed the great mass of the people, these books were as good as sealed. Their authors lived under the patronage of Hindu kings, not by the sale of their books. When the Mahomedans swept away the courts of these kings, Sanskrit leanring fled, as Alberuni says, to such places as Benares and Kashmir. The downfall

* *Op. cit. p.* 104.

of the kings meant the ruin of the learned Bráhmans whom they patronised; and the ruin of the learned Bráhmans meant the ruin of Hindu literature and Hindu science, just as the overthrow of the Kshatriya Rajputs meant the destruction of Hindu independence.

Till the time of the Mahomedan occupation, the Bráhmans reigned supreme in the intellectual world of India. At one time, during the period when the Upanishads were composed, their right to intellectual supremacy had been disputed by the millitary caste. But they emerged from the struggle victorious, and in the earlier Puránic period, the brightest period of Hindu civilization, they were certainly the sole possessors of the field of literature and science. They had no equals, certainly no superiors, amongst any other caste. They always led; they had never been led. They came to believe, as Alberuni says,* "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs." They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, and no created beings, besides them, have any knowledge or science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar.

* *Op. cit.* vol. I. p. 22.

If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is." Alberuni, an accomplished and sympathetic Mahomedan, found it very hard to pursue his studies in Hindu science, though, as he says, he had a great liking for it, in which respect he was quite alone in his time, and, though he spared neither trouble nor money in collecting Sanskrit books from places where he supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for himself, even from remote places, Hindu scholars who understood them and were able to teach him.*

Mahomedan influence upon Hindu literature.

At the Mahomedan Conquest, the haughty Bráhmans, for the first time, had to regard as masters, men whom they had hitherto looked upon as impure, foul-feeding, barbarians (*Mlechhas*). They were no longer courted, no longer venerated by high officials; their counsels were no longer sought after by kings. Hitherto, throughout the entire length and breadth of India, in the north as well as in the south, they had possessed the greatest influence. The favours bestowed by kings must have hitherto acted as a great stimulus for the acquisition of knowledge. But now strangers filled the thrones from which kings had smiled upon them—strangers who generally regarded them somewhat as Europeans generally regard them now. Such of the Bráhmans as could afford to do so, fled to Kashmir,

* *Op. cit.* vol. I. p. 24.

Benares, and other places. "And there," says Alberuni, "the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment, both from political and religious sources."* At such places as Benares and Nadiyá, Sanskrit learning was kept up by a few Bráhmans. But the great majority of them gradually became more and more immersed in ignorance. The line of demarcation between them and the lower classes gradually became less and less sharp. To the Mahomedans, Bráhmans, Vaisyas and Súdras were all *kafirs*. The Bráhmans still received the customary homage from the lower classes. But they had no longer the strength of intellect which is begotten of self-confidence; they had no longer the originality which is the sure indication of intellectual progress. The Bráhmans were the greatest sufferers by the Mahomedan invasion. The lower classes continued to pursue their occupations as they had pursued them for ages. Even the Kshatriyas found employment in the armies of Mahomedan kings. But the occupation of the Bráhmans, if not quite gone, lost all its lustre and dignity. They were utterly neglected, nay humiliated. They must have considered themselves disgraced. No wonder that they retired into obscurity in moody silence, or devoted their energies to the composition of frivolous stories about gods and goddesses. The lower classes were now almost their only customers. The Súdras and the Vaisyas now fed and clothed them. They, therefore, not

* *Op. cit.* vol. I. p. 22.

unnaturally, did what pleased their customers best. During the five and a half centuries of Mahomedan regime the best of them could produce only a few commentaries or compilations. They had all along pandered more or less to the superstitions of the mass of people, who were mostly non-Aryans. Hinduism was the result of a compromise between the non-idolatrous worship of the Aryans, as presented in the Rig-Veda, and the idolatry and fetishism of the non-Aryans; and this compromise was, at least partly, the work of the Bráhmans.

With the Mahomedan Conquest the Bráhmans lost the patronage of enlightened Hindu kings, and became more dependent than ever for their living on the gifts of the lower castes with whom the superstitious part of Hinduism was most popular. The Bráhmans had now to please the mob more than ever. The most enlightened amongst them were, no doubt, monotheists, pantheists, or atheists, as they still are. But they never expected, probably they never wanted, the mob to be what they were. Three centuries previously to the Mahomedan occupation, Sankaráchárya had expressly preached one creed (pantheism) for the philosophic few, and another (Saivism) for the ignorant many. Now the number and influence of the philosophic few were greatly reduced, while that of the ignorant and credulous many remained, and increased and throve. The influence which produced the sublime in Hindu works vanished; the influence which produced the superstitious and the ridiculous in them, gradually increased. The science

of astronomy, for instance, ceased to have any higher interest than that which it had for astrologers for the purpose of ascertaining which dates are propitious for ertain purposes and which dates are not; on which ates and at what hours the festivals of the people are to be held; on which dates certain kinds of food are to be eaten, and on which dates they are not to be eaten. All that was grand and noble in the Indo-Aryan literature and science gradually disappeared; all that was base and degrading, or at best indifferent, remained and flourished.

But the Mahomedan Conquest was by no means an unmixed evil. It did some good. Hindu civilization hitherto had been mainly Aryan civilization, the civilization chiefly of the two upper classes, the Bráhmans and the Kshatriyas. To the lasting honour of the Bráhmans be it said, they spread their civilizing influence throughout India. It was they that lifted up the aborigines, taught them to lead a settled life, made them more humane, in one word, more civilized than they had been before. This the Bráhmans did, not by brute force, but by sheer force of character and intellect. To conquer a country with the idea of civilizing it, seldom entered their heads. They penetrated to the remotest south, to the north, and to the east; and wherever they went, they carried the light of civilization. Whether it be the Drávidians of the south or the mountainous tribes of the north, their traditions, their religions, their dialects, their manners and customs, all bespeak Bráhmanical influence. The aborigines were admitted within the pale

of Hinduism, though on the condition that they would form the lowest class in Hindu society. The low caste people were considered beings inferior to the Bráhmans. They could never aspire to rise to the social status of the Bráhmans. It was otherwise with the Mussulmans. The meanest peasant amongst them could rise to the rank of the greatest nobleman. The lowest Mussulman had a right to read the Koran and to pray in the mosque. Not so with the Hindus. "Every action," says Alberuni,* "which is considered as the privilege of a Bráhman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him [Súdra or Vaisya] to such a degree, that when *e. g.* a Súdra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda, he is accused by the Bráhmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off." It was chiefly the influence of Mahomedanism with its doctrine of the brotherhood of man that produced that succession of earnest reformers who shed such lustre on India from the commencement of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth. Rámánanda, Kabir, Nának, and Chaitanya were certainly influenced by the tenets of Mahomedanism. They all preached the unity of the Godhead: they all protested against caste; they all denounced idolatry. Kabir, Nának, and Chaitanya founded large sects which have survived to the present day. Rámánanda chose his disciples from among the lowest castes.

* *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 136.

He had even a leather dresser amongst them. The most distinguished of his disciples was Kabir, a weaver. Kabir, Chaitanya and Nának, all admitted Mahomedans into their sects. There were Moslems who regarded Kabir as one of their own.

Rise of the vernacular literatures.

The impetus which the reformers gave directly and indirectly, to the progress of the vernacular literatures, was very great. In Northern India the teachings of Kabir and Chaitanya were embodied by their followers in voluminous works, which enriched the vernacular literatures. They preached to the people in the languages of the people. Their adoption of the vernaculars as their literary languages was a protest against the exclusiveness of the orthodox Bráhmans, a small number of whom still clung to the carcase of Sanskrit. Sanskrit had no longer any life in it ; it was now dead. If it was ever a spoken language—and on this point eminent scholars are still divided—it ceased to be such about the time of the Mahomedan Conquest. The books written in it were not understood by the people : they were not meant for the people. Now the people had books written in their vernaculars, books which, if they could not read themselves, they could at least understand if read to them. It was about the time of the Mahomedan Conquest that the Indian vernaculars, the Hindi, the Bengali, the Uriya, and the Marathi, began to be developed. This development was not the direct work of the Mahomedan occupation. Long before that time, even centuries before the Christian era, the mass of the Hindus spoke

in Aryan dialects, which were called Prákrits. Varruchi, the earliest Prákrit grammarian, enumerates four classes of these in the sixth century A.D.—Mahárástri, Saura-seni, Mágadhi, and Paisáchi. The vernaculars of India were gradually evolved from these dialects. They must have been in process of evolution long before the Mahomedan Conquest.

But the Mahomedan Conquest hastened the development of the vernacular literatures, as it also hastened the decay of the Sanskrit literature Sanskrit was destined to die a natural death. It was artificially kept alive by a small band of intellectual Bráhmans. With the ruin of the Hindu Courts at the time of the Mahomedan Conquest, these Bráhmans dispersed, and gradually dwindled in numbers. The vernacular literatures would have sprung up in the natural course, because, they were the literatures of the mass of the people. But the Mahomedan Conquest helped their development in two ways. First by lowering the status of the Bráhmans and the Kshatriyas, it indirectly tended to elevate that of the lower classes Secondly, the close contact of Mahomedanism influenced the Hindu mind so that it revolted against the inequality of the caste-system, and the domination of a hereditary priesthood. That such reformers as Kabir, Chaitanya, and Nának were at least partly the products of Mahomedan influence, there can be no doubt; and however they might differ in details, they all denounced caste, and they all preached the unity of the Godhead. The preachings of the reformers stimulated the progress of the vernacular literatures

in a most marked manner. The works of the Kabir-panthis (the sect founded by Kabir) formed the greater portion of the early Hindi literature, and the contributions of the followers of Chaitanya swelled the mass of early Bengali literature.

Influence of Vaishnavism on vernacular literature

That the first great impulse to vernacular literatures was given by the Vaishnava Reformation which was carried on from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century by Rámánanda, Kabir, Chaitanya and a number of other reformers, is shown by the facts that with the exception of some Hindi ballads in Rájputáná, vernacular literatures have scarcely anything to shew before the thirteenth century,* and that the earliest writers were

* The Tamil is excluded from this generalisation Its development was earlier than that of the other vernaculars The Tol-káppiyam the oldest extant Tamil work, is believed to have been written a few centuries before the birth of Christ. It is still the greatest authority on Tamil grammar "Whatever antiquity" says Caldwell "may be attributed to the Tol-káppiyam, it must have been preceded by many centuries of literary culture It lays down rules for different kinds of poetical compositions, which must have been deduced from examples furnished by the best authors whose works were then in existence .... In endeavouring to trace the commencement of Tamil literature we are thus carried further and further back to an unknown period." ("Comparative grammar of the Dravidian Languages," 1875. pp 127-128). "With the exception of a few works composed towards the end of the twelfth century, nearly all the Telugu works that are now extant appear to have been written in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries, after the establishment of the kingdom of Vijaynagara; and many of them were written in comparatively recent times." (Caldwell *Op. cit.* p. 123). The most ancient and esteemed grammar of classical Canarese, that

mostly Vaishnavas. In northern India, besides the reformer Kabir, the two great Hindi writers previous to the eighteenth century were Sur Dás, and Tulsi Dás; * and they were both earnest Vaishnavas. The earliest Bengali authors from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century were enthusiastic worshippers of Krishna, the most notable among them being Bidyápati and Chandi Dás.† No Maráthi writer of any note is known

by Kesava, was written about 1170 A D The oldest extant work in Malayálam is 'Rámcharita" which was written about the thirteenth century A.D.

* Sur Dás flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. "He and Tulsi Dás" says Mr. Grierson "are the two great stars in the firmament of Indian vernacular poetry. Tulsi was devoted to Rám (*ekánt Rám-sebak*) while Sur Dás was devoted to Krishna (*ekánta Krishna-sebak*), and between them they are said to have exhausted all the possibilities of poetic art" (Journ As. Soc. of Bengal pt. I for 1886, special number, p. 21 Tulsi Dás flourished about the commencement of the seventeenth century For his life see Grierson, *op. cit.* p. 42 *et seq*, and Growse's "Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás," Introduction. In Northern India, the Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás is "in everyone's hands, from the court to the college, and is read or heard, and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old."

† Bidyápati flourished about the commencement of the fifteenth century. "Bidyápati's influence on the history of the literature of Eastern Hindustán" says Mr. Grierson "has been immense. He was a perfect master of the art of writing those religious love sonnets which have since become in a much degraded form the substance of the Vaishnava bibles." (Grierson *op. cit.* p. 11). Chandi Dás was a contemporary of Bidyápati. For his life, see R C Dutt's "Literature of Bengal." 1895, p. 26.

before the thirteenth century and the greatest poets of Maháráshtra, Tukárám, and Sridhar were Vaishnavas.*

* Tukárám died in 1649 He was an ardent worshipper of Vithoba (Vishnu) "He is," says Mr Acworth "the most original of all Máráthi poets, and his work is remarkable for a high and sustained level of religious exaltation." Sridhar died in 1728. He rendered the Rámáyana and the Máhábhárata into Máráthi. "There is no Máráthi poet who equals Sridhur in the acceptance he obtains from all classes In every town and village in the Deccan and Konkan, especially during the rains, the pious Márátha will be found enjoying with his family, and friends the recitation of the Pothi of Sridhar and enjoying it indeed. Except an occasional gentle laugh, or a sigh, or a tear, not a sound disturbs the rapt silence of the audience, unless when one of those passages of supreme pathos is reached which affects the whole of the listeners simultaneously with an outburst of emotion which drowns the voice of the reader." "Ballads of the Márāthas" by H. A. Acworth, Introduction.





CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LIBERALISM.

Liberalism in modern Europe.

The foundation of the British empire in India was laid just about the time when Europe was on the verge of a revolution, probably the most important, politically, intellectually, and socially, which the world has ever seen. It was during the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century that modern Europe sprung up with its democratic governments, its natural science, its steam engine and electric telegraph, and its innumerable labor-saving appliances It would probably be no exaggeration to say, that the Europe of the present century is more different from the Europe of the seventeenth, than the Europe of the seventeenth was from the Europe of the first century. The Congress of Vienna did its best to restore to Europe the political arrangements which had existed before the rise of Napoleon.

But the Powers did not see, or they ignored the new political forces which had come into existence towards the close of the eighteenth century; and the political equilibrium which they thought they had established did not endure long. The interest of the political history of Europe for sometime after the Vienna Congress was centred in the struggles of the people for liberty and self-government. In 1820, Spain rose in rebellion against her king and secured a constitution of which universal suffrage was the principal feature. Shortly after, Greece threw off the tyrannical yoke of the Turks. In July 1830, the French people tried conclusions with the forces of absolutism for the second time; and their success gave a fresh impulse to democratic ardour in nearly every state in Europe. In England, various restrictions which weighed heavily upon the people were removed, and the Reform Bill which made the representative system more a reality than a name was passed in 1832.

Liberalism in India since 1832

The wave of liberalism which passed through England affected even her distant administration of India, though of course to a very small extent. The people of India were too far off from Europe, and were too deeply imbued with the old-world ideas of government to be moved by the new idea of government for the people and by the people which electrified modern Europe. They submitted to the despotism of the British as quietly and as resignedly as they had submitted to the despotism of any Hindu or Mahomedan Power; and the Government of the

East India Company had nearly until the close of the eighteenth century been a despotism with scarcely any mitigating features to compensate for the loss of the manifold advantages of a native rule All that the Company had till then cared for was money; all that their servants in India had till then striven for was to secure a dividend for their masters, and to secure as much as they could for themselves either in the shape of gain or perhaps also of fame But since then, especially since 1832, the year in which the Reform Bill crowned the cause of democracy in England, the British-Indian administration has been pervaded, to however small an extent, by the spirit of modern Europe. Since then, the benefit of India has generally been urged, at least by English statesmen, as the main object of the retention of India;* and though in practice that object has not often been kept in view, its theoretical recognition bespeaks the liberal spirit of modern Europe. It is this spirit which, notwithstanding the frequent advocacy of narrow-minded views of coercion and repression by influen tial organs of the Anglo-Indian world has kept Anglo-Indian bureaucracy from sinking into unmitigated absolutism.

It was in 1833 that a statute was passed which provi

* Mr. Gladstone said on one occasion: "The question is not whether we are justified in the acquisition or not [of India]; the question is not whether our hands were clean or not in that acquisition; the question is what obligations we have contracted towards the nearly 200 millions of people under our rule in India, and towards the God who cares for that people as much as for us.' "Essays political, social, and religious, India" by R. Congreve, 1874, pp. 78-79.

ded that no native of India, "nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government."

It was in the same liberal spirit that the court of Directors issued their despatch of the 10th December, 1834.

"It is fitting that this important enactment should be understood in order that its full spirit and intention may be transfused through our whole system of administration.

" . . . . . The meaning of the enactment we take to be that, there shall be no governing caste in British India; that, whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number; that no subject of the King, whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent, shall be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on our Uncovenanted Servants in India, or from the Covenanted Service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible, consistently with the rules and agreeably to the conditions observed and enacted in the one case and in the other. . . .

"Certain offices are appropriated to them (the Natives), from certain others they are debarred; not because these latter belong to the Covenanted Service, and the former do not belong to it, but professedly on the ground that the average amount of Native qualifications can be presumed only to rise to a certain limit. It is this line of demarcation which the present enactment obliterates, or rather, for which it substitutes another, wholly irrespective of the distinction of races. Fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility."

The administrative policy of the Government had hitherto been to exclude Indians from all responsible post. In the executive Government the only Indian officer entrusted with any power was the Police Daroga with a salary of twenty-five rupees a month.

In the judicial department the highest officer was the Munsiff who could try civil cases involving only petty amounts. While European judges could in the ordinary course of promotion rise up to two thousand and five hundred rupees a month, the Munsiff had no pay whatever, but was left to get what he could by a small commission on the value of suits. The fatal effects of this unjust and shortsighted policy soon made themselves apparent. In the words of Trevelyan, "the wheels of Government soon became clogged; more than half the business of the country remained un-performed; and at last, it became necessary to abandon a plan, which, after a fair trial had completely broken down."* It was left to Lord William Bentinck one of the few liberal-minded and large-hearted statesmen that India has seen, to carry out the principles of the despatch of 1834; and for the first time in the History of British Rule, Indians were appointed to posts of any responsibility.

The noble sentiments of the despatch of 1834 have been reiterated over and over in official documents of which the most authoritative is the proclamation issued by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen in 1858 when she assumed the direct Government of British India:

"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obliga-

* Trevelyan, "Education of the People of India," p. 156.

tions, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . .

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

A great deal has been done to give effect, to these liberal principles. But, a great deal more still remains to be done. Until 1853, appointments to the Covenanted services of the East India Company were made by the Directors by nomination. In that year, the Covenanted Civil and Army Medical Services were thrown open to public competition in England, to which all British subjects were to be eligible. This was certainly a gain for the people of India who had hitherto been entirely excluded from those services. But, the gain was small considering their poverty and other circumstances which stood in the way of their sending their boys to a distant country on the mere chance of a competitive examination; and a great meeting was held in Calcutta in 1853 at which one of the speakers said

"True it may be said that as the competition is to be "unlimited," the natives may send their children to England to pass through Haileybury or Addiscombe to qualify them for one or other of the branches of the Service, but am I to be told that with the mere chance of obtaining appointments, natives are to send their children to England, without their families around them, without their friends to guide them, to be left there in the midst of strangers?" *

* "Speeches of Rámgopál Ghose." p. 8.

Indians form only an insignificant fraction of the candidates who go up for the Imperial Civil Service. In 1892 this service was composed of 939 members of whom only 21 were Indians.* After forty years of agitation (always confined as yet to the press and the platform in India), a Resolution was passed by the House of Commons in 1893 in favour of holding simultaneous examinations in India and in England for the Imperial Civil Service. But the resolution has hitherto remained inoperative owing to the opposition of the Indian authorities. We shall, in a subsequent chapter, see to what a large extent the British administration is still exclusive, and how depressing the effect of such an administration has been upon the intellectual development of the Hindus.

The Press.

Lord William Bentinck initiated a measure for granting freedom to the Press. It was, however, left to his successor, Lord Metcalfe, to carry the measure into execution. The first newspaper ever printed in an Indian vernacular was issued in Bengali by the Christian Missionaries at Serampore, on the 31st May, 1818.† It was called the *Samáchár-Darpan* or the "mirror of news." Its appearance rather alarmed the Anglo-Indian officials, but the then Governor-General, Lord Hastings, encouraged it by allowing its

* Strachey's "India," 1894, p. 58.

† "The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward," Vol. II, (1859), p. 163

circulation at one-fourth the ordinary rate of postage. He showed the same liberal spirit towards the English press, and notwithstanding the determined opposition of his council removed the censorship which Lord Wellesley had imposed upon it. In deference, however, to the despotic feeling which pervaded the Indian bureaucracy, he "laid severe restrictions on the editors regarding the subjects or personages they were allowed to touch, any infraction of which was to be visited by an indictment in the Supreme Court or by the penalty of deportation. But the Supreme Court, on the occasion of the first application,* refused to grant a criminal information, and Lord Hastings was unwilling to inflict the odium of banishing an editor on his administration. The restriction, therefore, fell into abeyance, and the press became practically free. In replying to an address from Madras, Lord Hastings embraced the opportunity of vindicating his policy by stating that he was in the habit of regarding the freedom of publication as the natural right of his fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned.........Further, he said, 'it was salutary for supreme authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public opinion.' "

Entire liberty to the press however, was not granted until 1835, when the power of deporting offending

* In the case of the *Calcutta Journal* of which the Proprietor and Editor was Mr. J. S. Buckingham, "a gentleman permitted to reside in Calcutta by special license." (Mill and Wilson's "History of British India" Vol. VIII, p. 415).

journalists was taken away from the Government of India.* The vernacular Press act passed by Lord Lytton imposed restrictions of a rather severe nature upon the vernacular press. They were, however, removed by his successor, Lord Ripon. In 1881-82, the number of Bengali newspapers and periodicals was thirty-eight of which six were daily, twenty-eight weekly, two fortnightly, and two monthly papers. Of the daily papers, not one had a circulation of much above 600. Of the weekly papers, two had a circulation of 4,000, one of 2,000, seven of between 500 and 1,000, and the rest of less than 500; the two fortnightly papers had a circulation of 600 between them; and of the monthly papers, one had a circulation of 2,100, and another of less than 200. In 1891-92, there were 41 Bengali papers, of which seven were monthly and fortnightly, one trimonthly, twenty-seven weekly, and six daily. The increase in the number of newspapers within the decade was small, but their circulation increased immensely. Of the daily papers, one had a circulation of 1,500, another of 1,000. Of the weekly papers, one is said to have had a circulation of 20,000, one of 8,000, one of 4,000, two of 3,000 each, and three between 1000 and 3,000. The number of vernacular newspapers in the Bombay Presidency in 1890 numbered 158. In the Madras Presidency the number was 100 compared with 87 in 1888. Of these 51 were classed as "general and politi-

* The Metcalfe Hall in Calcutta testifies to the gratitude of the people for the measure which was carried out by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was Governor-General from 1835 to 1836.

cal," 19 as "educational and literary," and 30 as "religious." The largest circulation (5,500 copies) was enjoyed by a Christian religious monthly paper in Tamil. The total number of newspapers in the North-West Provinces and Oudh was 104, of which 24 were monthly, 61 weekly, and 3 daily.* About the middle of this century there were edited by Hindus only two English weekly newspapers in Bengal, the *Hindu Patriot* and the *Hindu Intelligencer*; one in Madras, the *Madras Rising Sun*; and one in Bombay, the *Hindu Harbinger*. Now there are under Hindu Editorship, in Bengal alone, three daily newspapers besides a dozen or so of weekly ones.

Spread of education since 1835; influence of European democracy.

The charter of 1813 had for the first time forced the East India Company to spend a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees upon educational purposes. The charter of 1833 raised the amount ten-fold; and the administration of Lord William Bentinck is memorable for the vigorous steps which were taken for the dissemination of English education. The intellect of the Hindus has been most remarkably influenced by English education in various ways. In ancient times they had come into close contact with the Greeks; and it is probable that for their progress in architecture and in astronomy,†

* "Moral and material condition of India for 1889-90."

† It is only in Gándhára and the Punjab, however, that the general architecture bears a Greek character. In the vast continent of India itself, the architecture shows but little trace of any foreign influence. (R. C. Dutt's "Civilization in ancient India," 1893, Vol. II. p. 63).

they were to some extent indebted to the Yavanas. But the exchange of ideas between them and the civilized nations of antiquity was such as takes place at the present day among the civilized nations of the West; and the Hindus probably gave more than they took. The medical science of the Greeks and several of the systems of their philosophy testify to undoubted Hindu influence. But down to the eleventh century, that is, during the entire period when their civilization was on the whole progressive, their literature does not bear any trace of foreign influence to speak of. They thought, they observed, they expressed in their own way. In nature, close interbreeding leads to degeneration, and one of the causes of the decay of the Hindu intellect was the restriction of its culture to one caste, the Bráhmans. There was not only no [illegible] of foreign blood, but even an admixture of such closely related blood as that of two classes of a community was prevented when the caste-system was firmly established. Hindu thought became at first stereotyped, then lost all its vigour and gradually decayed. The Mahomedan contact introduced foreign blood; and partial regeneration of the Hindu intellect in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries was largely owing to this influence. One of the important features of this revival was the recognition by its leaders of the equality of man which is one of the fundamental tenets of the Mahomedan religion. Kabir in Northern India, Chaitanya in Bengal, Eknáth in Maháráshtra and Nának in the Punjab all [illegible]

caste.* For the first time in the history of the Hindus, earnest attempts were made to popularise knowledge. The Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata which had hitherto been sealed books to the people were rendered into all the important vernaculars.† The greatest Hindu poets during the Mahomedan period all wrote in the vernaculars which the people could understand; and they were mostly Vaishnavas who, to a great extent at least, ignored caste-distinction. But this democratic tendency in Hindu literature was confined to religious and socio-religious subjects, as indeed it was bound

* The work of Kabir, Nának, and of Chaitanya has already been referred to. Eknáth, a Maráthi poet of note, was a Bráhman. He not only preached against caste and other social disabilities, but "boldly carried his principles into practice. On one occasion one of his audience, a pious and intelligent Mahar [one of the lowest castes whose very touch would be pollution to a high caste man] asked Eknáth, while he was urging his usual views, whether he would be an examplar of the principle that before God a Bráhman and a Mahar are equal, by dining at his house. The poet had the courage of his opinions, and next day he went to the house of the man who had questioned him, and there publicly partook of food prepared by the Mahar's wife." (Acworth "Ballads of the Marathas" p. xxv). Many stories are current of the persecution which Eknáth suffered at the hands of the Bráhmans. On several occasions he was excommunicated, and once his works were publicly thrown into the Godávari. He lived about the end of the sixteenth century.

† Sridhar, who rendered the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata into Maráthi early in the eighteenth century, says in the preface to one of his works: "The Pandits should not neglect this poem because it is written in the Prákrit (popular) language; where the subject treated of is the same, whether written in Maráthi or Sanskrit the meaning must be the same ... ... Women do not understand Sanskrit, and in this respect, their helplessness may be likened to that of a weak person distressed with thirst standing at the side of a deep well."

to be, the literature treating almost exclusively of such subjects. The Mahomedan literature, which the Hindus studied largely especially from the time of Akbar when Persian was made the official language, did not differ in its character much from the Hindu literature. Besides astronomy and mathematics, they both dealt chiefly with religious, social and moral subjects. It is true the Mahomedan literature possessed histories, which the Hindu literature may be said to be almost devoid of. But the histories are not so much histories of the people or of the most advanced sections of them, as narratives of the deeds of kings and the members of their courts, of bloodshed and intrigue. Nowhere in the east the people have ever had any political power such as several of the most advanced nations of the West have acquired for themselves. Their political history is consequently a blank.

English education first initiated the Hindus into a historical literature which showed how the people had come to be a great political power among several of the most civilized nations of the West; how they had wrested important privileges from unwilling tyrants; how they had risen against despots, deposed them, nay even executed them and established republican forms of government. The Hindus had known of kings wading to the throne through blood even of near relatives, they had known of conspiracies among highplaced officials to depose or kill tyrannical or otherwise obnoxious sovereigns, but they had never known the people to have been associated with any political movement of

importance. It is true they had long been familiar with representative government ; but it was strictly of a local character. The jurisdiction of the village or caste *punchayet* never extended far beyond the limits of the village. It was with English education, that the Hindus imbibed the idea of a national representative government. They came to know that the sovereign of the great British Empire could not get a single penny unless the representatives of the people voted it ; that the great Englishmen, who in India set up or deposed. rewarded or punished kings ruling over large territories were accountable for their deeds to those representatives, and that one of those magnates had actually been arraigned before a tribunal of justice for his misdeeds in India. They had known of emperors summarily punishing erring governors ; but the idea of the people or their representatives having any voice in such matters was quite new to them. The growth of democracy in the West was quite a revelation to them ; and it made a powerful impression. Hitherto politics had among the Hindus been almost entirely disassociated from literature; the literary men had scarcely ever been known to take part in political movements or concern themselves about the political rights of the people. There were writers like the Máráthi Eknáth who advocated the equality of man in religion, and who denounced social disabilities ; but equality in political matters and representative form of government were new ideas introduced by English education, and they made a deep impression upon the Hindu intellect. Soon after the establishment

of English schools, there grew up men like Harish Chandra Mukherji and Rámgopál Ghosh* who ably advocated the cause of the people and agitated for their rights. Writing as early as 1838, twenty years after the establishment of the first English school in Béngal, Sir C. Trevelyan recognised in the educated youth of that province a strong desire for representative form of Government. Some of his observations in this connection are so suggestive and are made in such a sympathetic spirit that they may be aptly quoted here. Coming from the North-Western Province to Bengal, he was struck by the remarkable difference in the political altitude of the better class people in the two provinces. In the former, where English education had scarcely penetrated yet, the people had no other idea of political betterment than the absolute expulsion of the English; in Bengal, on the other hand, where English education had already made some progress, some form of representative national assembly was held up as the

* Harish chandra Mukherji was born in 1824 He was the editor of the *Hindu Patriot* newspaper from 1853 until his death in 1861. He warmly advocated the cause of the ryots oppressed by the Indigo planters. He was prosecuted by the planters for the charges he had brought against them in his journal. The planters got a decree, and his house was attached and auctioned of. Those who accuse the educated Indians of apathy to the interest of the lower classes will do well to bear this fact in mind.

Rámgopál Ghose was born in 1815. He took a very prominent part in the politics of his day. His speech on the Charter act of 1853 was spoken of by the *Times* as a "masterpiece of oratory." He died in 1868. His speeches were published in a collected form in Calcutta in 1871.

ideal. "No doubt, both the schemes of national improvement [the sudden and absolute expulsion of the English, and the gradual formation of a national representative assembly]," says Trevelyan, "suppose the termination of the English rule; but while that event is the beginning of the one, it is only the conclusion of the other. In one, the sudden and violent overthrow of our Government is a necessary preliminary: in the other, a long continuance of our administration, and the gradual withdrawal of it as the people became fit to govern themselves, are equally indispensable."*

Rise of political Associations under English influence; the British Indian Association &c.

With the progress of English education, the idea of representative government has taken deep root into the Hindu mind. It has been fostered not only by the spirit of English literature with its Milton, Burke and Mill, but also by the living sympathy of a few noble-minded Britons,† who have cordially helped or guided the political aspirations of educated Hindus. Political Associations have sprung up in various parts of India, some of the more notable among which are the British Indian Association and the Indian Association in Bengal,

* Trevelyan, "On the Education of the people of India" (London, 1838), p. 200.

† Among these mention may be made of George Thompson, Allan O. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn. George Thompson a distinguished orator, came to India in 1833. It was with his active co-operation that the Landholders' Association (which was afterwards converted into the British Indian Association) was established. The active part taken by Mr. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn in the National Congress is well known to need any mention here.

the Bombay Presidency Association and the Puná Sárvajanik Sabhá in Bombay, and the Mahajana Sabhá in Madras. The oldest of these, the British Indian Association of Calcutta, came into existence in the year 1851. It is an association of recognized influence, and its opinion is sought for by government on all legislative measures of importance. From its foundation it has counted among its members, the pick of the landed aristocracy of Bengal. Kristodás Pál,* one of the greatest journalists that India has produced, was its Secretary from 1879 to 1884. The Indian Association of Calcutta was established in 1876. The Puná Sárvajanik Sabhá was started in 1870 with the object of affording "facilities to the people for knowing the real intentions and objects of Government as also adequate means for securing their rights by making timely representations to Government of the real circumstances in which they are placed." The Journal of the Sabhá often contains matter of considerable value. The Bombay Presidency Association was founded in 1889. The East

* Kristodás Pál was born in the year 1838. He was Editor of the *Hindu Patriot* from 1861 till his death which occurred in 1884. He was for sometime, member of the Imperial Legislative Council and his services were thus acknowledged by Lord Ripon: "By this melancholy event, [the death of Kristodás Pál,] we have lost from amongst us a colleague of distinguished ability, from whom we had on all occasions received assistance, of which we readily acknowledge the value . . . . Mr. Kristodás Pál owed the honorable position to which he had attained to his own exertions. His intellectual attainments were of a high order, his rhetorical gifts were acknowledged by all who heard him, and were enhanced, when addressing this Council, by his thorough mastery over the English language."

Indian Association was founded twenty years ago "for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally."

Unquestionably the most important political movement of modern India is what is known as the National Congress. It has brought the political aspirations of educated Indians to a focus. The Congress came into existence in the year 1885. Since then, it has met annually at some important place in India. Delegates from every part of India representing many important interests attend its meetings.* The following statement exhibits the number of delegates who attended the last five sessions of the Congress:—

The National Congress.

Year.	Place.	Number of Delegates.
1890	Calcutta	677
1891	Nagpur	812
1892	Allahabad	625
1893	Lahore	867
1894	Madras	1163

* Writing about the National Congress, Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal, says: "I am aware that amongst many of our countrymen, and by a certain section of the Press, both here and in India, these Congresses have been regarded with disfavour. Their motives have been impugned, their proceedings ridiculed, and attempts have been made to depreciate their importance, by disparaging the rank and position of the delegates who composed them. All this seems to me very much to be regretted. It is unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic......It is undoubtedly the fact, that the gentlemen who attended these Congresses are for the most part in high social position, and the recognised leaders of native thought and opinion; and if in their honest endeavours to correct abuses, and to bring about what they believe to be wholesome reforms, they are treated unfairly by the English Press, what wonder is it that the crowd of disaffected scribblers, who write in the native papers would vent their

A large proportion of the delegates belong to the legal profession. But other occupations are also well represented. Among those who attended the last congress, there were present: zamindars or landholders, 275; merchants, bankers and contractors, 167; teachers, 68; editors and managers of journals, 34; doctors, 11. Besides committees in all parts of India, the Congress has a committee in England which reckons among its members several members of the House of Commons. The organ of the Congress is a monthly journal called "India" published in England. The following resolutions were passed by the last Congress which met at Madras in December, 1894, under the presidency of Mr. Alfred Webb M. P.: –

I. (*a*) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant mill industry of this country.

(*b*) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State.

(*c*) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all cottons from 20th to 24th from the operation of the Act.

(*d*) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.

spleen and indignation in the only way open to them, by abusing the British Government." "A few plain Truths about India" pp. 10-11.

II. (*a*) That this Congress desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of Survey and other cesses) and with the terms of sanads of permanently settled estates in Madras; and, deeming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf.

(*b*) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) for permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State; and this Congress hereby entreats the Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long period (of not less than sixty years) so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements.

III. That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms:

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation.

And humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

IV. That this Congress considers the Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms. and suggests that in its place a Standing Committee of Members of the House of Commons be appointed.

V. That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards the enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing

financial, burdens and the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom.

VI. That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but firm protest against the despatch as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November, 1858, (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability, founded upon race; for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covenanted Service is indispensable.

That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial Service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this Service, constituted as it is at present, falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people; and that the interests of the subordinate service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Examinations.

That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the engineering, forest, telegraph, and the higher police service examinations, and the Congress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

That this Congress respectfully urges on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893, on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people.

VII. That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the place of District and Sessions Judges and that the higher Judicial Service, in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case.

VIII. (*a*) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle and injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when, in the interests of public medical education and the advancement of medical service and of scientific work in the country as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from, and independent of, Military Service.

(*b*) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant-Surgeon and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service require thorough investigation and redress, and we pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(*c*) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to reorganise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistants, or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of Specialists.

IX. (*a*) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good government of that Province, and, having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N.-W. Provinces, requests that no time should be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab.

(*b*) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective, and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

X. That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence, and sympathise with the Royal Family of Mysore in their recent sad and

sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Mahárájá of Mysore not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom and ability, but also by all the Indian peoples to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties.

XI. *(a)* That, in the opinion of the Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country where it is not at present in force.

(b) That, in the opinion of the Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury, depriving the verdicts of Juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

(c) That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away.

XII. That this Congress having till now appealed, though in vain, for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the greatest defects in the system of administration, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction the admission of the evil by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross) and being of opinion that reform is thoroughly practicable, as was shown by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, M. M. Ghose, and P. M Mehta, entreats the Government of India to direct the immediate appointment in each province of a Committee (one-half at least of whose members shall be non-official natives of India qualified, by education and experience in the workings of various Courts, to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes with the opinions of the several Governments at an early date.

XIII. That this Congress affirms the opinion of the preceding Con-

gress that the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interests of the administration of justice in that Province.

XIV. That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm conviction that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil administration, and, in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject, this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee.

XV. That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient, in the present state of education in the country, that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with the previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

XVI. That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating:

(a) The reduction of the Salt duty by at least the amount of its latest enhancement;

(b) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand rupees;

(c) The persistent pressure by the Government of India on all provincial administrations to induce them to carry out, in its integrity, the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104, 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March, 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages;

(d) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the magistrate they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) The fundamental reform of the Police Administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment: and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities more in touch with the respectable portions of the community and less addicted to military pretensions than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents, and Assistant-Superintendents of Police are at present;

(f) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India without distinction of creed, caste, or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and to make all licenses, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;

(g) The establishment of Military Colleges in India whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as commissioned or non-commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army;

(h) The organising throughout the more warlike races of the Empire of a system of militia services, and

(i) The authorising and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India;

(j) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to undomiciled European and Eurasian *employés* of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic embarrassment;

(k) The giving effect to the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments with regard to Prostitution and Contagious Disease, and endorsing their conclusions:

(i) That the system and incidental practices described in that report and the statutory rules, so far as they authorised or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888; and

(ii) That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

XVII. That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V. of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character.

XVIII. That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No. 22 F, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, dated 20th October 1894, and its appreciation of the generous principle which it enunciates of subordinating fiscal interests to the needs and agricultural interests of the rayat population in the management of forests;

And would further represent that in forests falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, grazing concessions, fodder, small timber for building houses and making agricultural implements, edible forest products, etc., may be granted free of charge in all cases, under such restrictions as to quantity, etc., as the Government may deem proper; and that wherever hardship may be felt under present conditions, the policy of the said resolution may be carried out with reference to existing forest areas and existing reserve boundaries so adjusted as to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the department.

XIX. That this Congress being of opinion that the Government of India's notification of 25th June, 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary, and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the same, and entreats its cancellation without delay.

XX. That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles, affording security to the rights of landowners and of persons investing money on land.

XXI. That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Govern-

ment to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects resident in the South African colonies by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disfranchising Indian subjects.

District and Local Boards.

The principle of representation has received some application in Indian administration within the last quarter of a century, especially since the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. The Local Self-government act of 1885 provided a District Board for every district; and the Local Government may, by notification, establish a Local Board in any one sub-division or in any two or more sub-divisions combined. Two thirds of the members of Local Boards in the more advanced districts are elected; and Local Boards are entitled to elect such proportion of the members of the District Boards as Government may from time to time direct. The Local Board is presided over by a chairman who is elected by the members from among their own number. The Vice-chairman of a District Board is always elected; but the Chairman has hitherto been appointed by the Local Government, though the Act provides that, should the Government in any case so direct, he may be elected by the members of the District Board from among their own number.

The following statement shows the constitution of the District and Local Boards in 1891-92:

*" Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India 1891-92," p. 115

Province.	Class of Board.	Total number of Members.	By Qualification.		By Employment.		By Race.	
			Nominated	Elected.	Officials.	Non-Officials.	Europeans, &c.	Natives.
Madras*	District	654	377	277	226	428	118	536
	Local	1,141	1,141	—	317	824	65	1,076
Bombay	District	503	277	226	139	374	78	425
	Local	2,984	1,642	1,342	661	2,323	122	2,862
Bengal	District	790	481	309	253	537	197	593
	Local	1,248	778	469	154	1,094	105	1,143
N.-W. Provinces	District	1,561	377	1,284	266	1,295	56	1,505
Punjab	District	1335	863	472	245	1,090	89	1,246
	Local	1,584	595	989	88	1,496	11	1,573
Central Provinces	District	1,132	241	891	109	1,023	17	1,115
Assam†	District	371	224	147	61	310	130	241
Berar	District	128	32	96	16	112	5	123
	Local	306	105	201	24	282	—	306
India	District	6,474	2,772	3,702	1,305	5,169	690	5,784
	Local	7,263	4,262	3,001	1,245	6,018	303	6,960

* Excluding Unions † Figures for 1890-91.

Forty years ago Municipal administration was confined to the three Presidency towns.

Municipalities. The local affairs of every large town are now managed by its Municipality, the majority of the members of which are elected by the towns-people. The following table exhibits the growth of the elective system between 1882 and 1892: *—

Province.	Total Members of Municipalities		Nominated.		Elected.		Official.		Non-Official.		European. &c.		Natives.	
	1881-82.	1891-92.	1881-82.	1891-92.	1881-82.	1891-92.	1881-82.	1891-92.	1881-82.	1891-92.	1881-82.	1891-91.	1881-82.	1891-92.
Madras	804	906	650	409	69	497	355	216	449	690	289	169	515	737
Bombay	2,590	2,493	1,839	1,529	48	964	919	708	1,671	1,785	407	222	2,183	2,271
Bengal	2,372	2,208	1,814	1,004	85	1,204	621	387	1,751	1,821	543	218	1,829	1,990
N.-W. Provinces & Oudh	1,460	1,555	328	319	694	1,236	477	287	983	1,268	347	156	1,113	1,399
Punjab	2,171	1,656	1,497	851	28	805	692	314	1,479	1,342	400	125	1,771	1,531
Central Provinces	640	634	8	193	397	441	239	157	401	477	139	51	501	583
Assam	100	126	70	75	—	51	47	50	53	76	37	25	63	101
Lower Burma	97	321	65	210	—	111	43	84	54	237	52	74	45	247
Berar	97	128	60	38	—	90	50	36	47	92	37	17	60	111
Coorg	49	53	32	45	—	8	17	17	32	36	7	6	42	47
TOTAL	10,380	10,080	6,363	4,673	1,321	5,407	3,460	2,256	6,920	7,824	2,258	1,063	8,102	9,017

* "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India," 1891-92 p. 94.

There were in 1892 all over India 755 municipalities, with a population within municipal limits of 15,742,581 and a revenue of Rs. 33,955,940.

The Indian Council.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892, though it did not come up to the expectations of the Indian National Congress was unquestionably an important step towards the growth of the elective system in India. It carried the principle of representation in Indian administration, though in a tentative and therefore imperfect form, from the local to the imperial stage. The Legislative Council of the Governor General has been "expanded by four additional members to be nominated under rules framed by him, with the approval of the Secretary of State, with a certain latitude of interpellation. To a considerable extent, the representative principle has been recognised in respect to the nominations both to the Council of the Governor General and to those of the Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the North-West Provinces. The large municipalities, for instance, groups of Local Boards, Chambers of Commerce, Senates of the Universities, and wherever such classes exist, bodies of influential landholders, or others of undoubted rank, whose interests are fairly homogeneous and are bound up with those of a considerable portion of the rural population, all these can be called upon to elect the representative whom they respectively propose for nomination. In the case of the remaining seats, which, so far as the non-official members are concerned, are the minority, the rules provide for the nomination of such persons as the Local

Governments think will best represent the views of branches of the community not possessing sufficient power of combination to recommend a man of their own choice."*

The introduction of the elective principle into local as well as the imperial administration, in its present restricted and experimental form, is evidently a step towards an end. What that end is to be cannot even be guessed now. But, in this connection it would be interesting to read the following passage from the writings of one of the most thoughtful of Englishmen that India has ever seen :—

"This class [the English-educated] is at present[1838] a small minority, but it is continually receiving accretions from the youth who are brought up at the different English seminaries. It will in time become the majority ; and it will then be necessary to modify the political institutions to suit the increased intelligence of the people, and their capacity for self-government. The change will thus be peaceably and gradually effected : there will be no struggle, no mutual exasperation ; the natives will have independence, after first learning how to make a good use of it : we shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies. The present administrative connection benefits families, but a strict commercial union between the first manufacturing and the first producing country in the world, would be a solid foundation of strength and prosperity to our whole nation."

* "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1891-92." p. 68.

"From being obstinate enemies, the Britons soon became attached and confiding friends; and they made more strenuous efforts to retain the Romans, than their ancestors had done to resist their invasion. It will be a shame to us if, with our greatly superior advantages, we also do not make our premature departure be dreaded as a calamity. It must not be said in after ages, that the "groans of the Britons" were elicited by the breaking up of the Roman empire; and the groans of the Indians by the continued existence of the British."*

Individuality as a developmental force in modern Hindu literature.

The underlying principle of the democratic movement of modern Europe is the sense of individuality, which, instilled into the Hindu mind under English influence, has greatly influenced Hindu literature. Among the Hindus, the individual has ever been more or less merged in the community. There has never been any restriction upon thought; and while civilization was progressive, the Hindus displayed considerable individuality in their literature and science. But, with the decay of civilization, Hindu thought practically restricted to the Bráhman caste, began to run in a narrow groove. Since the fourteenth century some of the great writers, like the great reformers, have shown much originality and independence of thought. The very fact that they wrote in the vernaculars which the learned steeped in

* Trevelyan "Education of the people of India," (1838) pp 194-197.

Sanskrit lore heartily despised, shows that they could think for themselves. But scarcely any of them ever went beyond Hindu mythology either for their subjects or for their conceptions of character; and none of them ever attempted to be rid of the fetters of rhyme. Ráma, Krishna, Siva or his consort, Umá, with the legends which had gathered round their names in the course of centuries are the principal figures in their compositions. Between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries Hindu thought scarcely ever ventured beyond the well-beaten tracks of religion and morality. There were numerous writers both in Sanskrit and vernaculars. But either commentary on some ancient philosophical or religious work, or poem on some mythological subject was the goal of their literary labour. The following list of works of a rather prolific writer who lived in Bengal about 1830 will convey some idea of the nature of their writings :*—

"1. A commentary on the *Chhandomanjari*, a treatise on prosody, so framed as to express the praises of Krishna.

2. A commentary on *Santi Sataka*, a work on abstraction from the world.

3. *Sadachara Nirnaya* a compilation from the laws on the Vaishnava ritual, containing 140 leaves or 280 pages in prose and verse.

4. *Dhatu Dipa*, a metrical explanation of Sanskrit roots in the order of the ten conjugations, containing 500 slokas.

5. *Annadika Kosha*, a metrical dictionary of works comprising the Unadi postfixes in two parts, of which one contains words having more meanings than one, and the other words of only one meaning, 300 slokas.

* Adam's "Reports on Vernacular Education" edited by J. Long Calcutta (1886) pp. 187-189.

6. *Rogarnava Tarini*, a compilation from various medical works on the treatment of disease, containing 174 leaves or 348 pages, part being in verse, extending to 6,000 slokas.

7. *Arishta Nirupana*, a description of the various signs or symptoms of approaching death, a compilation in verse of 400 slokas, contained in 14 leaves or 28 pages.

8. *Sarira Vivritti*, a treatise on the progress of gestation and on the seats in the human body of the various humours, &c., in prose and verse, comprised in 22 leaves or 44 pages.

9. *Lekha Darpana*, on letter writing, principally in prose, 15 leaves or 30 pages.

10. *Dwaita Siddhanta Dipika*, a defence of the distinction between the human and divine spirits in opposition to pantheism, contained in 71 leaves or 142 pages.

11. *Hariharastotra*, the praises of Vishnu and Siva, in nine slokas, so composed that every sloka has two senses:—of which one is applicable to Vishnu and the other to Siva.

12. *Siva Sarmadastotra*, 8 slokas, containing a double sense, one expressing the praises of Siva and the other some different meaning.

13. A commentary on the preceding.

14. *Yamakavinoda*, 8 slokas, containing the praises of Krishna, written in a species of alliteration by repetition of the same sounds.

15. A commentary on the preceding.

16. *Bhavanuprasa*, eight slokas, containing the praises of Krishna, in a species of alliteration.

17. *Antaslapika*, four slokas, in question and answer so framed that the answer to one in question contains the answers to all the questions in the same sloka.

18. *Radha Krishnastotra*, eight slokas, containing the praises of Radha and Krishna, and so framed that they may read either backward or forward.

19. A commentary on the above, consisting of two leaves or four pages.

20. A specimen of *Alata Chakra Bandha*, two slokas, so framed that each sloka contains materials for sixty-four slokas by the transposition of each letter in succession from the beginning to the end,—first the

thirty-two syllables from left to right, and afterwards the thirty-two from right to left.

21. *Sansaya Satani,* a commentary on the Bhagavat Purana now in progress of composition.

22. A commentary on Yama Shatpadi, which contains the praises of Narayana by Yama.

23. *Stavakadamba,* seventy-six slokas, containing the praises of Saraswati, Ganga, Yamuna, Nityanand, Chaitanya, Vrindavana, Krishna, and Radhika.

24. *Govindarupamriti,* forty-one slokas, containing a description of the qualities of Krishna.

25. *Krishna Keli Suddhaka,* four hundred slokas, on the loves of Radha and Krishna, principally occupied with the period extending from the jealousy of Radha to her reconciliation with Krishna

26. A commentary on the above, of thirty-seven leaves or seventy-four pages.

27. *Govinda Mahodaya,* 800 slokas, containing the history of Radha's eight female friends or attendants.

28. *Govinda Charita,* 350 slokas, containing the lamentation of Radha on account of her separation from Krishna.

29. *Bhakta Mala,* 5,000 slokas, explanatory of the different forms in which Krishna has been propitious to his votaries, translated from Hindi into Sanskrit.

30. *Durjana Mihira Kalanala,* a defence of the doctrine of the Vaishnavas.

31. *Bhakta Lilamrita,* a compilation from the eighteen Puranas of every thing relating to Krishna.

32. *Parakiya Mata Khandana,* an attempt to establish that the milk-women of Vrindavana with whom Krishna disported were his own wives, and not those of the milkmen of that place.

33. A commentary on Kavi Chandra's praise of Hara and Gauri (Siva and Parvati), consisting of 10 leaves or 20 pages.

34. *Desika Nirnaya,* a compilation on the qualifications of a spiritual guide and on the tests by which one should be selected.

35. A commentary on Srutyadhyaya, one of the books of the Bhagavata Purana on the history of Radha and Krishna, consisting of 22 leaves or 44 pages.

36. *Krishnavilasa*, 109 slokas, on the amours of Krishna. The preceding works are written in Sanskrit; the following chiefly in Bengalee, viz.

37. *Rama Rasayana*, the history of Rama, written on 889 leaves or 1,778 pages, containing 30,000 slokas.

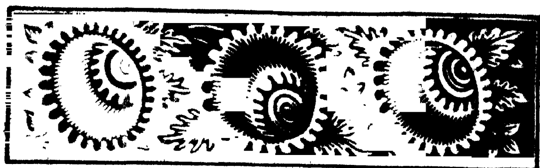
38 *Patra Prakasa*, 8 leaves or 16 pages, on letter writing, the example in Sanskrit and the explanation in Bengalee."

There is undoubtedly good deal of originality in the commentaries such as those of Sáyanácháryya or Raghunáth. Throughout the Mahomedan period there were at such places as Benares and Nadiyá great Sanskrit scholars with keen intellects. , But the intellect was usually exercised, it might almost be said in many cases wasted, upon barren though subtle disputations about knotty points of law, logic or metaphysics.

The sense of individuality fostered by the English environment has been a fruitful source of important changes. In religion, it first created a somewhat chaotic confusion, but later on led to rationalistic Hinduism; in social polity, it has diminished the stringency of caste rules. But its effect upon literature has been far more remarkable than upon religion or society. The Hindu cannot break through his social bonds without exposing himself to penalties which cannot always be regarded lightly. But there are no such restrictions upon independence of thought in literature. Educated Hindus who hold aloof from reforms which would subject them to the penalties of excommunication, have no hesitation to exhibit their individuality in literature. Vernacular literature in all parts of India has made rapid strides towards progress within the last fifty years; and that

this progress is attributable to English influence is inferable from the fact, that the progress is greatest where English education has spread most, and least where it is most backward. Purely vernacular or purely Sanskrit education has done little for the improvement of vernacular literature. In the North-Western Province and in the Bombay Presidency, the educational policy of Government was for a long time to encourage vernacular education almost exclusively in the former, and mainly in the latter. In Bengal, on the other hand, the policy has been, at least from 1835, to encourage English education; and Bengali literature has grown to be much richer than either Hindi or Márâthi, though before the establishment of the British rule the Hindi literature was far superior to, and the Márâthi literature by no means inferior to the Bengali literature. The most eminent writers in vernacular literatures within the last fifty years have all been English-educated men.





CHAPTER III.

INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH INDUSTRIALISM.

Industrial condition of England and of India about the middle of the eighteenth century.

About the beginning of the last century, the civilisation of England cannot be said, on the whole, to have been superior at least decidedly, to that of India. This is true not only with regard to spiritual and intellectual development, but also with regard to the outer forms of civilisation, the comforts and conveniences of civilised life. Even in her manufactures, England had not yet exhibited any signs of that supremacy which she now enjoys. Her roads were no better than those of India. Traffic was generally impossible during the winter months as it was in India during the rains. The food of London had mostly to be carried on pack horses. In the country, the fields were not drained, and intermittent fevers caused sad havoc among the rural population of England as of India. Epidemics were frequent in both the countries. The cities of England were not

less full of filth, than those of India. Calicoes had long been exported from India before they could be manufactured in England. English cloth had to be sent to Holland to be bleached or dyed, while dyeing was a flourishing industry in India. The silk-trade of England had to be protected in 1765 by the exclusion of the French silk from English markets. The English were indebted for the finer varieties of linen to Germany and Belgium, while India manufactured muslins of such exquisite fineness, that a piece could be made, fifteen yards wide, weighing only 900 grains. England imported nearly two thirds of the iron and much of the salt, earthen ware &c. used by her. Until 1774, the weaving of a fabric composed entirely of cotton was considered penal in England. Cotton manufactures were largely imported from India; in the seventeen years ending 1808-1809, their annual average was £1,539,478.* It was only towards the close of the eighteenth century that the spinning wheel was introduced into England.

Industrial expansion of England in the beginning of this century.

But England made rapid strides towards Industrial progress while India remained stationary. In 1769, James Watt got his patent "for a method of lessening the consumption of steam and fuel in fire-engine," and in 1787, Mr. Cartwright invented the power-loom. The cotton manufacture of England grew with wonderful rapidity. About the middle of the eighteenth century her export of cotton manufactures

* See Vol. I. p. LXXV.

amounted only to £45,000. In 1833, the amount was no less than £46,000,000. In 1830, the first railway was constructed between Liverpool and Manchester; seven years later, the first line of telegraph was constructed; and the Atlantic was crossed by steamers about the same time.

Effect of the expansion upon Indian industries.

While England was being modernised—if we can so express ourselves—India remained in the old-world condition. She was too far from Europe to feel the quickening impulse of progress which transformed that continent; and centuries of slow evolution had given the social structure of the Hindus a rigidity which unfitted it for the ready reception of a sudden impulse. The caste system had long restricted industrial occupations to low illiterate castes. The higher classes looked down upon such occupations. In the Manu Samhitá, one of the most ancient and authoritative of the Hindu codes of Law, such respectable people as physicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, vocalists, tailors, blacksmiths and dyers are classed with regard to the purity of food prepared by them, with perjurers, thieves, and adulteresses.* In a community where industries were held in such low estimation, it was not to be expected that their improvement would all of a sudden engage the attention of the only classes which could effect it. And the marvellous quickness and suddenness of the

* Manu, I' . 84, 210-16.

Industrial Revolution did not give the Hindus any time to adapt themselves to the new order of things. English manufactures poured in, like an avalanche, and swept the indigenous industries before them. The day of manual skill, in which the Hindu artisans excelled, was over. Hand-made manufactures could no longer compete with machine-made manufactures. Hindu artisans had neither the time nor the education to assimilate the mechanical skill of modern Europe. It was not to be expected that illiterate weavers, or illiterate dyers, or illiterate miners would apply the scientific methods of modern industries to their occupations. If India had her own way, she would probably have protected her industries, as England had protected hers in the eighteenth century, and as most civilized countries protect theirs at the present day. But India could not have her own way; and a protective tariff was not to be thought of.

Thus the first effect of the industrial expansion of England in the beginning of the present century was the ruin of the artisan population of India. The introduction of the power loom caused great distress among the weavers of England. They invoked the help of Parliament. "They begged to be sent to Canada. They proposed that the terrible power-loom should be restrained by law; and when that was denied them, they rose in their despair and lawlessly overthrew the machines which were devouring the bread of their children."* But, the distress of the English weavers was

* "The 19 th century" By R. Mackenzie (1892) p. 72.

only temporary. They soon had a share in the wealth created by the expansion of the cotton industry. It was not till the middle of the present century* that the mechanical skill of modern Europe was transported to India by enterprising Englishmen: and the mills and factories on modern methods started by them found employment for a portion of the artisans who were thrown out of work by the importation of the English manufactures. But, the number of such mills and factories, even after nearly half a century of growth, is comparatively very small; and the greater portion of the displaced artisans have been thrown upon agriculture for subsistence. Besides, the foreign proprietors of the mills and factories not being settled in the country their profits instead of benefiting the Indian community only swell the annual drain to Europe.

Recent growth of industrial enterprise and technical education.

Thus the immediate effect of the growth of English industrialism was to reduce the artisan class of India, to the condition of agricultural labourers, at least to a very great extent; and as the former have a more cultivated intellect than the latter, this was certainly a step backward in the intellectual movement of the Indian community. But, the mills and factories started by the English in India have served as models of what English enterprise and modern science can do: and modern industrialism has been penetrating, though very

* The first cotton mill in India is believed to be the Bowrea mill near Calcutta which was started in 1817. But it stood alone until 1851, when the first mill was started in western India at Broach.

slowly, into Hindu society. Within the last twenty years many new industries conducted entirely by Indian agency on modern methods have been started by the Hindus.* Technical education has also, as we shall presently see, made some progress within that period, though the progress is very small. The aversion of the upper classes for industrial occupations is gradually disappearing. Members of the highest caste are beginning to engage in industries such as tanning, oil-pressing, soap-making &c. which have hitherto been confined to the lowest castes. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay was attended in 1893 by 119 students of whom no less than 70 were Bráhmans. Hindu society is adapting itself gradually to its new environment.

Difficulties of industrial progress.

The progress, however, is very slow. It is only this year that the first railway line† due to purely Indian enterprise has been opened. In their competetion with the British, the advantages which the Indians have of a low standard of living and of local knowledge are more than counterbalanced by the disadvantages of want of capital and want of mechanical and scientific knowledge. There is such a superfluity of capital in Great Britain that it seeks investment in enterprises offering no higher return than that of 4 or 5 per cent. In India, on the other hand, capital is so scarce, that double this rate

* See Book IV, chapters III and IV.

† Between Tárakesvar and Magrá in Bengal, a distance of 31 miles. The line is narrow-gauge.

of interest is hardly sufficient to attract its investment in enterprises of a risky nature. The competition of a community, the average income of whose members is not more than £ 2 with one the average income of whose members is not less than £ 33, in undertakings one of the essential conditions of the success of which is large capital is indeed very difficult. Besides, the physical environment of the Briton has favoured the development of industrial qualities, whereas the physical environment of the Hindu has favoured the development of quietism. The fact that the education which the Hindus have hitherto received is of a literary character also explains to a great extent their want of industrial enterprise. They can not very well develop the resources of their country before they know what those resources are, and how they can be developed. They have not had the necessary training.

Technical education.

The subject of technical education has however, during the last decade attracted some attention. There are some whose idea of technical education does not soar beyond such handicrafts as carpentry, tailoring, &c. Others there are who want art-work. A third class, more aspiring, wishes for the large manufacturing industries. Not a little confusion is frequently caused by jumbling all these up. It behoves us, therefore, to see what it is that the country more particularly requires. We are disposed to think there is not much room for expansion at present in the petty industries, such as carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking, &c. It is not the

making up of cloth or leather, but the manufacture of cloth or leather that is more particularly wanted in this country. Few people are in a position to use made up clothes at all, far less clothes of fine cut or nice fit, or boots and shoes of approved shape and fashionable make. Of furniture of any kind there is but little demand. Our wants in these directions are extremely limited; and they are, we think, well enough supplied at present. Besides, such technical training as is needed for the handicrafts could, we believe, be best obtained at the existing shops. Whatever field there is for enterprise in them is being occupied. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand the relative importance of the different grades of technical education which we notice below.

Industrial schools.

The first school of Industry in India was established at Jabalpur in 1837 for the benefit of the Thugs and their children. In 1850, Dr. Hunter, a Surgeon in the East India Company's service at Madras, founded, at his own cost, a school of fine arts; and in the following year, be founded a school of industry for "improving the manufacture of various articles of domestic and daily use." Both of these schools were taken over by Government in 1855.

A number of industrial schools has, sprung up of late in different parts of the country, in which trades such as those of the carpenter and the blacksmith are taught. There were twentysix such schools in Bengal in 1894 divided into (*a*) three Government schools with 33 pupils; (*b*) nine Board schools with 283

pupils; (*c*) eight aided schools with 236 pupils; (*d*) six unaided schools with 213 pupils. Speaking generally, the object of them all is to teach such subjects as carpentry, blacksmith's work, mensuration, engineering, estimating, drawing, surveying by chain and compass, trigonometry, and the plane-table; together with engraving, electro-plating, tinsmithy, clock-making, embroidery or *bidri* work; not all in one school, but some in one and some in another.

In 1882, there were in the whole of India 44 industrial schools attended by 1,509 pupils. In 1892, the number of schools rose to 69, and that of pupils to 3,860.

Art schools.

There was, in 1884-85, an Art school at the capital town of each of the provinces, Madras, Bengal, Bombay and the Punjab. They were attended by 655 pupils. In 1891-92, the number of Art schools rose to 6, and that of pupils attending them to 1,048. The Art schools train general and engineering draughtsmen, architects, modellers, wood-engravers, lithographers &c. With regard to the Calcutta school of Art, "the general character of the work done in the school will compare favourably with that of any Art school in the United Kingdom; and outside evidence has testified to the high class character of the students' performances, in illustrations of zoology, in modelling, wood-engraving, lithography, and illustrations of the Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden."*

* Resolution of the Govt. of Bengal on the report of the Education Department for 1893-94.

The following extract from the Madras Education Report for 1883-84, will give an idea of the nature of the training given in the Madras School of Art:

"A pleasing and novel feature in the year's history is that the Institution is beginning to fulfil its chief object—the supply of skilled labour for various arts in districts—some students having obtained suitable employment. The engagement of one as a designer of textile fabrics is specially gratifying, for it is in relation to improved design that the school is calculated to benefit the industries of the country. Instruction in freehand was more successful than that in geometrical drawing, the failure in the latter subject being probably due to the low general educational standard of most of the students.

Useful instruction has been given and progress made in wood-carving, engraving, metal-work, and in the manufacture of stained glass windows, the students having been instructed in the process of execution as well as of design.

The Institution seems to have been very active in its manufacturing branch, turning out a quantity of high class work. Experiments too have been made in various directions as regards pottery, and valuable information collected. The discovery of superior kaolin, uncontaminated by iron, near Salem, will, it is hoped, prove an important one."

The following extracts from the annual report (for 1883-84) of Mr. Kipling, Principal of the Mayo School of Art at Lahore, will be found interesting:

"The most important work of the year and the most complete in point of accomplishment was the drawing done for the illustration of the Journal of Indian Art, including architecture, Mooltan pottery, ivory-carving, and other subjects. Drawings were also made for carpets, screens in carved wood, for choice examples of Koft work, Hoshiarpur inlay and wood-work, most of the latter being given out for execution to artizans in the districts for exhibition at the Indo-Colonial display in London. The most important piece of original design was the billiard-room for His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Bagshot Park. This was begun by Ram Singh and myself during the last vaca-

tion: and we succeeded in satisfying our patrons with a project for lining the new billiard-room with an elaborate arrangement of carved wood in the style of the last century of Punjab wood decoration. These designs and drawings, though chiefly the work of myself and Ram Singh, Assistant Master, were worked upon by the younger students, who made full size experimental drawings, models, &c.—perhaps the most instructive practice that can be found. The actual work is too large and heavy to be undertaken in the school, and it is given out on contract to a carpenter at Amritsar who works under the direction of Ram Singh; while some of the choicer panels, &c., are reserved for the practice of the wood-carving class in the school. In addition to the lining of the billiard-room, all the furniture for the apartment was designed in the school, so as to be in keeping with the rest. In a similar way the design for a carved Screen, the gift of the Punjab Government to the Indian Institute at Oxford, was elaborated in the school on lines suggested by Mr. Basil Champneys, the Architect of the Institute, and actually carried out at Amritsar."

Institutions for higher technical education.

But, the fate of Indian art is doomed. The demand for it is daily decreasing, and will continue to decrease as the price of labour rises. In these days of cheap imitation things, genuine art productions requiring a vast amount of labour are not likely to hold their own. It is the larger industries involving scientific methods and appliances, such as cotton manufactures, iron-smelting, paper-making, &c, which are most likely to develop the resources of the country and make it rich, and which are, therefore specially needed. There is also considerable scope for the application of the methods and results of modern science in agriculture. The skilled labour needed for the manufacturing and agricultural industries which are dependent more or less upon science is of various grades. The training

required for the operatives would manifestly be best given in primary schools. But for teachers of such schools, chemists and others under whose direction large industries, manufacturing and agricultural, are carried on, a superior degree of scientific training is required which may be called Higher Technical Education. Besides the Engineering Colleges in the different provinces, and the chemical and physical laboratories of the Medical Colleges and of such institutions as the Presidency College of Calcutta, and the Elphinstone College of Bombay there are but few institutions where higher technical education is now imparted in India. There is a class of scientific agriculture at the Poona College of Science; and the Bombay University encourages its study by conferring a diploma in agriculture. There has been an Agricultural College at Madras for some years. The course of instruction comprises agriculture, practical farming, surveying, veterinary, geology, physical geography and physics. In 1892, the college was attended by 45 students. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was founded in Bombay in 1888. In 1893 it was attended by 119 Hindu students. Instruction is given in Physics, Mechanics, Drawing, and Technological cotton manufacture and mechanical Engineering.

The following statement shows the condition of Technical Education in British India in 1884-85 :—

	University Education.		School Education.								Classes in High Schools in.			
	Engineering.		Schools of Art.		Engineering and Surveying Schools.		Industrial Schools.		Schools of Agriculture.		Art.		Agriculture.	
	Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.	Number.	Attendance.
Madras	1	19	1	162	1	106	6	249	1	96	...	...	...	...
Bombay	1	102	1	251	2	98	7	307	1	46	36	2,713	8	289
Bengal	1	42	1	157	5	278	5	172			...	...	...	...
Punjab	...	...	1	85	...		1	93	...	...	...	...	...	...
North-Western Provinces.	1	155	...	...	...	...	2	186	...	...	...	...	...	...
C. Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	316	...	...	...	...	...	...
Assam	...	...	...	...	7	163	1	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burma	...	...	...	...	5	110	1	38	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	4	218	4	655	20	755	45	1,379	2	142	36	2,713	8	289

The following is a comparative statement showing the progress in some branches of technical education between 1882 and 1892:

Class of Institution.	1881-82.		1886-87.		1891-92.	
	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.
Schools of Art ...	5	439	4	763	6	1,048
Industrial Schools ...	44	1,509	68	3,030	69	3,860
Total ...	49	1,948	72	3,793	75	4,908





CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE OF MODERN NATURAL SCIENCE.

Education in India until recently literary.

From the brief survey which we have taken of the history of the Hindu intellect in ancient times it will be seen that its progress had chiefly been in the fields of literature and philology, and of the mathematical and mental sciences. They had made great progress in medicine and surgery; and works like those of Charaka and Susruta may still be read with interest, and even with profit. They had studied the properties of numerous plants and minerals, but only so far as was necessary for medical purposes. Natural science as such was not cultivated by the Hindus or any of the other great nations of antiquity. It is essentially of recent growth. It was only towards the latter half of the last century, that those discoveries were made in Europe, especially in France, which laid the foundation of modern science; and it is only within the last fifty years that it has made the greatest progress. When schools for English education were

established in this country (about 1820) natural science had scarcely been grafted upon the curriculum of education in England; and though one of the main objects of English education was to teach modern science, very little of it was actually taught until quite recently. The elements of optics, hydrostatics, and mechanics comprised the entire course of natural philosophy, and these subjects too were taught as branches rather of mixed mathematics than of experimental physical science.

Until lately, the Indian educational authorities were not at all favourable to the teaching of natural science. We shall give an instance by way of illustration. The Directors of the East India Company wished to institute a chair for Geology at the Presidency College of Calcutta soon after its establishment in 1855; and it seems that Dr. Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, offered to undertake the duties of the professorship in addition to his own work. The Directors, however, sent out Dr. Liebig as professor of natural history and geology in 1856.* But the services of Dr. Liebig were transferred temporarily to the mint before he had entered on the duties of his professorship, and an assistant of the Geological Survey was engaged to give a course of lectures on Geology and Mineralogy during the session 1856-57. The course was attended by a very small number of students; the authorities thought

* Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department No. LXXVI. p. 61.

that a larger number was not to be expected in future, and the lecturership was abolished. The Directors, however, were not satisfied of the propriety of this decision :

"In any case" say the directors "provision must be made for affording instruction in practical geology to the students of the College of Civil Engineering at Calcutta, a knowledge of the subject being essential to an efficient course of instruction at that institution. The fact that candidates for the degree of B. A. are not required to undergo an examination in geology, is not, in our opinion, a sufficient reason why the opportunity of becoming acquainted with that science should not be afforded at an institution which professes to afford the means of a liberal education of the highest order. And as regards the assumed failure of the experiment, we cannot think that a fair trial would, under any circumstances, have been afforded by the delivery of a single course of lectures; and in the present case it may be presumed, without the risk of injustice to Mr. * * that the attendance would have been much larger had the lectures been delivered by Dr. Liebig.

It is accordingly our desire that the professorship of geology should be re-established and that the services of Dr. Liebig should be made available for the office, an arrangement which we think may be carried out at once, without prejudice to the duties entrusted to Dr. Liebig at the Mint."*

Nothing further was heard about the Professorship of geology at the Presidency College for a long time, and it was established only three years ago.

Difficulties of scientific progress among the Hindus.

There are obstacles in the way of scientific education of the Hindus which are of a serious nature. Scientific education offers openings in Europe which may as yet be said to be almost absent in India, at least for the Indians. Scientific research is liberally

* Letter from the Court of Directors dated 28th April, 1858.

endowed in Europe, so that specialists may devote themselves to their favourite subjects with their animal wants fairly supplied ; and there are influential societies which watch over their interests. In India, there are under the Government a few small departments which are maintained chiefly for scientific research, and a few larger departments for which a scientific training is necessary. Both these classes of departments are almost exclusively officered by Europeans. With regard to the departments for scientific research, * it is sometimes argued as if as Orientals, the Hindus were incapable of it, whatever their education might be. It is true, the ancestors of the modern Hindus had made but little progress in Natural Science ; but, the ancestors of the modern Europeans had not made any better progress. Modern Natural Science does not date back earlier than the middle of the last century. The Hindus successfully cultivated Astronomy which requires observational powers of no mean order. They also made valuable observations on plants and minerals.† In their conceptions of the duration and mutability of our planet ; ‡ of the gradual evolution of the organic world ; of an ethereal substance, infinite and eternal ; of material substances as aggregates of atoms ; and of light and heat as different forms of the same substance,§

* Research is carried on by these departments in Botany, Geology, Zoology, Meteorology &c.

† See Book V. Ch. I.

‡ See Lyell's "Principles of Geology."

§ Colebrooke's " Philosophy of the Hindus—Vaisesika."

they had anticipated some of the fundamental principles of modern science. The facts, that they have done this in the past, that they have made some contributions* to science, however humble, in the present, that an Oriental nation like the Japanese has, within so short a space of time as a decade or two, risen to scientific eminence, show that the mere fact of his being an Oriental does not argue an inborn incapacity for scientific research in the Hindu. If it were so, if science had been the exclusive prerogative of the Western nations, the Government would scarcely be justified in maintaining scientific research, which benefits only a few members of the European community which can well enough bear the expense of such research, with the money of the poverty-stricken people of India. A civilized Government has certain well recognized responsibilities towards its subjects, one of which is to spend the revenue derived by taxing them upon objects which are calculated to conduce, at least principally, to their good. We see no reason why with an improved system of scientific education, and with just and sympathetic treatment of the young men trained in science, they will not be able to take that place in the modern scientific world which they may be expected to do under the rule of one of the foremost nations of that world. The reason of the recent success of the Japanese in the field of science is, that their young men, trained under Western scientists, instead of being thwarted,

* These will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

discouraged, and set down as incapable, have been aided, encouraged, and stimulated by their Government to pursue science.

Government has within the last decade done much to improve the condition of scientific education. In the Presidency College of Calcutta, a lecturership of Geology has been instituted, and the physical and chemical laboratories have been greatly improved. A great deal still remains to be done to bring up the education to the Western level. But, what has been done already may be taken as an earnest of more to be done in the future. With regard, however, to the employment of Indians in departments requiring scientific training, whatever the intentions* of the Government may be, they are not likely to bear any fruit if they have to be carried out by heads of departments such as the Surveyor-General of India who in a memorandum submitted to the Public Service Commission said: "It is suicidal for the Europeans to admit that Natives can do any thing better than themselves. They should claim to be superior in *everything*, and only allow natives to take a secondary or subordinate part .... In my old parties I never permitted a Native to touch a theodolite or an original computation, on the principle that the triangulation or scientific work was the prerogative of the highly-paid European; and this reservation of the

* For an instance of the manner in which the good intentions of the Government may be frustrated by departmental opposition, see "Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Survey Department," pp. 6-7.

scientific work was the only way by which I could keep up a distinction, so as to justify the different figures of pay respectively drawn by the two classes, between the European in office time and the native who ran him so close in all the office duties. Yet I see that Natives commonly do the computations now-a days, and the Europeans some other inferior duties." *

It is but seldom, however, that we have such frank admission. The reason usually assigned for keeping the Hindu down at the low level of routine drudgery is his alleged incapacity for higher work. He is judged incompetent before he is allowed an opportunity to show that he is competent. †

The departments under the Government of India for which some amount of scientific training is required are the Survey, the Telegraph, the Forest, the Medical and the Public Works. In 1886 there were in the

* Memorandum by Col. De Pree, Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Survey Department, p. 23.

† With regard to the recruitment in India of the Geological Survey of India, the Government of India says in a resolution dated March, 1893: "It has been found, however, owing to the difficulty which is experienced in obtaining Asiatics with pronounced talent for geological research, that the system of appointing natives as probationary Sub-Assistants is not likely to be successful." Considering that there was no lecturership of Geology in any institution in the Bengal Presidency until 1893, that there is even now no adequate provision for the teaching of geology in any part of India, and that there is scarcely any opening for geological knowledge is the absence of a "pronounced talent for geological research" to be wondered at? Scientific research under present conditions, which require previous assimilation of what has been done in the West, is quite different from what it was a century ago.

Survey of India Department, 146 Europeans, 34 Eurasians and only 2 Indians, and these in the very lowest grades of the junior division; in the Public Works Department, there were 810 Europeans, 119 Eurasians and Europeans domiciled in India, and only 86 Indians of whom not one was in the highest grades.

The heads of scientific, no less than the heads of political and other departments, not unoften appear to consider the suppression of the educated Indian essential for the maintenance of British prestige. "Both classes of Europeans [official and non-official]" observes a writer holding a high position under the Government of Bengal "are equally reluctant to admit the natives to equality, and the official class is especially aggrieved, because the natives are invading preserves which have hitherto been free from any intruder. .... This is the result of education which has tended to equalise the races, and the nearer the equality the stronger the dislike. .... They [the Englishmen] are more pleased with the backward Hindu than with his advanced compatriot, because the former has made no attempt to attain equality with themselves." *

* H. J. S. Cotton, "New India," pp. 40-41.

Radhanath Shikdar was for sometime chief computer in the Survey of India Department. The following mention is made of him in the preface to the first edition of the "Manual of Surveying" by Smyth and Thuillier:—

"In parts III. and IV. the compilers have been very largely assisted by Babu Radha Nath Shikdar, the distinguished head of the Computing Department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a gentleman, whose intimate acquaintance with the rigorous forms and

The extreme poverty of the people is a serious obstacle in the way of scientific education, or scientific research. In Bengal, there is only one college, the

mode of procedure adopted on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, and great acquirements and knowledge of scientific subjects generally, render his aid particularly valuable. The chapters 15 and 17 up to 21 inclusive, and 26 of part III, and the whole of part V. are entirely his own, and it would be difficult for the compilers to express with sufficient force the obligations they thus feel under to him, not only for the portion of the work which they desire thus publicly to acknowledge, but for the advice so generally afforded on all subjects connected with his own Department."

The acknowledgment of valuable scientific work done by a "native" was probably considered by the editors of a later issue of the work inconsistent with British prestige, and Radha Nath Shikdar's name was omitted. Col. Sherwill thus wrote in the "Friend of India" (1876):

"A friend has just sent me a copy of the *Friend of India* of the 24th June, all the way from Germany, in order that I might be made acquainted with the *sad fact* that, when bringing out a third edition of "Smyth and Thuillier's Manual of Surveying for India," the much respected name of the late Babu Radhanath Shikdar, the able and distinguished head of the computing department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, who did so much to enrich the early editions of the "Manual," had been advertently, or inadvertently, removed from the preface of the last edition; while at the same time all the valuable matter written by the Babu had been retained, and that without any acknowledgment as to the authorship.

As an old Revenue Surveyor who used the "Manual" for a quarter of a century, and as an acquaintance of the late Radhanath Shikdar, I feel quite ashamed for those who have seen fit to exclude his name from the present edition, especially as the former Editors so fully acknowledged the deep obligations under which they found themselves for Radhanath's assistance, not only for the particular portion of the work "*which they desire thus publicly to acknowledge*—so runs the preface of the 1851 edition,—*but for the advice so generally afforded on all subjects connected with his own department.*"

("Reminiscences and Anecdotes" by Rámgopál Sányal, p. 25).

Government Presidency College of Calcutta, which has laboratories worth the name. Private colleges which have to charge very low fees * cannot afford expensive apparatus for the purposes of demonstration or experiment. The consequence is, that though scientific subjects have been introduced into the University Examinations, they are generally taught theoretically rather than practically.

Recent progress of scientific education.

Considering these difficulties in the way of scientific education the way in which it has spread within the last decade is rather hopeful. We do not place any exaggerated value upon natural science. As an educational agent we do not consider it in any way superior to general literature (including mental philosophy). There is as much of culture as of narrow-mindedness, as much of angelic as of the reverse disposition among scientists as among literary men. But natural science has of late come into prominence, as the intellectual basis of Western civilization. Without it, it is impossible for a nation at the present day to hold its own, let alone progress. The cultivation of natural science and the adoption of the means and appliances which it has given rise to is a question not of education but of existence. The fate of China in her recent war with Japan shows this plainly. Her discomfiture is due

* The monthly fee for all the courses of lectures usually charged by the private colleges in Bengal is three rupees (not four shillings at the present rate of exchange).

to her excessive conservatism. The Hindus have of late begun to perceive the necessity of scientific education for their very existence. They cannot engage in any industry, mining, manufacturing or agricultural, without it ; and without such industries there is scarcely any hope for them in the future. An association for the cultivation of science in Calcutta has, for sometime past been trying to spread scientific education by popular lectures on physics, chemistry, geology and biology. All the Universities have now science-courses for their B. A. degrees which are yearly increasing in popularity ; and the Bombay University grants degrees in science. The courses for the degree examinations of the different Universities comprise all the branches of natural science.*

* The B. course for the B A. degree of the Calcutta University is

PASS SUBJECTS.	HONOURS SUBJECTS. B. *
I.—English.	I.—In addition to the pass subjects, a further course in English and the history of the English language and literature, and an original English essay.
II.—Mathematics. Statics. Dynamics. Hydrostatics.	II.—In addition to the pass course, Analytical Plane Geometry and the Differential and Integral Calculus.
And one of the following :—	
III.—Physics and Chemistry.	III.—A fuller course in Physics and Chemistry together with the Doctrine of Scientific Method.
IV.—Physiology and either Botany or Zoology.	IV.—Physiology, Botany and Zoology, together with the Doctrine of Scientific Method.

Condition of general scientific education still unsatisfactory.

But though the training in natural science required by these degrees is of a fairly comprehensive character, the provisions made for the teaching of science in the colleges affiliated to them are generally of a very unsatisfactory character. There is only one Arts college, the Government Presidency College

V.—Geology and either Mineralogy or Physical Geography.	V.—Geology, Mineralogy and Physical Geography, together with the Doctrine of Scientific Method.

Candidates in Natural and Physical Science for the M. A. degree of the Calcutta University are allowed to select alternatively one out of the following subjects.

(A) Chemistry.

(B) Heat, Electricity and Magnetism, as principal subjects, with Light and Sound as subsidiary subjects.

(C) Light and Sound as principal subjects, with Heat, Electricity and Magnetism as subsidiary subjects.

(D) Botany.

(E) Physiology and Zoology.

(F) Geology and Mineralogy.

(A) The course in chemistry is both theoretical and practical. In the practical examination candidates ought to show a good knowledge of chemical manipulation and ought to be able to qualitatively analyse complex inorganic substances. They should also be acquainted with the principles of quantitative analysis.

(A) and (C) Candidates have to show a thorough knowledge of the principal subjects and a general acquaintance with the subsidiary subjects, treating the subjects, mathematically and experimentally.

(D) Botany includes the following :—

(*a*) General and Special Morphology and Physiology.

(*b*) Systematic Botany.

(*c*) Palæobotany.

of Calcutta, where there exist chemical and physical laboratories worth the name. This is also the only college in the Bengal Presidency where geology has been taught for the last three years, as yet, however, without that amount of practical work which is essential for a sound knowledge of the subject. Except the Medical College of Calcutta, there is no institution in the Bengal Presidency where Zoology or Botany is taught. And at the Medical College, these subjects are still taught very nearly on the methods adopted half a century ago. Comparative anatomy, histology and physiological botany which have advanced in Europe so rapidly within that time are scarcely touched. The Medical College is administered by men who have spent a good portion of their lives in the practice of medicine and surgery; and it is probable that they set but little value upon subjects which are of so little use to them in their practice. Anyhow, Botany and Zoology are taught in the only institution where those subjects are taught

(*d*) Practical knowledge of indigenous Indian plants, and identification of specimens of them by Roxburgh's *Flora Indica* (Clarke's edition).

(E) Zoology * shall include the subjects (*a*) Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, (*b*) Distribution, and (*c*) Evolution.

(F) Geology and Mineralogy includes the subjects of (*a*) Stratigraphical Geology, (*b*) Palæontology, (*c*) Mineralogy, (*d*) Crystallography (*e*) Elementary Inorganic Chemisty.

The Bombay University grants a degree in Science (B. Sc.) the course for which corresponds to the B. course for the B. A. degree of the Calcutta University, but the examination is of a more searching character.

in Bengal without any practical laboratory work worth the name. *

We are not aware that the teaching of general natural science has kept much better pace with modern progress in other parts of India, than in Bengal. In the Madras Presidency, besides the Medical College, there appears to be only one college, the Presidency College, where there is a chair for Biology, and their is no institution where geology is systematically taught. Science appears, however, to be in greater favour in the Western Presidency than in Bengal or Madras, there being chairs for Biology in addition to those of Chemistry and Physics in the Poona College of Science and in the Elphinstone, Wilson, Baroda & Fergusson colleges.

Medical education.

We have already noticed the remarkable progress which the ancient Hindus had made in Medical Science. But with the decay of their civilization, it, like the other sciences, attained a stereotyped form in which the British rule found it. Its surgery has been superseded by the more scientific

* Surgeon-Col. Harvey in his presidential address at the Indian Medical Congress held in Calcutta last year (December, 1894) said:—

"The Medical College of Calcutta the parent of all subsequent medical schools, is most miserably and inadequately housed. It has but two poor theatres in which lecture has to succeed lecture without intermission, so that the professors have neither the time nor the opportunity to prepare for their demonstrations, and the rooms are poisoned by the mephitic air of a succession of audiences. The laboratories, dissecting room, anatomical and other departments are all cramped for room, and so damp and dark and ill-arranged that effective teaching is very difficult."

The Medical College building, however. is now being improved.

surgery of the West; but as a system of medicine, it still enjoys a high reputation among all classes of the Hindus, and is widely studied.* Attempts are now being made to improve and systematise its instruction, but they have not yet taken shape worthy of record.

Under British Rule, medical education was imparted from 1822 to 1835 through the Indian classics in special classes attached to the Arabic and Sanskrit Colleges at Calcutta. There was also a separate institution which trained up assistants to the medical officers of the Government. The institution had only one lecturer who delivered his lectures in Hindusthani. The books which the students read were Hindi abridgments of English works, and dissection was practised upon inferior animals. In 1835, Lord William Bentinck proposed the establishment of a Medical College on European principles, and appointed a Committee to report upon the subject. The educationists of the time were ranged in two parties, of which one, called the Anglicist, favoured English education, and the other, known as the Orientalist, advocated Oriental education. The proposal of Lord William Bentinck led to a controversy between the two parties. But the weakness of the Orientalists rendered the contest a very unequal one; and the Anglicists won an easy victory. Dr. Tytler, Superintendent of the Medical

* In Bengal, in 1837, Mr. Adam found one medical school in Rajshahi containing 7 students taught by 2 professors; in Birbhum, one school attended by 6 students; and in Burdwan 4 medical schools with 45 students (Adam's "Reports on Vernacular education," p. 322).

institution and an orientalist of some distinction, denied "that a system of educating the natives through the medium of English would be in the least more comprehensive, or by any means so much so, as one carried on in the native languages," and considered it wholly "inexpedient as a general measure." The committee, however, came to the conclusion, "that it was perfectly feasible to educate native medical men on broad European principles," and that a knowledge of the English language was to be a *sine qua non* in the pupils. The Medical College fulfilled the most sanguine expectations which had been entertained of it. "The pupils" wrote Trevelyan two or three years after its establishment "are animated by the most lively professional zeal, and they evince a quickness and intelligence in the prosecution of their studies which has perhaps never been surpassed." James Prinsep, who examined the chemical class in 1837, reported officially as follows:

"In the first place, I may remark generally, that all the essays are extremely creditable. Indeed the extent and accuracy of the information on the single subject selected to test the abilities of the pupils has far surpassed my expectations; and I do not think that in Europe any class of chemical pupils would be found capable of passing a better examination for the time they have attended lectures, nor indeed, that an equal number of boys would be found so nearly on a par in their acquirements."*

* Quoted by Trevelyan, "Education of the people of India," p. 32.

The progress of medical education in India since 1835 has been immense. Speaking of the "remarkable success achieved by Natives of India whose professions have a more or less scientific, exact, and practical basis," Sir John Strachey says, that "this is especially the case with those who have devoted themselves to the study and practice of European Surgery."* The courses of instruction at the Indian Medical Colleges are similar to those of the medical institutions in the West. †

* "India" p. 214.

† The following was the course at the Calcutta Medical College, in 1894:

1st year.	*2nd year.*	*3rd year.*
Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy. Chemistry. Botany. Dissection.	Comp. Anatomy, Comp. Physiology, and Zoology. Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy. General Anatomy and Physiology. Chemistry. Practical Chemistry. Materia Medica. Botany. *2nd year.* Dissections. Pharmacy—three months.	Materia Medica. Dissections. Physiology. Hospital practice—one year.

A medical school established in Madras in 1835 was raised to the status of a college in 1851, and affiliated to the Madras University in 1877. The Grant Medical College of Bombay was established in 1845 as a tribute to the memory of Sir Robert Grant, who was for some time Governor of Bombay. It was affiliated to the Bombay University in 1860. Quite recently medical colleges in which a complete education is given in English have been opened at Lahore, Allahabad, Tanjore, and Nellore. The course of studies pursued at these institutions is similar to that of the Medical College of Calcutta.

The attendance at the Medical Colleges of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1885 was 132, 124, and 277 respectively. By 1893, the number of medical colleges had increased to four attended by 811 students.

4th year.	*5th year.*
Medicine. Surgery. Midwifery. Medical Jurisprudence with demonstrations. Hospital practice—twelve months.	Medicine and Clinical Medicine. Surgery and Clinical Surgery. Midwifery and six labour cases. Medical Jurisprudence with demonstrations. Pathology with demonstrations. Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery. Hygiene. Dentistry. *Post-mortem* records. Hospital practice—six months. Out-door and Eye Infirmary practice—three months each

During the five years between 1888 and 1892, 2288 candidates appeared at the medical examinations of the different Indian Universities, of whom 1,058 were successful. Medical education is greatly more valued in Bombay, than in Madras or Bengal. About 26 per cent of the candidates who passed the matriculation of the Bombay University between 1886 and 1890, went up for its medical examinations, the percentage in Bengal and Madras being 4·83 and 5·64 respectively.

Besides the medical colleges preparing for the University Examinations (L. M. S. and M. B.), of which the medium of instruction is English there were in 1884-85, 17 Government vernacular medical schools attended by 1,403 pupils. A school of medicine has recently been established in Calcutta which is independent of Government aid.

Engineering education.

Remains of temples, roads, bridges and reservoirs testify to the engineering skill of the Hindus in pre-British times.* But, though some Sanskrit books on engineering subjects † have come down to us, they had long before the establishment of British rule ceased to be taught in schools. Engineering instruction on modern methods commenced in India only about half a century ago.

* See "Ways and Works in India" by G. W. Mac. George, pp. 70-72, 108-120, &c.

† Such as measures for villages, and rules for laying out towns and villages, directions for laying out squares, octagons &c.; and architecture. Rájendralálá Mitra "Indo-Aryans," vol. I. pp. 37-40.

The Thomason College of Civil Engineering was opened at Rurki in 1849. Its success led the Court of Directors to recommend the establishment of similar institutions in other parts of India. "The success of the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Rurki" say the Directors "has shown that for the purpose of training up persons capable of carrying out the great works which are in progress under Government throughout India, and to qualify the natives of India for the exercise of a profession which, now that the system of railways and public works is being rapidly extended, will afford an opening for a very large number of persons, it is expedient that similar places for practical instruction in civil engineering should be established in other parts of India."*

The Seebpore Engineering College near Calcutta was opened in 1880. The course of instruction at this institution is adapted to the requirements of civil engineers and of foreman mechanics. The course in the Engineering department, which is adapted to the requirements of the examinations for the Engineering degrees† of the Calcutta University is completed in five years of which the last is spent on works in progress.

The Madras Civil Engineering College consists of

* Despatch of 1854, para. 80.

† These degrees are Licentiate in Engineering, Bachelor in Engineering and Honours in Engineering. The subjects for the degree examination are, Civil Engineering, Mathematics, Natural Science, Engineering, Construction and Drawing.

two departments—the collegiate and the school departments. The course of instruction in the collegiate department (which was established in 1862) is adapted to the standard of the degree of B. C. E. in the Madras University. There is also a mechanical engineer class.

Engineering, like medicine, absorbs a much larger proportion of students in Bombay, than in Bengal or Madras. During the five years between 1888 and 1892, no less than 484 candidates presented themselves for the Engineering Examinations of the Bombay University, whereas the Engineering degrees of the Calcutta and Madras Universities attracted 137 and 59 candidates respectively.

Engineering instruction of a more elementary character than that given by the institutions mentioned above is given by a number of Engineering and Surveying Schools of which there were in 1884-85, seven in Assam with 163 pupils; 5 in Bengal with 278 students; 2 in Bombay attended by 98 boys; and 1 in Madras with 106 Students.

Forest School.

The Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun intended for the technical training of officers in the Forest Department was established in 1878. The first theoretical course was held in 1881 when 30 students arranged in two classes attended lectures on forestry, botany, forest law, surveying, [illegible] and natural science. Since then the arrangements have been greatly improved. There are now two courses, one in English, and the

other in the Hindusthani language. In the English course, students are prepared for the certificate in Forestry by the "Higher Standard"; in the Hindusthani course, for that by the "Lower Standard." In addition to the subjects mentioned above, they are now taught Zoology, Forest Engineering, Forest accounts &c. The Provincial Forest Service can only be entered through the Imperial Forest School. The Poona College of Science has a Forest branch to which appointments are guaranteed by the Bombay Forest Department.

The results of University Examinations in Medicine and Engineering for the five years from 1887-88 to 1891-92 were:

University.	Medicine.		Engineering.	
	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.
Calcutta.	568	351	137	61
Allahabad. *	117	59	700	306
Punjab	131	73	11	3
Madras.	520	159	59	17
Bombay.	952	420	484	267
Total	2,288	1,0[illegible]8	1,391	654

Professional education in medicine and engineering has now been imparted for nearly two generations, and

* The results are for three years, only (1889-90 to 1891-92) in Medicine, & two years (1890-91 to 1891-92) in Civil Engineering.

Hindus are distinguishing themselves as doctors and engineers. General scientific education, however, has not been imparted long or thoroughly enough, nor are the conditions favourable enough to lead us to expect original contributions of any great value. What has been done in the West must be assimilated, before any thing strikingly original can be reasonably expected; and that would be a work of time. Hindu scientific works with any pretension to marked originality are comparatively rare. They are mostly school-books, and are chiefly translations or adaptations from English. Such contributions as have more than a fleeting interest will be noticed when we come to treat of modern Hindu Literature.





CHAPTER V

INFLUENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY OF BRITISH RULE.

Tranquillity maintained by British Rule favourable to intellectual progress.

British Rule has introduced conditions some of which are as clearly promotive of progress as others are antagonistic to it. The internal tranquillity maintained by British Rule is beyond question favourable to intellectual development. Its importance, however, as a factor of progress must not be exaggerated. There are well known cases of nations having risen to intellectual eminence notwithstanding political convulsions of a serious nature; there are countries, on the other hand, which notwithstanding long periods of internal tranquillity have scarcely kept pace with modern progress though in immediate contact with it. In pre-British India, owing chiefly to the military occupation being restricted to certain castes, the great majority of the people had generally not been much disturbed by

wars. However, even though war does not necessarily hinder progress, nor peace necessarily promote it, it is undeniable that the latter is far more favourable to it than the former.

Economic influence of British administration.

But the tranquillity under British rule is maintained by an administration which is essentially foreign. Economically, the effect of such an administration has been prejudicial to material progress, and we have the curious spectacle of the richest nation of Europe governing for a century a country with vast natural resources and with a people not very low in the scale of civilisation, without advancing its material condition to the standard of even the poorest and most backward in Europe. * The higher appointments in the military departments are exclusively, and in the civil departments almost exclusively filled up by Europeans. A large portion of the army is also composed of British soldiers. The standard of living of the European soldiers and officers (civil and military) being much higher than that of the Indians their scale of pay is proportionately higher. From a parliamentary return issued in 1891 it appears, that there were then 28,000 Europeans holding posts worth Rs. 1000 a year and upwards, directly or indirectly under Government, their emoluments amounting to no less than 15½ crores of rupees a year. On the other hand, the number of natives of India drawing a pay

*The average income per head of population in India in 1882 was ascertained to be not more than Rs. 27 ; in Turkey it was £4

of Rs. 1000 or upwards a year is given as 11,000, their total pay aggregating only 3 crores of rupees, that is, about one-fifth of the total pay received by the corresponding European element in the service of Government.*

"The cost of British officers," says Mr. H. J. S. Cotton "is too great; their salaries are too high; and the blessings of European civilisation that they introduce are luxuries beyond the means of the people. India can no more afford the privilege of being governed by foreigners, can no more pay for her gigantic system of railways, her palatial barracks and other public buildings, than English farmers can afford to plough with race horses, or the Indian ryot with elephants."† In active service, a good portion of the pay received by the European employès of Government is remitted to Europe, or is spent upon objects which benefit European industries. In retirement, large remittances have to be made to Europe from the Indian revenue for their pensions. Large remittances have also to be made to pay for interest on debt which India has been made to contract in England for objects many of which, under present conditions, conduce but little to her good. A portion of the administration (the India Office) is also permanently located in England for which India has to make heavy contributions annually.

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, 15th August 1894. Speech of Mr, S. Keay.

† "New India" p. 68.

The annual drain due to these and other causes is considerable, and may be said to be so much capital taken out of India, capital which, under normal conditions, would promote the material development of the country.

"It must be remembered" says Sir G. Campbell "that we give neither our services nor our capital for nothing. Much of this is paid for by remittances to Europe. The public remittances are now £16,000,000 per annum, and it is estimated that the private remittances would be almost as much more if the flow of British capital to India were stopped, and the transactions showed only sums received in England. As it is, the continual addition of fresh capital invested in India about balances. The private remittances, and the balance of trade show only about the same amount as the public drawings to be depleted from India—that is, about £16,900,000 per annum. This is what is sometimes called the "tribute" paid to England. Well, it is not tribute, but it is paid for civil and military services, loans, railways, industrial investments, and all the rest; and the result is that a large part of the increased production is not retained by the Indian peasant."*

Opinions about the impoverishment of India under British rule.

There are authorities who have held that the drain has actually been impoverishing the people. Mr. Montgomery Martin writing at a time when the drain was considerably less than what it is now says:

"The annual drain of £ 3,000,000 on British India has amounted in thirty years at 12 per cent (the usual Indian rate) compound interest to the enormous sum of £ 723,900,000 sterling! So constant and accumulat-

* "The British Empire." p. 70.

ing a drain, even in England, would soon impoverish her. How severe, then, must be its effects on India where the wage of a labourer is from two pence to three pence a day."*

Sir John Shore writing in 1787 says: "Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the state, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced) there is reason to conclude, that the benefits are more than counterbalanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion." Mr. Frederick John Shore of the Bengal Civil Service writing in 1837 says: "The English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an extent almost unparalleled." Mr. Saville Marriot, who was for sometime one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan, and afterwards a member of Council says speaking of the drain about 1845 when it was considerably less than it is now: "It will be difficult to satisfy the mind that any country could bear such a drain upon its resources without sustaining any serious injury. And the writer [Mr. Marriot] entertains the fullest conviction that investigation wouid effectually establish the truth of the proposition as applicable to India.

* "The History, Antiquities, Topograply and Statistics of Eastern India" by M. Martin (London, 1838) Vol. I. Introduction p. XI. Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, at present Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, says:

"There is no great harm in saying that the land belongs to the 'State,' when the State is only another name for the people, but it is very different when the state is represented by a small minority of foreigners, who disburse nearly one-third of the revenues received from the land on the remuneration of their own servants, and who have no abiding place on the soil and no stake in the fortunes of the country. It is because we have acted on this principle all over India, with the exception of the permanently settled districts, that we have reduced the agricultural classes to such poverty."

"New India" p. 54.

He has himself most painfully witnessed it in those parts of country with which he was connected, and he has every reason to believe, that the same evil exists, with but slight modification, throughout our eastern empire." Again: "Most of the evils of our rule in India arise directly from, or may be traced to, the heavy tribute which that country pays to England." *

Data for the ascertainment of the material condition of India not satisfactory.

Notwithstanding these and other apparently pessimist views the question whether the material condition of India is improving or not is one for a satisfactory discussion of which we have not the necessary data. And the Government do not appear to be at all desirous of collecting such data. Sir Louis Malet who was for a long time permanent Under-Secretary of State for India says in a minute: "If there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted fact. Now I am compelled to say that since I have been connected with the India office I have found a strong repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts." This repugnance is likely to be attributed—as it has, in fact, been so attributed—to the great probability of such facts showing "an appalling

* Quoted by Dadabhai Naoroji in his pamphlet on "The Poverty of India."

picture of poverty and misery." † Even such facts as are in the possession of Government, they appear to be unwilling to make public. In 1876, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji made some elaborate calculations from which he deduced the average income of an Indian to be Rs. 20. In 1882, Lord Cromer calculated the average income to be Rs. 27 from data collected in a minute by Sir David Barbour the then financè minister. Mr. Naoroji after repeated attempts failed to secure the publication of the data. Last April he put the following questions in the House of Commons:

"Whether as Lord Cromer had stated with regard to his statement of 1882 about the annual average income per head that although he was not prepared to pledge himself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it was sufficiently accurate to justify his conclusion that the tax-paying community was exceedingly poor, and as the calculation was thus accurate, he would grant the return......as such return was the only means of forming a fairly correct idea of the material condition of British India:

And, whether if he were unwilling to grant as a return the details of Lord Cromer's calculatious, as asked in the first part of the motion he would give an opportunity to the honourable member for Finsbury of personally inspecting them."

Mr. George Russell replied:

"Considering that the statement to which my honourable friend refers was confessedly founded upon uncertain data, and that any similar calculation which might now be made must be founded on equally uncertain data, and might probably be misleading, the Secretary of State is unable to agree to my honourable friend's motion."

† Report of the tenth Indian National Congress. p. 52.

We have admittedly not got a body of well-ascertained, well-digested facts on which calculations with regard to the material condition of the people could be based. In fact, a member of the House of Commons of some thirty years' Indian experience, who had occupied the high posts of the Governorship of Bengal and of Bombay,* went so far as to declare on one occasion, in reference to the figures published by the Indian authorities, that they are "simply tabular statements of particular theories," and that "they are in fact shams, delusions and snares."

The average income which Lord Cromer allows the people of India is small enough. But it is curious that a civilised and highly expensive Government should not possess or publish reliable data for judging accurately whether that income had been larger or smaller before 1880, and whether it has been increasing or diminishing since. Yet it is certainly very important that we should know this.

We have, on the one hand, rose-coloured descriptions of the continued material prosperity of the people, and, on the other, heart-rending pictures of their poverty and gradual impoverishment. There are, however, certain facts periodically published by Government which throw some light upon material condition. The average monthly wage in rupees of unskilled labour in

* Sir Richard Temple at the debate on the motion of Mr. Samuel Smith for an inquiry into the condition and wants of the Indian people, and their ability to bear their existing financial burdens (August 1894).

certain selected stations roughly representing the provinces inwhich they are situated, between 1876 and 1890, was as follows: *

	Bengal Presidency: Bengal	Bengal Presidency: Behar	N. W. Prov. and Oudh	Punjab	Punjab	Bombay Presidency	Central Provinces	Madras Presidency
	Bakhergunj R	Patna R	Cawnpore R	Delhi R	Amritasar R	Ahmedabad R	Raipur R	Salem R
Triennial average † 1873 1875	7·5	3 to 4	3·75	5·41	5·95	5·9	3·7	2·5
Quinquennial average 1876 to 1880	7·5	3 to 4	3·85	5	6	6·9	4	2·6
Do. 1881 to 1885	7·5	3·75	3·8	5·12	6	7·39	4·1	2·3
Do. 1886 to 1890	7·7	4·55	4·09	5·79	6·62	7·5	4·5	3·53

* Compiled from the tenth issue of "Prices and Wages in India" (Calcutta, 1893).

† Wages previous to 1873 are not given in the publication to which I have had access.

The average annual prices of staple food grains at these stations between 1871 and 1890 is shown by the following table (in *seers* per rupee) : *

	Bengal Presidency.		N. W. Prov.	Punjab.		Bombay Presidency.	Central Provinces.	Madras Presidency.
	Bakhergunj Rice.	Patna, Rice.	Cawnpore Wheat	Delhi *Wheat	Amritsar Wheat.	Ahmedabad Wheat.	Raipur Rice.	Salem Jawar.
Quinquennial average 1871-1875	21·71	20·45	20·12	27·1	23·86	13·44	34·33	32·1
Quinquennial average 1876-1880	15·87	16·83	17·5	17·78	19·46	11·04	25·58	14·78
Do 1881-1885	21·99	18·76	20·48	19·89	24·25	14·66	31·61	26·87
Do 1886-1890	16·23	18·44	16·88	16·43	18·56	12·02	18·07	25·55

It will be seen from the figures given above, that except in such places as Patna † and Salem where the wages were abnormally low, the rise in wages in the

* Compiled from the tenth issue of "Prices and Wages in India," Calcutta 1893.

† With regard to the rise in wages in the Patna Division, however, the annual resolution of Government on the administration report of the Patna Division for 1893 says :

other places has not kept pace with the rise in the prices of the staple articles of food, so that generally the condition of the labourer in 1890 was worse than in 1880. At Raipur his monthly wages would, during the period 1886 to 1890, buy him only 81 seers of rice instead of 127 seers as in the period 1873 to 1875; at Delhi it would buy him 95 seers of wheat instead of 146; at Amritsar 122 instead of 141; and at Bakhergunj 124 seers of rice instead of 162. The discordance between wage and price of staple food appears strikingly great when compared with what they were two or three centuries ago. In the time of Akbar the monthly wages received by an unskilled labourer would have bought him 192 seers of wheat. *

The difficulties, however, in the way of arriving at a true picture of the material condition of India are so great that we shall not attempt it. But whether the annual drain referred to above has caused actual impoverishment or not, there can be no doubt, that by taking away from India what should have added to her capital, it has retarded her material development, and, therefore indirectly, her intellectual development also.

"Though the price of food-grains has owing to the opening out of railways and roads and other causes, risen greatly in this division in the past twenty years, there yet appears to be no corresponding rise in the wages of unskilled agricultural labourer. The wage of a common cooly is said to be now as it was eighty years ago 1¼ to 2¼ annas a day."

* See Vol. I. Introduction, p. lxxxv.

The evils of an alien rule are in the case of the British greatly aggravated by absenteeism. Had the British settled in the country the evils would have been minimised, if not counterbalanced, by the benefits resulting from their integration in the Indian community, and from consequent identification with the interests of that community.

Hindu ascendency in pre-Mahomedan times.

The moral effect of nearly all the responsible posts under the English Government being held by Europeans has been no less injurious than the economical effect. For the first time in their long history, the Hindus have come into contact with a people who have treated them as intellectually incompetent even to manage their own affairs, and who have excluded them from high positions of trust and responsibility. From remote antiquity India has been subject to invasions from beyond her north-western frontier. But, excepting the Mahomedans, whenever the invaders established themselves in India they could not resist the moral influence of the superior civilisation of the Hindus, and were sooner or later absorbed into the Hindu community. The Sacæ or Sakas, who made repeated incursions into India for several centuries before and after the Christian era, and who ultimately became [illegible] over parts of Northern India, preserved their individuality but for a short time. The Huns, who repeatedly invaded India from the fifth century after Christ, and who established a separate kingdom in the

Punjab in the sixth, soon lost their national individuality and were merged in the Hindu nation. Even the Mahomedans, who when they occupied India had a civilisation scarcely inferior to that of the Hindus of the time, and a religion one of the most uncompromising that the world has ever seen gradually succumbed to Hindu influence. Throughout the Mahomedan period, Hindus occupied the highest posts under Mahomedan sovereigns both in the military and civil departments. The Hindus did not sink into political nonentity even in those parts which directly owned Mahomedan sway. They were admitted into situations of trust and responsibility. They commanded armies, governed kingdoms, and acted as ministers under Mahomedan kings. Ibrahim the fourth king of Golconda, had Jogadeo, a Hindu, for his prime minister. Mahomed Shah Sur Adil, who occupied the throne of Delhi about the middle of the sixteenth century, committed the conduct of his Government to one "Hemu, a Hindu who had once kept a retail shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet with all these external disadvantages, Hemu had abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendency amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of the Government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head."*

Hindu influence in Mahomedan period.

* Elphinstone's History of India. Cowell's Ed.—pp. 460-3.

During the reigns of the Emperors Feroksir, Rafi-ud-Darját, Rafi-ud-Doula, and part of the reign of Mahomed Shah, Rattan Chand, formerly a retail shop-keeper, enjoyed uncontrolled influence all over Hindusthán. He was deputy to Abdulla Khan, Vizier of the Empire. It was through his influence and that of Raja Ajit, that the poll tax upon the Hindus re-established by Aurangzeb was abolished. "He interfered," complains the Mahomedan historian, "even in judicial and religious concerns, in a way that reduced the crown officers to the condition of ciphers. It was impossible to become a Kazi of any city, without the consent of this Hindu being previously taken."*

When Alivardi Khan became prime minister of Shúja Khan, he called to his councils Raja Aalem Chánd and Jagat Set, the former of whom, says Golam Hussein Khan, "possessed great merit, and deserved all the confidence reposed in him." When Alivardi Khan became Governor of Bengal, he appointed as his prime minister Jánkírám, "who was a man of merit, and figured among the trustiest and most zealous of the Viceroy's friends."

Mohanlála was the minister of Surája-ud-Dowla, Governor of Bengal ; amongst his other officers who held positions of trust, were Durlavrám and Rámnáráyan.

The Ain-i-Akbari gives a complete list of the high

Siar-ul-Mutakharin (Briggs' Translation), pp. 89, &c.

officers during the reign of Akbar.* The following is the number of Hindus amongst them :—

I. Commanders of Five Thousand

1. Raja Bihari Mall.

2. Raja Bhagwan Das.

3. Raja Man Sing. He was for some time Governor of Bengal. Akbar promoted him to a full command of seven thousand ; hitherto Five Thousand had been the limit of promotion. It is noticeable that Akbar in raising Man Sing to a command of seven thousand, placed a Hindu above every Mahomedan officer.

II. Commanders of Four Thousand

4. Raja Todar Mall. Though often accused of headstrongness and bigotry by contemporaneous historians, Todar Mall's fame as general and financier has outlived the deeds of most of Akbar's grandees ; together with Abul Fazl and Man Sing, he is best known to the people of India at the present day. One of the most important reforms associated with Todar Mall's name is, the substitution of Persian for Hindi as the Court language.

5. Rai Rai Sing. He was promoted by Jehangir to be a commander of Five Thousand.

III. Commander of Three Thousand—Jagannath.

IV. Commanders of Two Thousand.

Raja Bir Bal. An entirely self-made man. He was very poor when he came to Akbar's court. Akbar conferred on him the title of Rai Kabi (or Poet Laureate) and had him constantly near himself.

8. Raja Ram Chandra Baghela.

9. Rai Kalyan Mall.

10. Rai Surjan Hada.

V. Commanders of One Thousand and Five hundred—2.

VI. Commander of Twelve Hundred and fifty—1.

VII. Commanders of One Thousand—3.

VIII. Commanders of Nine Hundred—3.

* *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann's translation) pp. 308-526.

IX. Commanders of Eight Hundred—2.
X. Commanders of Five Hundred—12.
XI. Commanders of Four Hundred—5.
XII. Commanders of Three Hundred—6.
XIII. Commanders of Two Hundred—8.

The total number of Commanders in the various grades from Seven Thousand to Two Hundred was 415, so that the Hindus filled twelve per cent. of the most responsible political posts under Akbar. The Commanders named above all saw active service. Several governed important provinces; one (Todar Mall) occupied the high post of Vizier or Minister of Finance; and one (Man Sing) was raised to a distinction, which up to his time had been reserved only for Princes of the royal blood.

Mahomedan princes sometimes took Hindu wives, and several of the Emperors of Delhi were descended from Hindu mothers. It is said of Akbar, that from his youth he was accustomed to celebrate the *Hom* (a Hindu ceremony) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his harem.* Two of Akbar's wives were Hindus: and Jahangir was the son of one of them. Jahangir had ten wives, of whom no less than six were of Hindu descent. Shah Jahan was the offspring of one of these.† He had more of Hindu than of Mahomedan blood in him.

The Indian Mahomedans gradually became partially Hinduised. Their zeal for the propagation of Islam

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's translation p. 184.
† *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's translation pp. 308-9.

abated. The blind bigotry of the Moslem was gradually tempered by the philosophic culture of the Hindu; and Hindu influence on the religion and government of the Moslem, gradually became more and more marked.

The brightest period of the Mahomedan Empire was unquestionably the period between the accession of Akbar and the deposition of Shah Jahan, and it was during that period that the Hindu influence was the strongest. Akbar and his most cultured Mahomedan courtiers—the brothers Faizi and Abul Fazl,—were greatly under Hindu influence. Abul Fazl was, in fact, held by some of his contemporaries to be a Hindu.* Akbar held the Hindu belief that it was wrong to kill cows and interdicted the use of beef.† The Hindu princesses of the harem gained so great an ascendency over him, that he not only foreswore beef, but also garlic, onions and the wearing of a beard. "He had also introduced," says Badaoni, "though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs and heresies into court assemblies, and introduces them still in order to please and gain the good will of the Hindus." Raja Bir Bar is said by some historians to have influenced Akbar in abjuring Islam. Bir Bar was the special favourite of Akbar. Badaoni says, "His Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bir Bar." The jealousy which the

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 27.

† The Emperor Nasiruddin forbade the killing of oxen. Ferishta speaks of him as practising idolatry like the Hindus, so that the Koran was occasionally placed as a stool and sat upon.

pro-Hindu policy of Akbar excited amongst bigoted Muslims was intense, and finds expression in such passages as the following from Badaoni: *

"As it was quite customary in those days to speak ill of the doctrine and orders of the Koran, and as Hindu wretches and Hinduizing Mahomedans openly reviled our Prophet, irreligious writers left in the prefaces to their books the customary praise of the Prophet.... ..... It was impossible even to mention the name of the Prophet, because these liars [Abul Fazl and Faizi] did not like it.

"The Hindus, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindusthanis (Mahomedans settled in Hindusthan) nor the Moguls can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves." *

The Hindu Man Sing, Todar Mall and Bir Bar, and the practically Hinduised Abul Fazl and Faizi were amongst the most, if not the most, trusted of Akbar's councillors. They probably contributed more to build up the Mogul Empire on a sound basis of liberal and enlightened policy than all the other officers of Akbar put together. The pro-Hindu policy of Akbar was continued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The contest between Dara and Aurangzeb was really a contest between enlightenment and bigotry, between a pro-Hindu and an anti-Hindu policy. Dara belonged to the school of Akbar. He wrote a book attempting to reconcile the Hindu and Mahomedan doctrines. He had translations made of fifty *Upanishads* into Persian. Like Akbar, he was considered an apostate. He is said to have been constantly in the society of Bráhmans, Yogis and Sannyásis, and to have considered the Vedas

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 185, 204.

as the word of God. Instead of the Mahomedan, he adopted the Hindu name (*Prabhu*) for God, and had it engraved in Hindi upon rings. "It became manifest," says the author of Alamgir-námá, "that if Dara Sukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the faith would be in danger." Aurangzeb was a bigot such as orthodox Mahomedans had long been looking for; they advocated his cause, as the Hindus did that of the elder brother. The cause of orthodox Islam triumphed. But the triumph was only temporary, ending with the reign of Aurangzeb.

Intellectual effect of the exclusive policy in military and political departments.

Under British rule, the Hindus are not *en rapport* with the governing class, at least to the extent they were under Mahomedan rule.* The military and political services except in the very lowest ranks are closed against the Hindus.† Opinions differ with regard to the wisdom of such exclusion. The policy of the Roman Empire was different as the following extracts from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" shew :

"The grandsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness."

* "The belief, then," says Sir C. Dilke of foreign observers, "is that our Indian Government.........needs to places itself in closer sympathy with the natives."

"Problems of Greater Britain" p. 124.

† "The officers of our native army are only superannuated old pri-

"Domestic peace and union were the natural consequences of the moderate and comprehensive policy embraced by the Romans."

"The obedience of the Roman world was uniform, voluntary, and permanent. The vanquished nations, blended into one great people, resigned the hope, nay, even the wish, of resuming their independence, and scarcely considered their existence as distinct from the existence of Rome. The established authority of the emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of their dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on the bank of the Thames, or of the Nile, as on those of the Tiber. The legions were destined to serve against the public enemy, and the civil magistrate seldom required the aid of a military force."

"The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope and even the wish of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens, and the provinces of the West were reluctantly torn by the barbarians from the bosom of their mother country."

"The narrow policy of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens had checked the fortunes, and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent, as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own wheresoever they were found among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians."*

Commenting on the exclusive policy of the British administration, Sir C. Dilke says: "To those who take a purely selfish view it may be urged that we can hardly

vates, who in virtue of their longer services draw larger pay, and are permitted to sit down in the presence of an English subaltern......The Russians can get from the territories they have absorbed in Central Asia an Alikhanoff or a Louis Melikoff. We can only produce men who rise to the rank of Naik, Havildar, or Resaldar, or to some other subordinate post, the name of which perplexes the English public." "New India." (pp. 118-119).

* "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." ch. II.

long go on as we are, refusing to proceed further in the direction of the employment of natives in high office, with the Russians at our door pursuing the other policy, although pursuing it in a less degree than is commonly believed. The unshared rule of a close bureaucracy from across the seas cannot last in the face of widespread modern education of a people so intelligent as Indian natives."*

We do not consider war or politics to be a good school for progress, intellectual or moral. The less need there be for war or political strife the better would it be for humanity. But constituted as the world is now, and as it will probably be for many generations to come, the military and political types of intellectual progress must be valued, and their want in any people must be deprecated. The British system of administration, however, renders the development of such types, among the Hindus an impossibility, though there are apparently men who, if they had the opportunity, might have become highly capable generals and statesmen. The late Raja Mádhava Rao† may be cited as an instance of the latter. Many native statesmen have been pro-

* "Problems of Greater Britain" pp. 145-146.

† Mádhava Rao was born in 1828. He became Dewan of Travancore in 1858, and between that year and 1872, the Government of Travancore was virtually in his hands. He removed various fiscal restrictions and revised the system of administration. On his retirement from the service of the Travancore State he was for sometimes Prime Minister to the Maharaja of Holkar. Between 1875 and 1883, he administered the Baroda State. The late Mr. Fawcett called him the Turgot of India.

duced" says Sir Richard Temple "of whom the Indian nation may be justly proud"; and among them he mentions, besides Mádhava Ráo, Dinkar Ráo of Gwalior, Kirparam of Jammu, Pandit Manphul of Alwar, Madho Rao Barve of Kolhapur, and Purnia of Mysore. *

Exclusion in civil departments.

In the Civil departments of administration, the Hindus are practically, if not theoretically, almost excluded from the higher posts; as will be apparent from the following return furnished in 1891 by the then Under-Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons: "The proportion of Europeans, Eurasians and Indians in the covenanted and uncovenanted services [civil?] of India on March 31, 1886 at salaries varying from 50,000 and more rupees to 1000 rupees were as follow: Salaries of 50,000 rupees and upwards, 26 Europeans, 1 native; 40,000 Rs. to 50,000 Rs., 47 Europeans, 3 natives; 30,000 Rs. to 40,000 Rs., 125 Europeans; 20,000 Rs., to 30,000 Rs. 346 Europeans, 3 Eurasians, 2 natives; 10,000 Rs. to 20,000 Rs., 951 Europeans, 12 Eurasians, 40 natives: 5,000 Rs. to 10,000 Rs., 2078 Europeans, 111 Eurasians, 446 natives; 2,500 Rs. to 5,000 Rs., 1,334 Europeans, 1,647 Eurasians, 545 natives; 1,000 Rs. to 2,500 Rs., 2097 Europeans, 1,963 Eurasians, 6,915 natives."

In 1892, the covenanted Civil Service was composed of 939 members of whom only 21 were Indians.† The

* "India in 1880." p, 76.

† Strachey's "India," 1894, p. 58.

following table compiled from the report of the Public Service Commission (1886) exhibits the proportion of the higher grade appointments held by the Indians (Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis &c.) in some of the minor departments :

Name of Department	Non-domiciled Europeans.	Domiciled Europeans.	Eurasians.	Indians.	Remarks.
Accounts Department ...	25	8	3	6	* "Domiciled Europeans" include Eurasians.
Customs	13	60	117	12	
Jails.....	60	15	13	16	
Opium........................	49	13	8	1	
Police	315	33	5	17	
Public Works..............	810	119*	—	86	
Salt	35	32	16	7	
Survey........................	108	103	38	2	

Policy of the exclusion

With reference to the exclusive policy of the British administration Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote as long ago as 1850 :

"I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive also that the progress of education among the natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection. It might perhaps, have once been possible to have retained the natives in a subordinate condition (at the expense of national justice and honour) by studiously repressing their spirit and discouraging their progress in knowledge ; but we are now doing our best to raise them in all mental qualities to a level with ourselves, and to instill into them the liberal opinions in government and

policy which have long prevailed in this country, and it is vain to rule them on principles only suited to a slavish and ignorant population." *

A writer quoted by Mr. H. J. S. Cotton in his "New India"† says:

"Repress educated natives, distrust them, let them see that the policy of India for the Indians and of training them to administer their own country is a fiction, and you weld them all into a solid phalanx united by the common bond of despair and hatred towards Europeans. Can any policy be more insensate than this? But open the door to their ambitions, and you at once let in all the emulations, class interests, sectional friction, which, if not in themselves good, are at any rate a necessary element in a healthy state of society, and instead of a solid phalanx you have a crowd of aspirants competing with one another under conditions which the Government will prescribe, and in a race of which it will be the umpire and distributor of the prizes."

Divergence of opinion with regard to the admission of Indians into responsible administration.

The Hindu is often authoritatively declared to be incapable of any work which is likely to exercise or develop his higher faculties; and it is but seldom that he is allowed opportunities to rise above the routine work of clerkship. It is true the authorities sometimes differ very markedly in their estimates of the capabilities of Indians, though the facts on which the estimates are based may be the same. The proceedings of the Public Service Commission furnish curious instances of such divergence. Mr. J. Westland (now Sir J. Westland) said:

"A native will not bear the personal responsibility of going out of routine, and will be apt to break down when urgent work must be

* C. H, Cameron, "The duties of Great Britain to India" pp.173-174.

† *Op. cit.* pp. 78-79.

done. One Native did very well in such employment; but he was altogether an exceptional man, and no system of recruitment would bring half a dozen Natives equal to him into the department. A Native is not equal to a man bred and trained in European ways in the work of organisation and management of a large office. A Native Superintendent can rarely get over the fact that he belongs rather to the side of the clerks than of the masters. You cannot trust him to the same extent to work his clerks, and the work is not so efficiently turned out as under a European. . . .

"Some of the thirty-four appointments might be filled by Natives, but not one-third or anything approaching one-third, could be so filled with any advantage to the public service."

On the other hand, Mr. H. Cotterell Tupp, Accountant General, N. W. Provinces, held almost diametrically different views regarding the comparative merits of Europeans and Indians :

"We have already in our Accounts offices a class of officers called Chief Superintendents, who are the backbone of these offices; they are selected for merit from among the Superintendents, and it is so essential that they should be men of ability and energy that very little favouritism is shown in their selection. They are almost entirely Natives or Eurasians, and are fit for any work below the grade of Deputy Accountant-General; indeed it is upon them, and not on his European assistants, that an Accountant-General now depends for the carrying out of any really difficult task. . . . Besides the Chief Superintendents, there are in each large Accounts office ten or twelve Superintendents, most of whom are quite fit to do the work of an Assistant Accountant-General. From this large class we could at once recruit the forty Native and Eurasian assistants we require, and I would make Europeans unless domiciled, ineligible for these appointments. They have hitherto been appointed by nomination after a limited competition (which has been very nominal), and they have not been a success. A few good officers have entered in this way, but the majority are of very average ability and industry, and do not do their work in any way better than Natives of India, while they cost

much more. On the other hand, a few are much worse and more useless than Native officers would ever be, for the natives would be turned out, whereas the Europeans are allowed to remain out of pity for the fate that would befall them if they were dismissed."*

The Director General of the Post Office of India considered natives of India to be not well suited for the post of Superintendent; the Post Master General of Bombay, on the other hand, gave his evidence that they were.†

* Proceedings of the Sub-Committee of the Public Service Commission, Accounts Department.

† The Director General said:

"The recruitment of the Department is practically limited to domiciled Europeans or Eurasians, and to natives by race and blood. Comparing these classes as respects efficiency of service I would remark that the pure Native is usually specially qualified for sedentary occupation, such as the charge of a post office while the European or Eurasian is better fitted for work of a more active character. A native is trustworthy in money matters, obedient to rule, extracts hard work from subordinates, rarely objects to long office hours, is not addicted to exercise, and if employed near his home will work for a small salary. He therefore usually makes a good Post-master. For the position of Divisional Superintendent, which entails duties of inspection and supervision there is a general preference for Europeans on the part of heads of postal circles."

The Post-master General of Bombay, on the other hand, after describing the duties of the Superintendent, which are certainly not of a sedentary nature says:

"These duties are being efficiently discharged at the present time by Natives of India—Brahmans, Parbhu, and Parsi—in this circle who rank among the best Postal Superintendents in India; and so far as the ordinary postal administration of the circle is concerned, European agency in the Superintendent's grade is not, in my opinion, required so long as men of the same character and ability as the best of the present Native Superintendents can be obtained. There are,

There are it is true, a few Europeans, official as well as non-official, who have borne emphatic testimony to the fitness of the Indians for high positions of trust and responsibility. Sir Charles Turner remarked in his convocation address delivered before the University of Madras in 1887 said:

"Modern India has proved by examples that are known to, and honoured by, all in this assembly that her sons can qualify themselves to hold their own with the best of European talent in the council chamber, on the bench, at the bar, and in the mart."

We need scarcely make any apology for making the following rather long extract from the evidence of Mr. A. O. Hume before the Public Service Commission:

"The fact is—and this is what I, who claim to have had better opportunities of forming a correct opinion than most men now living, desire to urge—there is no such radical difference between Indians and Britons, as it too generally flatters the latter to suppose. The colour of the skins differ, and the ways and methods of thought of the two races, both descended from the same ancestral stock, have also come under the pressure of different environments to differ during the lapse of long ages, but at the bottom their hearts are much the same. Each race exhibits in a greater degree of development, virtues and vices, which are less prominent in the other; but if both races be judged impartially, and all *pros* and *cons* be fairly set down on both sides, there is very little ground for giving preference to either. If you compare the highest and best of our Indians with the ordinary of the rabble in England, these latter seem little better than monkeys beside grand men. If you compare the picked Englishmen we often get in India, trained and elevated by prolonged altruistic labours, and sobered and strengthened by weighty responsibilities, with the ordinary

however, outside demands to meet, for which it is essential that there should be some European Superintendents."* (Proceedings, Sub-Committee of the Public Service Commission, Postal Department.

rabble of India, the former shine out like gods amongst common mortals. But if you fairly compare the best of both, though each class will exhibit excellencies and defects less noticeable in the other, neither can as a whole be justly said to be better or worse than the other. No doubt amongst India's 250 millions there are too many of whom no good report can be made, these being the men who chiefly fawn upon, and strive to curry favour with Europeans, and those by whom these latter mostly guage the national character, but, may I ask, are there any lack of similar n'er do weels, even amongst the 30 millions of Britons.

This whole misconception arises from the habit Englishmen in India have acquired, of regarding only the blackest side of the Indian and the brightest side of the English character, and from their theories as to the capacities of the two races being based on a consideration of the worst specimens of the one and the best specimens of the other.

If only they could free themselves from race and class bias, and consider the two races as a whole with absolute impartiality, then all their honest, though erroneous, apprehensions as to the results of much more extended employment of Indians in even the highest offices of the state would disappear, and all the best men among them, at any rate would be as eager to promote as they are now to prevent this necessary and just measure."*

Mr. Routledge in his "English Rule and Native opinion in India" says:

"Again I have heard it said that a native of India goes as far as he is taught, and can go no farther. I deny this thoroughly and entirely. It is a gross misrepresentation. The native of India is an essentially capable man, and he is often badly used. I have seen Englishmen going through crowds of the people of India, as at the Calcutta and Howrah landing-stage, elbowing their way as through a herd of cattle, and the people, as a rule, falling back on all hands. Sometimes the rule is broken, and the brutality meets with its match;

* For some of the facts upon which the opinion of Mr. Hume is based, see Appendix.

but as a rule it selects the poorest people, and rarely is met with real determination. We count them as of inferior race, deny them careers, and then talk of them as incapable of higher life. When the Catholic in England was shut out from public life, what did he become? Some sank, for want of society, to a low state; some went abroad; some, like Mr. Charles Waterton, the naturalist, found a need for all their innate gentlemanliness and loyalty to preserve them from intense hatred to the nation that had proved to them so hard a step-mother. Yet no Roman Catholic ever knew aught so disheartening as the lot of the native of India." *

But the great body of Anglo-Indian opinion, official and non-official, is more or less antagonistic to the employment of Indians in high positions of trust and responsibility. The source of this incompetency is not always exactly indicated, and often not indicated at all. According to Sir George Campbell, "they [the literary Indians] have all the intellectual power and ability of the European, but have not always his courage and resource."† On some ground or other—on the ground of policy if not on that of qualification—the path to higher employment is practically closed against the Hindus. There is now almost a consensus of opinion as to their fitness for the highest grades of the judicial service. Sir C. Trevelyan said:

"There are whole classes of employment for which the natives are specially qualified. The natives are specially qualified for revenue functions. The whole of the appointments in the Customs might be filled by natives. Then there is the great judicial department. It stands that if they are fit to be judges in the High Court, surely they are *a fortiori* fit

* *Op. cit.* p. 277.
† "The British Empire" p. 84.

for all inferior appointments. The native judges are fully up to the mark not only in point of ability but in point of integrity likewise."

Mr. H. J. S. Cotton says:

"The intellectual attainments and moral virtues of Dwarkanath Mitter sufficiently vindicate the competence of natives to exercise the most responsible judicial functions. He sat for many years upon the Bench of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal. Other native gentlemen might also be mentioned who before and after him have occupied the same post and acquitted themselves with credit. In the highest departments of the Judicial Service, as well as in the lowest, the employment of natives is admitted to be a successful experiment." *

Sometimes, indeed, reasons are assigned for keeping the Indians down at a low level which would not at all harmonise with the declared principles of British Rule. "I hold" said the Conservator of Forests, Berars Division, in his evidence before the Public Service Commission "that the highest posts in the department—those of administration—should always be held by Englishmen. It is right and proper, as well as necessary, that they should in India be at the head of all departments." †

It is the opinion of Sir John Strachey, that "in some branches of the service there is almost no limit to the share of public employment which they may properly receive. This is especially true of the Bench, for the performance of the judicial duties of which Natives have shewn themselves eminently qualified, and in which the higher offices are equal in importance and dignity and emolument to almost any of the great offices of the state."

* "New India" pp. 72-74.

† Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Forest Department.

"Even on the Bench, however," adds Sir John Strachey "there are important administrative duties for which some degree of English supervision is necessary, nor would it be politically wise to place this great department of the Government altogether in Native hands."* Notwithstanding the admitted competency of the Indians for the highest judicial posts, it is probably on grounds of policy that they are still so largely kept out of them.

Colonel De Pree, Surveyor-General of India, said in a memorandum submitted to the Public Service Commission:

"I may here remark incidently, that my numerous late inspections show me that the tendency of the European Surveyors is to stand and look on, while the Natives are made to do the drawing and hand-printing as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of thing. This is a mistake, and it cannot be permitted for the future. Besides, it is suicidal for the Europeans to admit that Natives can do any one thing better than themselves. They should claim to be superior *in everything* and only allow Natives to take a secondary or subordinate part. . . .

"In my old parties I never permitted a Native to touch a theodolite or an original computation, on the principle that the triangulation or scientific work was the prerogative of the highly-paid European; and this reservation of the scientific work was the only way by which I could keep up a distinction, so as to justify the different figures of pay respectively drawn by the two classes, between the European in office time, and the Native who ran him so close in all the office duties as well as in field duties.

"Yet I see that Natives commonly do the computations now-a-days, and the Europeans some other inferior duties." †

* "India," p. 389."

† Proceedings of the Sub-Committee, Public Service Commission, Survey Department.

But instances of such indiscreet plain-speaking are rare. The moral effect of the exclusive policy has been no less disastrous than the economic effect. At every step the Hindu cannot but feel his degradation. If a man, though healthy, be repeatedly told that he is unhealthy, at least be treated as such, he will, very likely come in time to believe that there is really something wrong; even so, the Hindu, systematically treated as if he were unfit, is apt to lose his faith in his capacity, which, within proper limits, is essential for sound, intellectual development. The circumstances under which he is placed tend to make him morbidly timid and diffident. If his good fortune has carried him into the higher ranks of any of the services, his actions are subjected to a watch and a criticism to which those of his European colleagues would never be subjected; as a consequence errors which would be scarcely noticed in the case of the former, become prominent in his case and are pointed out as establishing his own unfitness and that of the race he represents.

Moral effect of the exclusive policy.

It is not necessary to suppose that his actions are intentionally subjected to exceptional criticism. The prejudiced eye sees faults and shortcomings where none exist, at least to the extent imagined. Besides, a community has usually a keener sight for the errors and failings of another community than for those of its own, especially when the relations between the two communities are such that the suppression of the one tends directly or indirectly to the elevation of the other

Adverse criticism constantly repeated tends to create diffidence and want of boldness. These are however, not the only undesirable traits of character fostered by the exclusive system of British administration. The patronage of kings has since time immemorial, been the principal nursery of genius and talent in India. Literature, science, and art flourished mainly under the fostering care of some court or other. The British Government now occupies the position of these Hindu courts. The Government not only legislates, administers justice, and collects revenue, but also constructs railways, roads and buildings, and prosecutes scientific and literary research. Government service offers the best scope for ambition. It is preferred to such professions as law and medicine, because of the certainty of its prospects, and consequently absorbs as a rule the best talent of the country. Though this is not a desirable state of things, under present conditions it may be said to be almost unavoidable. The community is too poor to support literary or scientific work on Western conditions. But the Indian's scope for ambition in Government service is very limited. There are no great prizes for him, and consequently no great exertions are made. The tendency of the present exclusive system of the Government is to make him discontented and apathetic. There is no stimulus to call forth extraordinary energy and extraordinary vigour of mind, and consequently these qualities are not generally found well developed in him. We have already seen how the physical environment of the Hindu has

been detrimental to the development of industrial qualities; the tendency of the British rule has been not to counteract but to aid the action of the physical causes and to reduce him to a condition of lifeless mediocrity.* As is well observed by Major Evans Bell, "the natives of India, of every caste and creed, are men of like powers and passions with ourselves; and in obedience to the universal law—as true in social science as in physiology—the healthy development of their civilisation cannot proceed without space and range for the exercise of all their faculties. Too much constraint, too much assistance, however benevolently intended, will but distort the phenomena of progress, disturb its steady course, and drive the stream into dangerous channel."†

The injurious effect of the exclusive policy upon intellectual progress.

The exclusive system of British rule tends to make the educated Hindu either diffident, and apathetic, or to embitter his feelings deeply towards the Government. Neither frame of mind is favourable to intellectual development. The Indian feels as if he were something apart from the British administration. He takes but little interest in it; he feels no enthusiasm for it. He is not sobered and strengthened by the weight of responsible administration. He is not elevated by the prospect of doing something great. Treated like a

* A few years ago, Sir John Gorst (then Under-Secretary of State for India) said: ,'Government had alays discouraged independent and original talent, and had always preferred docile mediocrity. This was not a new policy.'

† "Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy," Preface p. vi.

child, it is no wonder that he often remains one. Without any outlet for his ambition, it is no wonder he gradually ceases to have any ambition at all. "A gentleman," observes Mr. Henry George "who had taught a coloured school once told me that he thought the coloured children up to the age of ten or twelve, were really brighter and learned more readily than white children, but after that age they seemed to get dull and careless. He thought this proof of innate race inferiority, and so did I at the time. But I afterwards heard a highly intelligent Negro gentleman (Bishop Hillery) incidentally make a remark which to my mind seems a sufficient explanation. He said, our children, when they are young, are fully as bright as white children, and learn as readily. But as soon as they get old enough to appreciate their status—to realise that they are looked upon as belonging to an inferior race * * * * they lose their ambition and cease to keep up." * The case of the Hindu is a somewhat analogous one. He has seldom any expectation of any thing higher than a mere subordinate position and his ambition, and along with it his energy, seldom rises above the level of such position. Recent changes in the administrative policy of British Rule have certainly not tended to enlarge the scope of his ambition. There are now in all the civil departments (to which alone Hindus eligible) are two sharply defined services—the Imperial and the Provincial. The pay and prospects of the former

* "Progress and Poverty," Book X, Ch. II.

are much higher than those of the latter. But the Imperial Service is recruited only in England. Such recruitment would not, perhaps, have been very unjust, had not the people of India been so miserably poor. There are but few among them who can afford to send their boys for education to England. Practically, therefore, the sphere of their ambition in the administration of their country is restricted to comparatively subordinate positions under the usually unsympathetic supervision of foreign taskmasters. The effect of the exclusive policy is not only to make them unaspiring and apathetic but also helpless to a degree. They can hardly move a step even in the matter of social reform without the guidance of high-placed officers of Government. The European officers also strive to retain and exercise as much power and influence as they possibly can. They are sometimes looked upon - probably not without a substratum of reason—as if they were the sole dispensers of all earthly blessings not only by the subordinates under them, but also by Zamindars and others in no way connected with Government service; and the habits of subserviency thus engendered must be prejudicial to sound progress.

The traits of character created and fostered in the Hindu by the exclusive policy of the British Government are reflected in the Hindu literature. There can be no doubt, that the English contact, especially English education has remarkably stimulated intellectual progress among the Hindus. Their literature has been immensely enriched within the last fifty years. The novel, which now

forms an important branch of vernacular literature, is altogether a creation of the English contact. Though Sanskrit boasts of dramas of exceptional merit, the vernacular literatures did not possess any dramas worth the name until recently. History, archælogy, biography, and natural science are also new subjects in vernacular literature But the extension has been more in surface than in depth. Vernacular literature is generally wanting in that boldness of conception, that originality and vigour of thought which invariably accompany healthy progress. This is no doubt partly due to the fact, that the progress effected in the West during the more or less stationary period of Hindu civilisation must be assimilated before any new path can be struck out. But the administrative policy of the British Government is also partly accountable for this serious defect in the recent renaissance of Hindu literature. For its tendency has been to keep down the material condition of India at a level lower than that of the poorest and most backward country in Europe; to suppress the natural aspirations of the flower of Hindu manhood; and to foster in them habits of thought and traits of character which are detrimental to sound progress.





CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH RULE—ENGLISH EDUCATION.

High Education in pre-British times.

The vehicle of higher Hindu education in pre-British times was mainly Sanskrit.* It was imparted in private schools, and in Parishads, the latter resembling the Universities of the West. We are not aware that there are any Parishads now in any part of India.† But private Sanskrit schools (*tols*) have survived to the present day; and the methods of instruction and discipline pursued in them now are not much different from what they were three thousand years ago. The Mahomedan conquest, the destruction or decay of Hindu courts, and the rise of

* From the time of Akbar until about 1835, Persian was also largely studied.

† The *Maths* or monasteries of Southern India resemble the Parishads so far, that instruction is imparted in them by a number of teachers in the Vedas, Upanishads, logic, philosophy etc.

the vernacular literatures, no doubt affected them seriously. Still there was at the establishment of the British rule, and there is still a good number of *tols* scattered all over the country. In 1801, Mr. Hamilton reckoned 190 such seminaries in the district of Twenty-four Pergunnas in Bengal. In 1818, Ward found 28 of them with 173 scholars in the city of Calcutta, and 31 schools with 747 students at Nuddea, which for, several centuries past, has been the principal seat of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. At a more accurate enumeration, in 1829, by H. H. Wilson it was found that there were then at Nuddea 25 Sanskrit schools with from 5 to 6 hundred pupils. In 1837, Mr. Adam found in the districts of Murshidabad, Bírbhúm, Burdwan, South Bihar and Tirhut, some 353 Sanskrit schools * with 2555 students. He calculates that there were about 1830, in Bengal, some 10,800 students of Hindu learning, and some 1800 teachers.† In 1881, there were in Bengal no less than 1010 *tols* with 7680 scholars ; in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, 235 *tols* with 4,100 students ; and in the Bombay Presidency 48 Hindu Vedashalas and Sanskrit schools. ‡

* Adam's Reports, edited by the Rev. J. Long Calcutta, 1868, page 197. Adam's figures would give 353 teachers. But as there is scarcely ever more than one teacher to a school, we may construe them to mean as many schools.

† Adam's Reports, page 27.

‡ Report of the Education Commission of 1882 pp. 59-60. With regard to Madras, the report states that " in every large town containing Brahman residents and in every Hindu *Matham*, instruction in the

The following extracts relating to the *tols* from Mr. Adam's reports will give a fair idea of their educational system :

"The Hindu colleges or schools in which the higher branches of Hindu learning are taught are generally built of clay. Sometimes three or five rooms are erected, and in others nine or eleven, with a reading-room which is also of clay. These huts are frequently erected at the expense of the teacher, who not only solicits alms to raise the building, but also to feed his pupils. In some cases rent is paid for the ground; but the ground is commonly, and in particular instances both the ground and the expenses of the building are, a gift. After a school-room and lodging-rooms have been thus built, to secure the success of the school, the teacher invites a few Brahmans and respectable inhabitants to an entertainment, at the close of which the Brahmans are dismissed with some trifling presents. If the teacher finds a difficulty in obtaining scholars, he begins the college with a few junior relatives, and by instructing them and distinguishing himself in the disputations that take place on public occasions, he establishes his reputation. The school opens early every morning by the teacher and pupils assembling in the open reading-room, when the different classes read in turns. Study is continued till towards mid-day, after which three hours are devoted to bathing, worship, eating, and sleep; and at three they resume their studies which are continued till twilight. Nearly two hours are then devoted to evening-worship, eating, smoking, and relaxation, and the studies are again resumed and continued till ten or eleven at night. The evening studies consist of a revision of the lessons already learned, in order that what the pupils have read may be impressed more distinctly on the memory. These studies are frequently pursued especially by the students of logic, till two or three o'clock in the morning.

There are three kinds of colleges in Bengal—one in which chiefly

Vedas, Upanishads, the Indian system of logic and philosophy, the grammar of Panini, rhetoric, the Hindu epic poems and dramas and Hindu Law, has been given from the earliest period."

grammar, general literature, and rhetoric and occasionally the great mythological poems and law are taught; a second, in which chiefly law and sometimes the mythological poems are studied; and a third, in which logic is made the principal object of attention. In all these colleges select works are read and their meaning explained; but instruction is not conveyed in the form of lectures. In the first class of colleges, the pupils repeat assigned lessons from the grammar used in each college, and the teacher communicates the meaning of the lessons after they have been committed to memory. In the others the pupils are divided into classes according to their progress. The pupils of each class having one or more books before them, seat themselves in the presence of the teacher, when the best reader of the class reads aloud, and the teacher gives the meaning as often as asked, and thus they proceed from day to day till the work is completed. The study of grammar is pursued during two, three, or six years, and where the work of Panini is studied, not less than ten, and sometimes twelve, years are devoted to it. As soon as a student has obtained such a knowledege of grammar as to be able to read and understand a poem, a law book, or a work on philosophy, he may commence this course of reading also, and carry on at the same time the remainder of his grammar-studies. Those who study law or logic continue reading either at one college or another for six, eight, or even ten years. When a person has obtained all the knowledge possessed by one teacher, he makes some respectful excuse to his guide and avails himself of the instructions of another. When a student is about to commence the study of law or of logic, his fellow students, with the concurrence and approbation of the teacher, bestow on him an honorary title descriptive of the nature of his pursuit, and always differing from any title enjoyed by any of his learned ancestors. In some parts of the country, the title is bestowed by an assembly of Pundits convened for the purpose; and in others the assembly is held in the presence of a raja or zemindar who may be desirous of encouraging learning and who at the same time bestows a dress of honor on the student and places a mark on his forehead. When the student finally leaves college and enters on the business of life he is commonly addressed by that title." *

* Adam's Reports pp. 27-29.

Sanskrit influence upon British Scholars.

Sanskrit lore even such as was imparted at these schools, could not fail to impress favourably upon the minds of the more cultured and thoughtful among the servants of the East India Company. Sanskrit science and Sanskrit literature came almost like a revelation to them, and men like Sir William Jones, Horace Hayman Wilson, and Henry Thomas Colebrooke, devoted their lives to Sanskrit research. Even a politician like Warren Hastings caught the enthusiasm of the Orientalists. While recommending the translation of the *Bhagavatgítá* by Charles Wilkins, Hästings says: "With the deductions or rather qualifications which I have thus premised I hesitate not to pronounce the *Gítá* a performance of great originality; of a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction, almost unequalled; and a single exception among all the known religions of mankind of a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines."* Sir William Jones used to study Sanskrit with the image of a Hindu god placed on his table.

Foundation of Sanskrit College at Benares.

The first step taken by the British Government towards the education of the Hindus was inspired by a desire for the promotion of Sanskrit scholarship. The Sanskrit College founded at Benares in 1791, at the recommendation of Jonathan Duncan, an Oriental

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol, III. p. 234.

scholar, was based upon the indigenous Sanskrit school, such as has been described above. Its organisation was essentially Bráhmanical ; and in its schemes of instruction and examination even the prejudices of the Bráhmans were respected. The object of the institution is stated to have been "the preservation, and cultivation of the laws, literature, and religion of the Hindus (and more particularly their laws) in their sacred city." All the professors, except the professor of medicine, were to be Bráhmans. "The scholars were to be examined four times a year in the presence of the Resident, in all such parts of knowledge as are not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but the Bráhmans. The discipline of the college was to be conformable in all respects to the Dharma Shastra in the chapter on education." * The course of studies in the college included theology, ritual, metaphysics, logic, law, grammar &c.

The educational minute of Lord Minto.

The Sanskrit College of Benares costing Government twenty thousand rupees a year was for a quarter of a century the only institution through which the East India Company discharged their educational responsibilities towards their Hindu subjects. The college, however, does not appear to have been successful ; and the Earl of Minto, in a minute dated the 6th of March, 1811, gives the following reasons :

* Kerr's "Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency" quoted in "Indian Year Book for 1861" by John Murdoch (Madras, 1862) p. 140. *Calcutta Review*, vol. III. pp. 215-216.

"1st. A prejudice appears to exist among the Hindus of that city (Benares) against the office of professor, considered as an office or even as a service; and the most learned pundits have consequently refused the situation, although the salary attached to it is liberal.

2nd. The feuds which have arisen among the members of the college and which may be ascribed chiefly to the avarice and malversation of the former native rector, entrusted with authority over the rest, and with the payment of their allowances have tended materially to defeat the objects of the institution.

3rd. That part of the plan which supposes the attendance of teachers and students in a public hall, appears to be inconsistent with the usages of the Hindus. It has not only never taken effect, but has tended to prevent the professors from giving instruction in their own house."

The minute goes on to propose the establishment of Sanskrit Colleges at Nuddea and at Bhar in the district of Tirhut, guarding, of course, against the defects just mentioned. The minute was evidently inspired by the Oriental scholars, and it bears the signature, among others, of Colebrooke. The following extract from it will show to what extent the authorities of the time were actuated by a desire to revive Sanskrit learning:

"It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every inquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse, and even actual loss, of many valuable books; and it is to be apprehended that, unless Government interfere with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless from a want of books, or of persons capable of explaining them.

The principal cause of the present neglected state of literature in India is to be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native governments. Such encouragement must always operate as a strong incentive to study and literary exertions, but especially in India, where the learned professions have little, if any other, support. The justness of these observations might be illustrated by a detailed consideration of the former and present state of science and literature at the three principal seats of Hindu learning, viz., Benares, Tirhoot, and Nadiya. Such a review would bring before us the liberal patronage which was formerly bestowed, not only by princes and others in power and authority, but also by the zemindars, on persons who had distinguished themselves by the successful cultivation of letters at those places. It would equally bring to our view the present neglected state of learning at those once celebrated places; and we should have to remark with regret that the cultivation of letters was now confined to the few surviving persons who had been patronized by the native princes and others under the former Government, or to such of the immediate descendants of those persons as had imbibed a love of science from their parents. It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature." *

The educational clause in the Charter of 1813.

It was apparently with reference to this minute, that it was enacted in the Charter of 1813:

"That it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions after defraying

* The minute is partly quoted by Adam from the records of the General Committee of Public Instruction, Adam's Reports, p. 308. It is also quoted in the *Calcutta Review* vol. III. pp. 255-257.

the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to *the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India,* and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other part of the British territories in India in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such regulations as may, from time to time, be made by the said Governor-General in Council, subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India respecting Colleges and Seminaries: Provided always that all appointments to offices in such schools, lecturerships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated."

The Directors Communicated with the Governor-General as to the best way of spending the lakh of rupees thus set apart for educational purposes. With regard to the educational policy that was to be pursued, they wrote:

"We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of ethics with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the judicial department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues of drugs and plants, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to European practitioners; and there are treatises on Astronomy, mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service,

who are attached to the observatory and to the department of Engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in these and other sciences." *

Establishment of Oriental Colleges at Calcutta, Agra and Delhi 1824-25.

But no steps were taken to carry the educational provision of the charter into effect until 1823, when a Committee of Public Instruction was formed. One of its very first acts was the establishment of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta, which opened in 1824, with 7 teachers and 50 pupils. We have already referred to Lord Minto's minute of 1811, which recommended the establishment of Sanskrit Colleges at Nadiyá and at Bhár (Tirhut). The proposal, though it appears to have been sanctioned was not carried into effect. A modified scheme was submitted to the Court of Directors in 1821, which suggested the establishment of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta instead of either at Nadiyá or Bhár. The scheme evoked a despatch from the Court of Directors believed to have been penned by James Mill the tone of which was as hostile to the revival of oriental learning as that of 1814 which we have referred to above was favourable to it, as the following extracts will show :

"With respect to the sciences, it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the oriental books......We wish you to be fully apprized of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the natives of India, and of our willingness to make con-

* Quoted in "The History and Prospects of British Education in India" by F. W. Thomas, p. 24.

siderable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us; but we apprehend the plan of the institutions [The Sanskrit College at Benares and the Madrassa at Calcutta], to the improvement of which our attention is now directed, was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning.......In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching men Hindu or Mahomedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder, indeed, in which utility was in any way concerned." *

The Agra and Delhi Colleges were founded, between 1824 and 1825, on an oriental basis like the Sanskrit College. English education, however, was soon grafted upon the original plan. In the Sanskrit College, at Calcutta European medicine and anatomy supplanted the Hindu system. At Agra and at Delhi, Geography and Mathematics were included in the college curriculum. English classes were also attached to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta and to the Agra College, while at Delhi and Benares distinct schools were formed for the teaching of the English language. †

Sanskrit College at Puna, 1821.

In Bombay, as in Bengal, the first British attempt at higher education was a Sanskrit College which was opened at Puna in 1821. In this case, however, there was scarcely any choice.

* Quoted by C. E. Trevelyan, "The Education of the people of India" pp. 74-77.

† Report of the Committee of Public Instruction (1831).

The Peshwa had annually distributed large sums of money among learned Bráhmans. The practice was continued for a time when his territories came into British possession. But Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan, proposed, in lieu of such distribution, the establishment of a college for "the encouragement and improvement of the useful part of Hindu learning." After several years' trial the Government found that the institution had "fulfilled no purpose but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinions." *

Educational Policy of Elphinstone.

The government policy of education adopted in Western India was quite different from that of Northern India. The central idea of the former was to work through the vernaculars, as that of the latter was to work through the classical languages. In 1823, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone submitted his scheme to the Court of Directors, the principal object of which was the encouragement of vernacular education. English was to be taught, but only as a classical language; and provision was made for the translation of English books on moral and physical sciences. Higher education was to be imparted through the vernaculars.; and an engineering and a medical school were started at Bombay about 1825, in which instruction was imparted by means of translations of standard English works.

* "Oriental Christian Spectator" quoted in the "Indian year Book for 1861" p. 142.

Early educational measures in Madras.

In Madras, a Board of Public Instruction was appointed in 1826. Under its auspices a central school was established at Madras in which the Hindus were to be educated in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and about one hundred schools were started in the rural districts. The central institution, though at first far from a success, formed in 1841, the basis of the Madras High School; the rural schools, however, were abolished after a few years as failures.

Indigenous efforts to spread English Education: Rámmohan Ráya.

While the authorities were trying to spread classical education in Bengal, vernacular education in Bombay, and a mixture of both in Madras, the Hindus themselves were expressing their eagerness for English education in no uncertain tone. When Government proposed to apply a portion of the funds set apart for education to the foundation of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, they loudly protested against it. Rámmohan Ráya, the most cultured Hindu of the time addressed a letter to Lord Amherst in which he earnestly pleaded the cause of English education:

"We find" says Rámmohan Ráya "that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. The seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already

commonly taught in all parts of India." "If it were thought necessary" he goes on to observe "to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of the valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sanskrit College; for there have been always, and there are now numerous professors of Sanskrit in the different parts of the country engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to their most eminent professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions. From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Byakaran or Sanskrit Grammar."

Indigenous efforts to spread English education: the Hindu College of Calcutta.

The enthusiasm of the Hindus for English education was not confined to such protests. Finding that Government was but little inclined to adopt efficient measures for the spread of English education, they took steps independently to secure it for their boys. The Hindu College of Calcutta was founded in 1817 for imparting English education, mainly through the exertions of David Hare, a retired watch-maker of a very benevolent disposition.* The leading Hindus

* The following interesting account of the establishment of this college was given by Dr. Duff in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of commons previous to the East India company's

of Calcutta contributed liberally towards its support; and though in 1823, it came under the control of the Committee of Public Instruction, its management continued in Hindu hands. The institution was very successful; and its success showed the real want it supplied. The number of its pupils rose from about 70 in 1819 to above 400 in 1830. The Committee of Public Instruction speaking of the Hindu College in 1831 observe: "The consequence has surpassed our expectation. A command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A

charter of 1853 ("The Life of Alexander Duff by George Smith, Vol. I. pp. 99-100):

"The system of English education commenced in the following very simple way in Bengal. There were two persons who had to do with it. One was Mr. David Hare, and the other was a native, Rámmohan Ráya. In the year 1815 they were in consultation one evening with a few friends as to what should be done with a view to the elevation of the native mind and character............Mr. David Hare was a watch-maker in Calcutta, an ordinary illiterate man himself; but being a man of great energy and strong practical sense, he said the plan should be to institute an English School or College for the instruction of native youth. Accordingly he soon drew up and issued a circular on the subject, which gradually attracted the attention of the leading Europeans, and, among others, of the Chief Justice Sir Hyde East. Being led to consider the proposed measure, he entered heartily into it, and got a meeting of European gentlemen assembled in May, 1816. He invited also some of the influential natives to attend. Then it was unanimously agreed that they should commence an institution for the teaching of English to the higher classes, to be designated the Hindu College of Calcutta. A large joint committee of Europeans and natives was appointed to carry the design into effect."

taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya (the Hindu College), are springing up in every direction."

Early Missionary efforts to spread English education.

The Jaynarain Charity School, now Jaynarain College providing a secondary training under Missionary management in English, Persian, Bengali and Hindusthani was founded at Benares in 1818 from the munificent bequest of an enlightened Hindu. The Missionary College at Serampore was also projected in the same year.

In 1830, Dr. Alexander Duff, a missionary of the General Assembly of the Scotch Kirk, opened a school in which English was chosen as the principal medium of instruction.

The Elphinstone College of Bombay.

The eagerness for English education was not confined to Bengal. In Bombay the educational policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone was, as we have seen already, to encourage vernacular education. When, however, Elphinstone retired in 1827, a fund raised to perpetuate his memory, was applied to the establishment of a college similar to the Hindu College of calcutta, which was called the Elphinstone College.

The educational grant made by the Charter of 1833.

Thus the cause of English education was gradually asserting itself when an event happened in Bengal which not only assured its existence but secured its future prosperity. In 1833, the grant at the disposal of the Committee of

Public Instruction was increased by an Act of Parliament from £10,000 to £100,000. The committee had on the average been spending more than double the authorised amount.* Still the balance left after meeting all their demands was considerable; and a discussion arose as to how it was to be spent. There were two parties, which were equally balanced, five against five; one in favour of spending it upon oriental education, and the other upon English education.

Controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists.

The Orientalists argued, that the charter grant of 1813 was assigned for "the revival and improvement of literature," which could only mean oriental literature, and for "the encouragement of the learned natives of India; by which oriental scholars alone could have been intended"; that English education meant only a smattering of it, and the question was between "a profound knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic literature on the one side, and a superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other," that the classical languages were "absolutely necessary for the improvement of the vernacular dialects" and "that the condemnation of the classical languages to oblivion, would consign the dialects to utter helplessness and irretrievable barbarism," that "little real progress can be made until the learned classes in India are enlisted in the cause of diffusing sound knowledge, and that "one able Pundit or Maulavee, who should add English to Sanskrit or Arabic, who should be led

* Thomas, "History of British Education" pp 28-29.

to expose the absurdities and errors of his own system, and advocate the adoption of European knowledge and principles, would work a greater revolution in the minds of his countrymen than would result from their proficiency in English alone;" and "that as we have succeeded the native chiefs who were the natural patrons of Indian learning, we are bound to give that aid to oriental scholars which they would have done had they never been displaced by us."

To these arguments, the Anglicists replied, that the grant of 1813 was not only for "the encouragement and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" "but also for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences," by which European sciences alone could be intended, that the example of the Hindu College showed, that Indians could acquire a command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science "to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe;" and "the best test of what they can do is what they have done; that all that is required is to impregnate the national mind with knowledge, but by adhering to oriental education the national mind would for ages be kept "in a state of worse than Egyptian bondage, in order that the vernacular dialects may be improved from congenial, instead of from uncongenial sources"; that it was quite unnecessary, even if it was practical to have able Pundits and Maulvis versed in English to propagate a taste for European knowledge, as such taste had been created already, and the people were greedy for English

education ; and the English Government were not "bound to perpetuate the system patronised by their predecessors, merely because it was patronised by them, however little it may have been caculated to promote the welfare of the people."*

"This fundamental difference of opinion long obstructed the business of the committee. Almost every thing which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were so equally balanced as to be unable to make a forward movement in any direction. A particular point might occasionally be decided by an accidental majority of one or two, but as the decision was likely to be reversed the next time the subject came on for discussion, this only added inconsistency to inefficiency. This state of things lasted for about three years, until both parties became convinced that the usefulness and respectability of their body would be utterly compromised by its longer continuance. The committee had come to a dead stop and the Government alone could set it in motion again by giving a preponderance to one or the other of the two opposite sections. The members, therefore, took the only course which remained open to them, and laid before the government a statement of their existing position, and of the grounds of the conflicting opinions held by them."†

* Trevelyan, " Education of the people of India" pp. 95-142.

† Trevelyan, " Education of the people of India" pp. 11-12.

The controversy terminated by the minute of Macaulay

Though the parties were equally balanced, the orientalists in point of distinction, were at first, the stronger, including as they did among them such men as Wilson and Shakespeare. But the arrival of Macaulay in 1834, and his able advocacy of the cause of the Anglicists turned the scale in their favour; and the discussion was at last terminated by his minute in which he thus sums up his arguments:

"I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

"In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

In March 1835, the following resolution evidently determined by the minute of Macaulay was passed by lord William Bentinck:

The Educational Resolution of Lord William Bentinck, 1835.

"His Lordship is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

"But it is not the intention of his Lordship in council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords; and his Lordship in council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be, to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

"It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

"His Lordship in council directs, that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language; and his Lordship in council requests the committee to submit to

Government with all expedition a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."

Rapid spread of English education since 1835.

The resolution of Lord William Bentinck gave a great impetus to English education in Northern India. Two of the orientalist members of the Committee of Public Instruction tendered their resignation. New members were elected whose views were more in conformity with those of the Government resolution. The Hindus who had hitherto been unrepresented on the Committee were now allowed a share in their deliberations. The newly organised Committee with Macaulay as their President took very active measures for the spread of English education. Six new schools were established the very year the resolution of Bentinck was passed, and six more were established at the commencement of the next year. A library was attached to each school. Books and scientific apparatus of various kinds were ordered from England. Within three years, between 1835 and 1838, the number of seminaries under the control of the Committee rose from eleven to forty, and the number of pupils from about three thousand and four hundred to six thousand. The Sanskrit Colleges at Benares and Calcutta were open to Brahmans and Vaidyas only; even the Hindu College of Calcutta would not admit low-caste Hindus. The new seminaries admitted boys irrespective of caste or creed; and this course does not appear ever to have had any deterrent effect upon the admission of the

higher classes. The passion for English knowledge gradually penetrated into the interior.

"The steam boats passing up and down the river" says Trevelyan (1838) "are boarded by native boys begging not for money, but for books." "Some gentlemen coming to Calcutta were astonished at the eagerness with which they were pressed for books by a troop of boys, who boarded the steamer from an obscure place called Comercolly. A Plato was lying on the table, and one of the party asked a boy whether that would serve his purpose. "Oh yes" he exclaimed "give me any book; all I want is a book. The gentleman at last hit upon the expedient of cutting up an old *Quarterly Review*, and distributing the articles among them. In the evening, when some of the party went ashore, the boys of the town flocked around them, expressing their regret that there was no English School in the place, and saying that they hoped that the Governor-General, to whom they had made an application on the subject when he passed on his way up the country, would establish one." *

"The tide" says Trevelyan "had set in strongly in favour of English education, and when the committee declared itself on the same side, the public support they received rather went beyond than fell short of what was required. More applications were received for the establishment of schools than could be complied with; there were more candidates for admission to many of those which were established than could be accommodated. On the opening of the Hooghly College, in August 1836, students of English flocked to it in such numbers as to render the organization and classification of them a matter of difficulty. Twelve hundred names were entered on the books of this department

* Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

of the college within three days, and at the end of the year there were upwards of one thousand in regular attendance. The Arabic and Persian classes of the institution at the same time mustered less than two hundred. There appears to be no limit to the number of scholars, except that of the number of teachers whom the committee is able to provide. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concourse of English students at Hooghly, the demand was so little exhausted, that when an auxiliary school was lately opened within two miles of the colleges the English department of it was instantly filled, and numerous applicants were sent away unsatisfied. In the same way, when additional means of instruction were provided at Dacca, the number of pupils rose at once from 150 to upwards of 300, and more teachers were still called for. The same thing also took place at Agra." * While pupils had to be paid to enter the Sanskrit Colleges, they were ready to pay to enter the English schools.

The eagerness for English education was also testified by the number of English books sold by the School Book Society of Calcutta. Between January, 1834, and December, 1835, while they sold over thirty one thousand five hundred copies of English books, the number of Arabic and Sanskrit books sold by them amounted only to fiftytwo.

About the year 1837, a step of great importance to the cause of English education was taken by Government.

* Trevelyan, *op. cit.* pp. 81-83.

Persian had hitherto been the official language. It was neither the classical nor the vernacular tongue of the Hindus, but they learnt it as it was the language of the courts, and was absolutely necessary for official employment. But about 1838, the vernacular language was substituted for the Persian as the language of the courts. This measure served as an incentive, though indirectly, to English education. Persian had hitherto been the only language of liberal education to the body of the Hindu community; for all but Bráhmans were debarred from Sanskrit education,* and the vernacular literatures were not yet sufficiently rich to offer anything like a liberal education. With the abolition of Persian as court language the necessity for learning it was gone; and when the choice lay between Persian and English as media for general education, the Hindus could not be long in deciding which to adopt, when they considered that though both were foreign to them, English, besides being the language of their Governors, possessed a literature immeasurably superior to the Persian.

Impetus to English education given by the discontinuance of Persian as official language about 1838.

In 1842-43, the committee of education gave place to a more powerful organisation known as the council of Education. It was chiefly by means of the council's exertions that the following proclamation was issued by Lord Hardinge in 1844, which opened up avenues of respect-

The Educational Resolution of Lord Hardinge, 1844.

* The Vaidyas received it to a very limited extent only.

able employment to those who acqitted themselves creditably at the final examinations :—

"The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of education, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people. as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and specially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

The Governor-General is accordingly pleased to direct that it be an instruction to the Council of Education, and to the several Local Committees, and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending public instruction throughout the Provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, to submit to that Government at an early date, and subsequently on the 1st of January of each year, returns (prepared according to the form appended to this resolution) of students who may be fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for such of the various public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities, and other circumstances, they may be deemed qualified to fill.

The Governor-General is further pleased to direct that the Council of Education be requested to receive from the Governors or Managers of all scholastic establishments, other than those supported out of the public funds, similar returns of meritorious students: and to incorporate them, after due and sufficient enquiry, with those of Government institutions; and also that managers of such establishments be publicly invited to furnish returns of that description periodically to the Council of Education.

The returns, when received, will be printed and circulated to the head of all Government offices both in and out of Calcutta, with instructions

to omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice; and in filling up every situation, of whatever grade, in their gift, to show them an invariable preference over others not possessed of similar qualifications. The appointment of all such candidates to situations under the Government will be immediately communicated by the appointing officer to the Council of Education, and will by them be brought to the notice of the Government and of the public in their annual reports. It will be the duty of controlling officers, with whom rests the confirmation of appointments made by their subordinates, to see that a sufficient explanation is afforded in every case in which the selection may not have fallen upon an educated candidate whose name is borne on the printed returns.

With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people the Governor-General is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under Government respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot."

Progress of English Education in Bengal 1844 to 1850.

In accordance with this Proclamation, the Council of Education organised a system of examinations with scholarship for meritorious students. The proclamation, and the examinations instituted to carry out its principle were objected to by the Court of Directors. The standard of the examinations was high. It required "a critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton, and Shakespeare, a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the higher branches of mathematical science, some insight into the elements of natural history, and the principles of moral philosophy and political economy, together with considerable facility of composition, and the power of

writing in fluent and idiomatic language an impromptu essay on any given subject of history, moral or political economy." The Court of Directors considered that the standard could only be attained by students in the Government Colleges, which would, therefore, be virtually given a monopoly of public patronage; and that the high test instead of promoting would tend to discourage the general acquisition of the English language, as those who could not hope to pass the test, would not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon the acquisition of the English language; at least with a view of entering the public service. The examinations instituted by the Council were also objected to by the proprietors of Missionary and other private institutions. The Council, however, continued their examinations, though on account of the high test, and the limited number of institutions which sent up candidates, the number of successful students was very small.*

Progress of English Education in the Bombay Presidency to 1857.

The Bombay Board of Education was created in 1840; and Sir Erskine Perry, a strong advocate of English Education, became its President in 1843. During the nine years of his Presidentship (1843 to 1852), the number of English schools under the control of the Board nearly doubled, and nine private English

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XV. p. 319. Within five years (1845 to 1849) the Council passed only thirty-five students, six in the first class, and twenty-nine in the second division.

schools were started in Bombay. The opening of the Grant Medical College in 1845, the establishment of chairs for Botany and Chemistry at the Elphinstone Institution in the following year, and the amalgamation of the Sanskrit College and the English school at Puna, were some of the more notable among the measures adopted by Sir Erskine Perry to promote English education. In 1850, there were in the Bombay Presidency 10 Government or aided English institutions (including the Grant Medical College) with about 2,000 pupils.*

Progress of English Education in the Madras Presidency to 1857.

In Madras, under the auspices of the committee of Native education a high school was founded, in 1841, for imparting English education. Two schools of a similar character were started at Cuddalore and Rajamahendri in 1853 and 1854 respectively.

In 1837, Mr. Anderson, the first Missionary of the Scottish Church in Southern India, opened an English school in Madras, which is now represented by the Christian College, and the Church of Scotland Missionary Institution. The success of the experiment led the Church Missionary Society to establish their college at Masulipatam in 1841, and the Jesuit Fathers their college at Negapatam in 1846. In Madras, the Wesleyan Mission started an English school in 1851. The London Missionary Society opened their school in 1853. It is estimated that, in 1854, some 33,000 boys were

* Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 50.

receiving English education in schools conducted by Missionary Societies.

The Pachaiyappa's Institution was opened in 1842 from funds derived from a charitable bequest. It was administered by a body of Hindu gentlemen as trustees. Two branch schools were opened after a time in connection with it. In 1854, they were all giving a high class education to about 1,000 pupils.

The Education Despatch of 1854.

Thus English education was steadily progressing in all parts of India, when the Court of Directors' despatch of 1854 gave a great impetus to it. Before the renewal of the charter in 1853, evidence on educational subjects was taken by a committee of both Houses of Parliament from such men as Sir Erskine Perry, the Hon. C. H. Cameron, Sir C. E. Trevelyan, Dr. Duff and Professor H. H. Wilson. With the exception of Professor Wilson, they were all ardent Anglicists, and the cause of English education was well represented by them. Some years ago (in 1845) the Bengal Council of education had suggested the establishment of an University in Calcutta on the model of the London University. The Court of Directors had then declined to accede to the proposal. The evidence now tendered, however, with regard to the progress of education convinced the Directors of the desirability of an University. "The rapid spread of a liberal education" say the Directors "among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shewn by the native candidates for Government scholar-

ships, and by the native students in private institutions, the success of the Medical Colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European and Anglo Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India."*

Creation of Education Departments.

Another important step taken by the Directors, in 1854, for the spread of education was the creation of educational departments in the several presidencies. "We desire" say the Directors "to express to the present Boards and Councils of education our sincere thanks for the manner in which they have exercised their functions, and we still hope to have the assistance of the gentlemen composing them in furtherance of a most important part of our present place [referring to the University Scheme]; but having determined upon a very considerable extension of the general scope of our efforts, involving the simultaneous employment of different agencies, some of which are now wholly neglected, and others but imperfectly taken advantage of by Government, we are of opinion, that it is desirable to place the superintendence and direction of education upon a more systematic footing, and we have, therefore, determined to create an educational department as a portion of the machinary of our Governments in the several presidencies of India." †

* Despatch of 1854, para. 24.
† Despatch of 1854, para. 17.

The grant-in-aid system.

The systems of grants-in-aid formed one of the salient features of the scheme propounded in the despatch. "The consideration" say the Directors "of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the state, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India and of other benevolent persons. We have therefore resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid."*

Establishment of the Universities, the results of University education.

The Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras came into existence in 1857. Since then two more Universities have sprung up, the Punjab University in 1878, and the Allahabad University in 1887. All the Indian Universities grant the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts; the Bombay University also grants the degree of Bachelor of science, and the Punjab University the degrees of Bachelor, Master and, Doctor of Oriental learning. All these Universities are based on the model of the University of London and are primarily examining bodies, except the Punjab University

* Despatch of 1854, paras. 51, 52.

which possesses a teaching branch. The following tables will exhibit the immense progress which University education has made since 1857:

1. Results of Collegiate Education for fifteen years from 1857 to 1871.

Province.	Maximum No. of English Arts' Colleges.	Number of Students who passed the F.A., B.A., and M.A. Examinations.		
		F.A.	B.A.	M.A.
Madras	12	784	152	6
Bombay	4	244	116	28
Bengal	17	1,495	548	112
N.-W. Provinces & Oudh	9	96	26	5
Punjab	4	47	8	......
Total	46	2,666	850	151

2. Results of Collegiate Education for ten years from 1872 to 1881:

PROVINCE.	Maximum No. of English Arts' Colleges.	Number of Students who passed the F.A., B.A., and M.A. Examinations.		
		F.A.	B.A.	M.A.
Madras	25	2,032	890	22
Bombay	6	709	340	34
Bengal *	22	2,666	1,037	285
N.-W. Provinces & Oudh.	9	365	130	33
Punjab*	2	107	37	11
Central Provinces ...	1	90	......	......
Total	65	5,969	2,434	385

3. Results of Collegiate Education for five years from 1887-88 to 1891-92:

UNIVERSITY.	Matriculation or Entrance passed.	F.A. Passed.	B.A. Passed.	Honours in Arts and M.A.
Calcutta	9,425	3,810	1,599	266
Allahabad †	2,508	704	291	33
Punjab	1,407 §	466	158	9
Madras	9,457	2,798	1,765	21
Bombay	4,143	1,042	848	19

* Passes in the Calcutta University only are shown in this table. Honours in degrees gained in the Punjab University College and University are excluded.

† For four years only from 1888-89 to 1891-92.

§ For three years only from 1889-90 to 1891-92.

High class schools & colleges under Hindu management.

The appreciation of English education by the Hindus is specially attested by the rapid increase within the last twenty years in the number of high class English institutions under Hindu management. These are now fifteen such institutions in Bengal imparting collegiate instruction. In the entire country, between 1886-87 and 1892-93, the English Arts colleges under public management decreased from 32 to 30, but aided colleges of this description rose from 37 to 46, and unaided ones from 17 to 27. "Colleges of these latter descriptions" observes the Government of India "are, generally speaking, taking the place of Government institutions."* With a view to encourage the growth of local effort in education, the education commission of 1882 recommended: *First.*—That in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary institution, aid at specially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, whenever, necessary to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institutions under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency. *Secondly.*—That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, provision be also made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings, and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of

* Resolution issued in the Home Department on the Quinquennial Education Report for 1886-87 to 1890-91.

Government. *Thirdly.*—That all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of secondary instruction (including schools attached to first or second grade colleges), in every case in which the transfer can be effected, without lowering the standard, or diminishing the supply of education, and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred.*

* "Report of the Education Commission of 1882" pp. 465—467.





CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH RULE—VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

Indigenous Vernacular Education.

The English found a large number of elementary Vernacular schools (*Páthashálás*)* all over the country. There is no connection between them and the high class indigenous Sanskrit schools (*tols*) which have been mentioned before. The latter are intended for the highest castes, the former for all but the very lowest. What preparatory training is required by the Bráhman boys for entrance into the tols is generally given at home. The higher castes never appear to have encouraged the education of the lower in any way. Under Hindu kings there were endowmentsf or tols, but never any for Páthashálás. The Bráhman scholars wrote text book after text book, and commentary after commentary for the tols, but never any for the Páthashálás; in fact, they seldom condescended to write in the vernaculars. The lower classes

left entirely to their own resources evolved a system of education—if system it can be called—which was suited to their humble requirements.

The following description of Páthashálas in Bengal given by Mr. Adam in 1835 still applies generally to such institutions all over India which have not yet been brought under the operations of the Education Departments :

"The benefits resulting from them are but small, owing partly to the incompetency of the instructors, and partly to the early age at which through the poverty of the parents the children are removed. The education of Bengalee children, as has been just stated, generally commences when they are five or six years old and terminates in five years, before the mind can be fully awakened to a sense of the advantages of knowledge or the reason sufficiently matured to acquire it. The teachers depend entirely upon their scholars for subsistence, and being little respected and poorly rewarded, there is no encouragement for persons of character, talent or learning to engage in the occupation. These schools are generally held in the houses of some of the most respectable native inhabitants or very near them. All the children of the family are educated in the vernacular language of the country; and in order to increase the emoluments of the teachers, they are allowed to introduce, as pupils, as many respectable children as they can procure in the neighbourhood. The scholars begin with tracing the vowels and consonants with the finger on a sand board and afterwards on the floor with a pencil of steatite or white crayon; and this exercise is continued for eight or ten days. They are next instructed to write on the palm-leaf with a reed-pen .. .. and with ink made of charcoal, which rubs out, joining vowels to the consonants, forming compound letters, syllables, and words, and learning tables of numeration, money, weight, and measure, and the correct mode of writing the

distinctive names of persons, castes, and places. This is continued about a year. The iron style is now used only by the teacher in sketching on the palm-leaf the letters which the scholars are required to trace with ink. They are next advanced to the study of Arithmetic and the use of the plantain-leaf in writing with ink made of lamp-black, which is continued about six months, during which they are taught addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, and the simplest cases of the Mensuration of land and commercial and agricultural accounts, together with the modes of address proper in writing letters to different persons. The last stage of this limited course of instruction is that in which the scholars are taught to write with lamp-black ink on paper, and are further instructed in agricultural and commercial accounts and in the composition of letters. In country places the rules of Arithmetic are principally applied to agricultural and in towns to commercial accounts: but in both town and country schools the instruction is superficial and defective. It may be safely affirmed that in no instance whatever is the orthography of the language of the country acquired in those schools, for although in some of them two or three of the more advanced boys write out small portions of the most popular poetical compositions of the country, yet the manuscript copy itself is so inaccurate that they only become confirmed in a most vitiated manner of spelling, which the imperfect qualifications of the teacher do not enable him to correct. The scholars are entirely without instruction, both literary and oral, regarding the personal virtues and domestic and social duties. The teacher, in virtue of his character, or in the way of advice or reproof, exercises no moral influence on the character of his pupils............ On the other hand, there is no text or school-book used containing any moral truths or liberal knowledge, so that education being limited entirely to accounts, tends rather to narrow the mind and confine its attention to sordid gain, than to improve the heart and enlarge the understanding. This description applies, as far as I at present know, to all indigenous elementary schools throughout Bengal." *

* Adam's Reports, p. 25.

Indigenous Vernacular Schools about 1830.

With regard to the number of indigenous elementary schools, it was reported by Sir Thomas Munro in 1826, as the result of inquiries instituted by him, that there were in the Madras Presidency some 12,000 of them.* He estimated that nearly one-third of the entire male population of the Presidency received school education. "The state of education exhibited" says he "low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant times." Investigations made in the Bombay Presidency showed that about 1830, it contained 1,705 schools with 35,143 pupils, of which 25 schools with 1,315 scholars were maintained by Government. The population of the Presidency was estimated about the same time at 4,681,735 souls. Considering that the male population alone received school instruction, and that boys between the ages of 5 and 10 years—which is the period during which Indian boys in general remain at the *páthashálás*—form one-ninth of the total male population, we find that about 13 per cent. of the boys of school-going age were receiving elementary instruction about 1830

The following tables extracted from Adam's reports will exhibit the state of indigenous education in cer-

* The figure given in Munro's minute is 12,498; but, as the schools imparting high education in Sanskrit are included in that number, we have made an allowance of 498 for them.

(Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 3).

tain areas in Bengal and Behar which were studied in detail :

	Total number of children between 14 and five years of age.	Number of children receiving school instruction.	Number of children receiving domestic instruction.	Total number of children receiving domestic and school instruction.	Children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction.	Proportion of children capable of receiving to children actually receiving instruction is as 100 to.
City of Moorshedabad..	15,092	959	300	1,259	13,833	8·3
Thana Daulatbazar ...	10,428	305	326	631	9,797	6·05
,, Nanglia ...	8,929	439	285	724	8,205	8·1
,, Culna ...	18,176	2,243	676	2,919	15,257	16·05
,, Jehanabad	15,595	366	539	905	14,690	5·8
,, Bhawara ...	13,409	60	288	348	13,061	2·5

	Total adult population.	Instructed adult population.	Uninstructed adult population.	Proportion of total adult population to instructed adult population is as 100 to
City of Moorshedabad ...	97,818	7,355	90,463	7·5
Thana Daulatbazar ...	42,837	1,772	41,065	4·1
,, Nanglia	30,410	1,613	28,797	5·3
,, Culna	81,045	7,308	73,737	9·01
,, Jehanabad	57,573	2,835	54,738	4·9
,, Bhawara	44,416	1,033	43,383	2·3

Spread of Vernacular education by Christian Missionaries.

The earliest attempts to impart vernacular education on more civilized methods than those described in the above extract were made by Christian Missionaries. During the latter half of the eighteenth century the great missionary Schwartz established schools at Madras, Trichinoply, Tanjore and other places; and early in the eighteenth century, the Baptist Mission at Serampur under Carey, Ward, and Marshman did much to extend vernacular education. About 1815, Mr. May a Missionary at Hooghly started a number of vernacular schools which were very successful and which secured from Lord Hastings a monthly grant of Rs. 600.

The Calcutta School Society.

Mr. Hare, who was the pioneer of English education in Bengal, also did much in conjunction with Raja Radhakant Deva, to improve the indigenous vernacular education. The first systematic effort, however, was made by the Calcutta School Society which was founded in 1818 under the Presidency of the Marquis of Hastings. The objects of the Society were "to assist and improve existing schools, and to establish and support any further schools and seminaries which may be requisite; with a view to the more general diffusion of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India of every description especially within the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William, and to select pupils of distinguished talents and merit from elementary and other schools, and to provide for their instruction in seminaries

of a higher degree; with the view of forming a body of qualified teachers and translators who may be instrumental in enlightening their countrymen, and improving the general system of education. When the funds of the institution may admit of it, the maintenance and tuition of such pupils, in distinct seminaries, will be an object of importance."

The society carried out its objects by distributing books, and by carrying on examinations through its officers and agents. In 1821, it had under its superintendence 115 schools with 3823 pupils; and two years later it secured a monthly grant of Rs. 500 from Government.

Committee of Public Instruction.

The Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal which came into existence in 1823 though recognising the importance of vernacular education, did not take any step directly to promote vernacular education.

"We are deeply sensible" say the Committee in one of their annual reports "of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages.........We conceive the formation of a vernalcular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language, which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference and with it the knowledge of the learning of the west, is therefore daily spreading This, as it appears to us is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge before they can transfer

it into their own language. We trust that the number of such translations will multiply every year."

Progress of vernacular education in Bengal, 1835-1855.

In 1835, Lord William Bentinck appointed Mr. Adam to inquire into the indigenous system of education in Bengal and Behar. The inquiries extended over three years, but they resulted only in reports containing a vast mass of the most interesting information. No action was taken, as the committee of education considered the plan * submitted by Mr. Adam to be almost impracticable. Between 1838, when Adam's inquiries were concluded, and 1855, when the education department was formed, scarcely anything was done directly to promote vernacular education in Bengal.†

Vernacular education in the Bombay Presidency.

Vernacular education made better progress in Bombay and the North-Western Provinces than in Bengal. The Bombay Board of Education, which was created in 1840, divided the educational area of the Bombay Presidency into three divisions each under an inspector, founded stipendiary studentships, and proposed to open a vernacular school in every village containing 2,000 inhabitants provided the people bore a certain share of the cost. In 1842, there were 120 Government vernacular schools with 7,750 pupils.

* Adam's Reports, p. 259, *et. seq.*

† In 1844, Lord Hardinge established over a hundred vernacular schools, but they were not successful.

Vernacular education in the North-West, 1845—1855.

In 1845, Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, issued orders to the Collectors and their subordinates to encourage the indigenous vernacular schools. By 1849, he had elaborated a comprehensive scheme of vernacular education, which consisted in the establishment of a superior school at each tahsil or subdivision of district, and of an elementary 'circle' school in a central situation which was not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages forming the circle. "For the support of these schools the consent of the land-owners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue one per cent., being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the land-owners and half by the Government."* The scheme was sanctioned by the Court of Directors; and by the end of 1854, there were in the North-Western Provinces 897 schools, mostly of the elementary type, with 23,638 scholars.

State of Vernacular education in 1859.

The Court of Directors' despatch of 1854 gave considerable impetus to vernacular education throughout India. "We desire" say the Directors "to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object [mass education], for the attain-

* Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, 7th April, 1859.

ment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure."

The Education Departments which came into existence soon after the date of this despatch took vigorous measures for the promotion of vernacular education. The steps taken in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras between 1855 and 1859 are thus summarised in a despatch from the Secretary of State for India, dated 7th April, 1859:

"In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, several plans for promoting vernacular education have been simultaneously introduced. In some of the districts, Mr. Thomason's plan, founded on the encouragement of indigenous schools by periodical inspection and by rewards, was brought into operation. In others, it was attempted to accomplish the object under the grant-in-aid rules, and in those districts a considerable number of schools have been established on that principle. Great difficulties, however, were encountered in obtaining local assistance and support; and the conclusion arrived at, after the experience of two or three years, by Mr. Pratt, the Inspector, who most perseveringly followed this course of proceeding, was that it was vain to hope to base any general scheme of popular education, at least in the greater part of Bengal, on the grant-in-aid system under the prescribed rules. The Inspector of the Eastern Education Division, Mr. Woodrow, had *a priori*, arrived at a similar conclusion, and had struck out an altogether different course, to which he had obtained the sanction of Government. The principle of his plan was to make use of the existing indigenous schools, and he proceeded by forming these schools into circles of three, four, or five, and attaching to each circle a well qualified teacher, to be paid by Government, whose duty it would be to go from school to school, instructing village schoolmasters in their duties, and imparting instruction in the higher subjects to the more advanced pupils; encouragement being given to both masters and pupils by the prospect of small pecuniary rewards. This plan has so far been found very successful, and it is proposed to extend it to others of the educational divisions.

"In Bombay, the education officers have continued to prosecute the plan previously in force of forming vernacular schools on a partially self-supporting plan; it being intended, however, to introduce gradually the plan of "circle" schools of a somewhat superior class. One peculiarity of the system pursued at Bombay is, that the schools maintained at the joint expense of Government and of the local community are constituted as Government schools, instead of remaining, like those under the grant-in-aid rules, private schools receiving a grant from Government. The question of a change in this respect has been raised by the Government of India, and is still undetermined. In Madras, a plan of popular education was brought into operation in some of the talooks of the Rajahmundry district, resembling very much the hulkabundee system of the North-Western Provinces; but it is admitted that even if the plan could be maintained in Rajahmundry, and in districts similarly situated, it is inapplicable to districts under the revenue system prevailing generally in the Madras presidency. A system has accordingly been lately sanctioned, as an experiment, in some of the Madras districts, based like the plan of Mr. Woodrow in Bengal, on the improvement of existing village schools, and on the encouragement of the schoolmasters to self-improvement, by the promise of a reward to be given in books or in money at the discretion of the Director."

Primary and secondary education.

The system of vernacular education which has been evolved within the last thirty years comprises primary education, and secondary education. The primary schools may be called improved *páthshálás*. The instruction imparted in both is quite elementary but that in the Government or aided primary schools is of a far superior character. The secondary* or as they are some-

* Secondary schools, in the language of the Education Departments, also include high schools which prepare up to the standard of the University matriculation.

times called middle schools, carry vernacular education to a much higher stage, the highest standard including Geometry, Algebra, Elements of Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Physical Geography &c. The vernacular is always the medium of instruction in the middle as in the primary schools; but there are numerous middle schools where English is taught as a second language.

Primary education in Bengal.

In Bengal primary education received a fresh impulse under the Lieutenant Governorship of Sir George Campbell. He assigned an annual amount of four lakhs of rupees to primary education and his successor, Sir Richard Temple, continued his policy. The number of primary schools rose from 2512 with 68,543 pupils in 1871 to 51,778 schools with 898, 389 scholars in 1881-82. In the year 1891-92, there were 62,349 primary schools with 1,280,694 pupils.

In Madras.

In the Madras Presidency, scarcely anything was done for primary education before 1868. In that year the imposition of an education cess of one per cent. was sanctioned and district Education Committees were formed. Under the direction of these Committees, primary education was greatly extended, the number of children receiving such education rising from 68, 237 in 1871 to 360,000 in 1882. In 1892, 22,111 schools were imparting primary education to 608, 976 scholars.

In Bombay.

In the Bombay Presidency the education cess was introduced in 1864; and it greatly contributed to the expansion of primary education. The number of primary schools rose from

2,738 schools with 159,628 pupils in 1871 to 5,338 schools with 332,688 pupils in 1882. In 1892 there were 11,719 primary schools with 584,946 scholars.

The Education Commission and Primary Education.

The Education Commission of 1882 recommended "that while every branch of education can justly clam the fostering care of the state, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the state should now be directed, in a still larger measure than before." The Commission considered that primary education "possessed an almost exclusive claim upon local funds set apart for education, and a large claim upon provincial revenues." The Government concurred in the recommendations of the Commission; and since 1883, its educational policy has been to carry them out as far as possible. In 1886-87, the total expenditure on primary education from public funds (Provincial revenues, and district and Municipal funds) was Rs.42,07, 863; by 1892-93, it had risen to Rs. 50, 45, 513, the ratio of increase being nearly treble that upon high or secondary education. "In addition to the direct expenditure on Primary schools there is the expenditure on training teachers for employment in such schools. The expenditure from public funds on training schools rose from Rs. 4,53,008 in 1886-87 to Rs. 5,12,405 in 1891-92. It is said that the number of students being trained for work in Secondary schools is probably less than one-

fourth of the total number of students, so that the greater portion of this expenditure is devoted to the improvement of Primary education. Measures have been taken in the various provinces to facilitate the conversion of indigenous into aided Primary schools, but this conversion is sometimes retarded by a reluctance on the part of the teachers to submit to departmental rules and methods of instruction and often by want of funds."*

The total number of public Primary Schools for boys rose from 84,673 in 1886-87 to 91,881 in 1891-92.

Secondary Vernacular education.

In 1886-87, there were 4,160 secondary schools (including high schools which teach in English up to the matriculation standard) attended by 404,189 students of whom 271,654 were in the exclusively English division. In 1891-92, the number of schools rose to 4,438 and that of pupils to 438,988 of whom no less than 302,019 were in the exclusively English division; so that, whereas the number of boys seeking secondary education in English rose by over 30,000, those seeking secondary education in the vernaculars rose by 5,797 only. The increase in the secondary schools for boys was chiefly in schools teaching English which rose from 2,301 to 2,544; 755 of the latter number were high schools and 1,789 middle schools.

* Resolution of the Government of India (Home Department) on the Quinquennial Education Report 1886-87 to 1891-91.

"It seems inevitable that in a grade where English and vernacular education co-exist, the tendency will be under existing influences for the former to oust the latter and accordingly the kind of education in Secondary schools in which the percentage of students shows the largest advance is high English education. In middle English schools in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the English language has been substituted for the vernacular as the medium of instruction; and, though opinions on the merits of the two systems are said to be divided in Bengal, it seems clear that students of a course which leads up to the Entrance Examination will, independently of other reasons for preferring English teaching, wish to learn all subjects of general knowledge in the language in which the Entrance Examination is held.

The great majority of the pupils receiving education are instructed in Primary schools, that is in reading, writing, elementary Arithmetic and land measurement; in 1892-93, the percentage was 93·9. In the same year, 5·7 per cent. of the total number of pupils was receiving Secondary education, and only 0·4 per cent. were students receiving high English education, or studying Law, Medicine, or Engineering.





CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH RULE—FEMALE EDUCATION.

Indigenous female education.

We have already adduced evidence to show, that there were highly educated Hindu ladies in ancient India.* But for many centuries previous to the establishment of British Rule there is no case known of a Hindu lady distinguishing herself in literary pursuits. Highborn ladies among the Rajputs received elementary instruction in reading and writing, and sometimes an exceptionally enlightened Pandit imparted education, though rarely of a very high order, to his daughter. There were some petty sects among the Vaishnavas, the female members of which learned to read and write. But in point of morality they

* Vol. II. p. 107.

were not held in much higher estimation than the class of unfortunates among whom some sort of education has always been prevalent.* With these few exceptions the female Hindu, population, at least just before the establishment of British rule, was absolutely unlettered. Writing of the state of instruction among women in Bengal about 1835, Adam observed that "it cannot be said to be low, for with a very few individual exceptions there is no instruction at all. Absolute and hopeless ignorance is, in general, their lot."†

Missionaries the pioneers in female education.

As in the case of vernacular education, so in that of female education, the missionaries took the lead. In Calcutta, the first attempt to instruct Indian girls, in organised schools, was made about 1821 by the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society which subsequently assumed the name of the Calcutta Baptist Female Society. The Society's schools in Calcutta and its vicinity were, in 1834, imparting elementary instruction to some 200 scholars. About the same time, the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society also established girl schools in Calcutta and its neighbourhood.‡ But all these schools were attended chiefly, if not exclusively by Christian girls.

* Dr. Rajendralala Mitra says, that at Cuttak, in Orissa, he found three schools for the education of the daughters of courtezans, and they were well attended. "Indo Aryans" vol. I. p. 282.

† Adam's Reports, p. 131.

‡ Adam's Reports pp. 34-35.

The Bethune School. The first successful attempt to start a school for Hindu girls in Bengal on a secular basis was made by Drinkwater Bethune. On the 7th of May, 1849, the school opened with 21 pupils, placed under the charge of an English lady, who, with the help of a Pandit, was to teach them Bengali, as much English as their guardians might choose, and, in the words of Mr. Bethune's opening address, "a thousand feminine works and accomplishments in embroidery and fancy work, in drawing, and in many other things that would give them the means of adorning their own homes and of supplying themselves with harmless and elegant employment." As is usual in such cases, the school for sometime met with opposition from the orthodox Hindus. But, by the end of May, 1850, the twentyone pupils had increased to thirtyfour. After the untimely death of Mr. Bethune,* it was taken up and supported by the Marquis of Dalhousie ; and when he left India, it became a Government institution. The Court of Directors, when sanctioning the assumption by Government of the charge of Mr. Bethune's School, gave their cordial approval to the order of the Government of India, that female education should be considered to be as much within the province of the Council of Education as any other branch of education ; and the Court's interest in the subject was further

* Mr. Bethune by his will left lands and other property in Calcutta for the endowment of the Bethune School in perpetuity. (Education Commission Report, P. 525)

expressed in their despatch of July 1854, in which it was declared that schools for females were to be included in those to which grants-in-aid might be given. *

Progress of female education in Bengal, 1859 to 1893.

By the year 1859 female schools had been established by the local community at Dacca and at Howra. Girls were also reported to be in attendance at a few of the vernacular schools in Eastern Bengal. In 1871, there were, in Bengal, 274 aided girls' schools with 5,910 pupils. Since then there has been a great development of female education upon the grant-in-aid system. In 1882, the number of girls' schools rose to 1,015 containing 41,349 pupils. In 1894 the number of girls' schools was 2,999, and that of pupils, 61,034 besides 33,686 girls in boys' schools. The college department of the Bethune School was opened in 1879. Since then it has sent up candidates for the Examinations of the Calcutta University every year. In 1893, one of its pupils took the degree of B. A. with honours in literature, and six passed the Entrance Examination successfully. There is another high class Government female school in Bengal, the Eden Female School at Dacca. Besides these, there were, in 1893, three high schools for girls in Calcutta with 219 pupils, mostly Anglo-Indian and Eurasian; one middle English school at Hooghly (Chinsura) with 8 pupils; and 26 middle vernacular schools distributed over eight

* Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, 7th April, 1859.

of the nine divisions in Bengal. The upper primary schools for girls were 201, and the lower primary 2,766. According to the census of 1891, the proportion of literate females in Bengal was 4 in 1000, an increase of 0.1 per cent. over the number shown by the census of 1881.

Female education in Bombay 1824 to 1892.

In Bombay, the first school for Indian girls was opened by the American Missionary Society in 1824. The Scottish Missionary Society followed; and in 1827, the girl schools of this Society were attended by 300 scholars. In 1840, the Society opened five schools, in the neighbourhood of Puna, for the daughters of the higher classes of Hindus. Since then female education in the Bombay Presidency has made steady progress In 1851, a private girl school was established at Puna by Jati Govinda Rao Phule which was long held in high repute. In the same year, a munificent endowment of Rs. 20,000 was created by Maganbhai Karamchand at Ahmedabad for the foundation of two girls' schools. The following sketch of the progress of female education in Bombay from 1854 to 1882 is given in the report of the Education Commission.* "The despatch of 1854 found 65 girls' schools (of which we have full returns) in Bombay with about 3,500 pupils. There were also 593 girls attending boys' schools. In 1857, small annual rewards were offered by government to vernacular school masters, who should form girl's classes in their

*Op. cit. p. 524.

schools, with the results that in 1864-65, there were 639 girls in such schools. The visit of Miss Carpenter, the interest shown by European ladies at Thana, Dhulia, and elsewhere, and the liberality of certain Southern Mahratta Chiefs and leading Parsis, gave a fresh impulse to the movement. Female Normal Schools were established at Ahmedabad, Bombay and Poona······In 1869, there were altogether 209 girl's schools, in the Bombay presidency, attended by 9,291 pupils. The statistics for 1871 show 218 girl's schools with 9,190 pupils. Since 1871, the Bombay Government has recognised its duty towards female education. Grants-in-aid have been more freely given, and a large number of girl's schools have been founded, with the result of multiplying nearly threefold the number of pupils returned in 1871. It is worthy of remark, however, that the number of pupils (11,238) in departmental girls' schools now exceeds the number (10,621) in aided and unaided institutions, excluding mixed schools for boys and girls. Apart from this, the special features of female education in Bombay seem to be (1) the evidence of a growing desire among the commercial classes for its extension; (2) the efforts on a large sale made by the natives themselves (Parsis, Marathas, and Gujrathis) to meet this demand; and (3) the successful endeavours by the Government to create an efficient staff of teachers."

In 1882, there were in Bombay 343 girls' schools attended by 26, 766 pupils. In 1892, the number of institutions rose to 793, and that of pupils to 73,017. The proportion of literate females in Bombay, is much

higher than in Bengal, being 10 per thousand according to the census of 1891.

The following sketch of the progress of female education in the Madras Presidency is taken from the report of the Education Commission of 1882.*

Female education in Madras, 1841 to 1892.

"In the Madras Presidency, the first attempt at female education in the modern sense, consisted of the boarding schools maintained by the Church of England Societies in Tinnevelly, but intended almost exclusively for daughters of Christian converts. In 1841, the Missionaries of the Scottish Church commenced the work of educating the Hindu girls of Madras. In 1845, the first girls' school under partial native management was opened. As narrated in Chapter II., of this report, the despatch of 1854 found about 8000 girls in Missionary schools in the Madras Presidency and neighbouring states; 1,100 being in boarding schools. The total number of girls' schools, was 256. The despatch of 1854 led to an increase of effort. In 1858-59, grants-in-aid to the extent of Rs. 1, 589 were given to 39 schools attended by 1,885 girls. In 1870-71, aid to the amount of Rs. 25,682 was given to 138 schools, with 7,245 girls. There were, besides, 2,148 girls in 289 mixed schools and 792 in village boys' schools......In 1858, an annual examination for school-mistresses' certificates, was instituted, which gradually developed into a general examination for girls' schools,

* *Op. cit.* pp. 522—523.

and exerted a wholesome influence in improving the quality of the teaching. In 1870-71, there were 141 candidates of whom 41 passed. These improved arrangements, together with the increased efforts of the missionary bodies and the native educational agencies which had entered the field, aided by grants and supplemented by Government efforts, produced a great increase during the next ten years." There were in 1882, "according to the departmental return, 557 girls' schools, with 35,042 pupils, aided and unaided institutions forming by far the most important element in the total. Madras has now an organised system of female instruction, from normal or training school for female teachers, down to primary schools, for girls......Besides the Christian zenana mission, there is a zenana agency on a secular basis, conducted by a committee of native gentlemen and English ladies. Zenana education, however, is not so extensively developed, or apparently so much required as in some other provinces ; the seclusion of women of the better classes is less complete, and it is easier for girls to obtain a considerable amount of education at school. Madras ranked highest in the census returns of 1881 among the provinces of India with regard to female education (excepting the little territory of Coorg).......The proportion under instruction is 1 girl in 403 of the female population, and the proportion of those able to read and write, but not under instruction, 1 woman in 166 of the female population."

In 1892, there were in the Madras Presidency 1060 institutions imparting education 98, 471 female scholars.

The proportion of literate females as shown by the census of 1891 is the same as in Bombay, viz. 10 per thousand.

Female education in the North-west 1855 to 1892.

The Secretary of State, in his despatch of 7th April 1859, reviewing the state of female education in the North-Western Provinces says :

"A movement in furtherance of female education in the Agra district Was commenced by the Deputy Inspector of schools, Gopal Sing, in 1855.* The expense was in the first instance, defrayed entirely from the public funds ; 'the agricultural classes, though quite willing and ready to make use of the schools, were not then prepared to go further and to pay the teacher.' The schools were attended by scholars of all classes of Hindus, including a considerable proportion of Brahmins ; and of the girls, the age of some exceeded 20 years, the remainder being from 6 years old to 20. The masters were selected by the parents of the scholars, and committees of respectable native gentlemen were formed to exercise a general supervision over the schools, and to arrange for their visitation. The number of schools in the Agra district had risen in January 1857 to 288 and the attendance of the girls was estimated at 4,927. It being desired at that time to carry out the experiment of female education in a more efficient manner, sanction was sought, and obtained, to the assignment of Rs. 8,000 as a direct grant from Government for female schools in the district, to meet an estimated expenditure on 200 girls' schools of Rs. 13,200 per annum, the balance being provided from the hulkabundee cess and from other sources."

"Mr. Reid and Mr. Kempson, the successive Directors of Public Instruction from 1854 to 1878, were strong advocates of female education, while Sir William Muir who became Lieutenant-Governor in 1868, cordially supported the efforts of the education Department. The girls' schools existing before 1857 for the most part

disappeared in the Mutiny. In 1859 a fresh start was made. In 1870 71, the number of girls' schools in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, was 640, with 13,853 pupils. Between 1871 and 1881, a great decrease took place in girls' schools. The total number of girls' schools in 1882 was 308 attended by 8,883 pupils. The census officers in 1881 returned the number of girls under instruction at 9,771 in the British districts of the North-Western Porvinces, being one girl to 2,169 of the female population. The number of females retufned by the census of 1881 as able to read and write, but not under instructions in the British districts, was 21,590, or one in 981 of the female population."* The number of girls' schools in 1892 was 467, and that of pupils attending them 12,813. The proportions of literate females is the same as in Bengal, *viz.* 3 per thousand.

Female education in the Punjab, 1855 to 1892.

In the year 1856-57, there were known to exist in the Punjab only 17 schools for girls with 306 pupils, nearly all Mahomedans. By 1865 66, the number of schools had risen to 1,029, and that of pupils to 19,561. "Although schools were thus opened and scholars enrolled in large numbers without much difficulty, it appears from subsequent official reports, that a large proportion of the schools were merely rudimentary schools which had existed from time immemorial for the purpose of, conveying religious instruction. The character of the education did not seem in 1867-68 to be satisfactory.

* "Report of the Education Commission of 1882" pp. 526-527.

and in that year, Rs. 10,000 were withdrawn from the grant for girls' schools. The number of schools has gone on steadily decreasing from 1029 with 19,561 pupils in 1865-66 to 317 schools with 9,756 pupils in 1881-82." * In 1892, there were 952 girls' schools attended by 20, 162 scholars. With regard to literacy among the female population Punjab is on the same level with the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

Female compared with male literacy.

The following table shows the condition of female as compared with male literacy, and the progress which has been made within the decade between 1881 and 1891†: -

* "Report of the Education Commission of 1882," p. 527.
† "Census of India, 1891, General Report." p. 217.

Province or State, &c.	Males. No. per 1,000 Males of— Illiterate. 1881.	Males. Illiterate. 1891.	Males. Literate, &c. 1881.	Males. Literate, &c. 1891.	Males. Variation in Literates in 1891.	Females. No. per 1,000 Females of— Illiterate. 1881.	Females. Illiterate. 1891.	Females. Literate, &c. 1881.	Females. Literate, &c. 1891.	Females. Variation in Literates in 1891.
Ajmer	879	867	121	133	+ 12	994	992	6	8	+ 2
Assam	953	924	47	76	+ 29	999	997	1	3	+ 2
Bengal	913	892	87	108	+ 21	997	996	3	4	+ 1
Berar	938	916	62	84	+ 22	999	998	1	2	+ 1
Bombay	883	860	117	140	+ 23	993	990	7	10	+ 3
Sindh	921	915	79	85	+ 6	995	995	5	5	...
Lower Burma	539	557	46	443	− 18	964	962	36	38	+ 2
Upper Burma	......	538	......	462	......	......	985	...	15	...
Central Provinces	953	941	47	59	+ 12	998	998	2	2	...
Coorg	869	844	131	156	+ 25	990	986	10	14	+ 4
Madras	862	851	138	149	+ 11	991	990	9	10	+ 1
N.-W. Provinces	940	937	60	63	+ 3	998	997	2	3	+ 1
Oudh	948	942	52	58	+ 6	999	998	1	2	+ 1
Punjab	937	926	63	74	+ 11	998	997	2	3	+ 1
Total, British Provinces	......	889	......	111	......	......	994	...	6	...
Haidrabad	937	928	63	72	+ 9	999	997	1	3	+ 2
Baroda	894	856	106	144	+ 38	998	995	2	5	+ 3
Mysore	888	895	112	105	− 7	996	993	4	7	+ 3
Bombay States	900	887	100	113	+ 13	998	995	2	5	+ 3
Bengal States	965	945	35	55	+ 20	999	998	1	2	+ 1
N.-W. Province States	963	965	37	35	− 2	996	999	4	1	+ 3
Punjab States	947	941	53	59	+ 6	999	999	1	1	...
Total, States	......	902	......	98	......	......	993	...	7	...
India ...	909	891	91	109	+ 18	996	994	4	6	+ 2

Appendix A.

I am indebted to Kaviraj Bijayaratna Sen Kaviranjan of Kumartuli, Calcutta, for the following information about the present condition of the study and practice of the Hindu system of medicine in a few districts of Bengal (see Chapter IV. p. 108):

In Calcutta and its suburbs there are some 125 physicians practising the Hindu system. The number in Dacca is about 100, and in the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Midnapur, about 300. The physicians all spend a part of their time in teaching. The number of pupils receiving instruction in the Hindu system of medicine in the localities just mentioned has been estimated at about 3,150.

Appendix B.

EXTRACT FROM THE EVIDENCE OF MR. A.O. HUME, C.B. BEFORE THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION—(SEE CHAPTER V. P. 143).

"At the close of December, 1857, under Lord Canning's direct orders, I raised a local force of 500 infantry, 350 cavalry, and five guns (all natives, of course) who thenceforth were continually employed, and so comported themselves as to obtain on two occasions, the battles of Anantram and Harchandpoor, the honour of an entire Gazette to themselves. During the first few months of the year I had the assistance of Colonel (then Lieutenant) Sherriff, and later of Lieutenant Laughlan Forbes, two gallant young officers to whom our great successes, and considering the circumstances they were really great, were due. But I had charge of the whole force, was with them throughout, and was in a better position than even most military men to judge what natives are capable of in the way of pluck and dash. For we were wholly isolated, we were always opposed to great odds, and we had no European troops with us except when Colonel Riddel's column moved down about the time of the taking of Calpee, within seventy miles of us. And it was not only of mere pluck that I had experience but of administrative capacity. In June 1857, after the wing of the 9th Native Infantry had

mutinied, the Gwalior authorities being afraid of the first Gwalior Grenadiers, to get rid of them, sent them over to garrison Etawah. There they mutinied also, and I was obliged to leave the station with the officers of that regiment. But let me note, before proceeding further, that during the mutiny of the 9th N. I. my townspeople stood by us to a man.

My life was saved the night of the mutiny when, after getting off the rest of the people of the station, I had remained behind to see if anything could be done, by two natives, who passed me safely through two successive parties of sepoys, who were especially on the look-out to shoot me, they having the idea in those days that they could not safely make off with the treasure without first killing the District Officer. It was a bright moonlight night, my only disguise was a large chudder, over a native pagree—native shoes over dark stockings and my trousers pulled up out of sight. I had no particular claim on these men—one, Gyadeen, was a Chuprassi, one was a townsman. Had I been detected, they, as well as myself, would certainly have been shot and this they perfectly knew, yet they walked with me one on either side, chatting together, through the sepoys, who luckily paid no particular attention to us and answered unconcernedly a question as to whether it was known what had become of the Collector (myself) by the remark, that he was said to have gone into the city to try and rouse the townsmen. I don't think that I am more of a coward than most of my countrymen, but at that critical moment I could not for the life of me have answered in that cheery unconcerned manner.

The sepoys of the 9th Native Infantry, having mostly gone off to Delhi, with the little treasure that remained (the bulk of it I had previously sent safely into Agra, by the aid of my friend Raja—then Kour—Lutchman Singh and Kour Zor Singh of the Chohan House of Pertabnere), order was speedily re-established. I should say, however, that several native officers of the 9th Native Infantry and about twenty sepoys had remained faithful under a good old Ahir (note the caste) Soubadar, and were with and protecting the whole body of the fugitives down at the Jumna Ghat at the time of my own fortunate escape.

On the restoration of order and the advent of the first Gwalior Grenadiers, I found myself with some thirty women and children. All my

native friends told me (they were many of them Brahmins and so warmed themselves into the confidence of some amongst the sepoys) that the Grenadiers would certainly soon mutiny, and were only waiting for the word from the rest of the Contingent at Gwalior, to do so. So I determined to send the women and children at once into Agra. By that time things were looking very black, for tidings of disaster on disaster "followed fast and followed faster," till even our most sincere well-wishers believed that our Raj was at an end. But even at that time, though the intervening country was up, and outside my own district villages, where everywhere burning and anarchy prevailed, Rajah Lutchman Singh and our mutual friends, Kours Zor Singh and Anup Singh, volunteered with their own people to escort our ladies and children into Agra Kour Zor Singh was at first, dead against it; he begged and prayed me not to send them to Agra (where he conceived that sooner or later, as at other places, all would be massacred), but to join them myself and let him escort us all through Central India, to the chiefs of every State in which he was in one way or anothers related or connected, safely to the sea. But when he saw that my mind was made up, he fell in with the scheme, and he and his brothers, Anup Singh, and Lutchman Singh personally safely escorted the ladies (this was in June) into Agra, and there is no lady living of this party but will testify to the chivalrous courtesy and watchful care with which these noble gentlemen fulfilled their dangerous and self-imposed task. * * *

Then came the battle of the 5th of July, and it was some little time before anything like order was re-established in Agra. But throughout this time communications were reaching me from my district begging me to make arrangements for its proper administration. Then I devised and Government sanctioned this scheme. The district comprised five very large Tahsils. I constituted each a Soobahship, and appointed one native gentleman, Kour Zor Singh (Chohan Rajpoot) for Etawah; Rajah (then Row) Juswunt Row (Brahmin) for Bhurtenan; Lulla Laik Singh (Senghur Rajpoot) for Bidhona; Chowdhree Ganga Pershad (Kayat) for Puhpoondh; and the Tahsildar of Oreya, an elderly Bania of Muttra, for Dullelnugger as Soobah to each, making them suitable allowances to keep up the necessary armed retainers and establishments—all Government officials (of course many had fled) who had thus far remained

at their posts being included in these latter. We had here men of very different castes—Brahmin, Rajpoot, Kayat, Bania, yet each and all rose to the emergency, and during the next troublous five months, in the very centre of the outbreak, maintained order throughout their jurisdictions, and so maintained it that in after times no man ever complained of any injustice, any abuse of power—no man had ever anything but good words to speak of their administration. They kept me informed weekly of all that passed, they kept up for us communication with Cawnpore. Through them we got the first news of Neil's arrival, and more than all, directly he did arrive, they collected 700 camels, and under their own men, the Cawnpore district being "up" like the whole of the rest of the Doab except Etawah, escorted these to Cawnpore, and thus rendered an immediate advance on Lucknow possible, which, but for this, must have been much delayed. Moreover, whilst all over the country Government revenue was being realized by all kinds of pretenders, dacoit leaders and the like, not a rupee was thus made away with. My orders were that every man should retain his revenue until I returned and then to pay it to me, and these orders were carried out to the letter.

I do not know how administrative capacity could have been better demonstrated than it was by these five gentlemen. I doubt if any Englishman living could have administered one of those Soobahships at that time as cleverly and satisfactorily as every one of these native gentlemen did, and I am quite sure that no Englishman could have proved himself more heroically faithful to the trust reposed in him than did the Tahsildar of Oreya. He was only a Bania; an elderly man, very stout and good tempered, the last man from whom heroism was to be expected, and yet he gave up his life and underwent torture rather than betray his trust. The facts are these. When the Jhansi Brigade of mutineers were known to be on their way towards Oreya, *en route* I believe to Delhi, the Tahsildar by night removed in small parcels his records and treasure to the forts of certain loyal zemindars whom he could trust in the north of the Pergunnah. Only one or two of his men on whom he could rely were in the secret. The rest of the establishment got to know that the things were gone, but they did not know where they were concealed. It was a small matter, but no Englishman could have managed this much. He reported this to me. At the same time

as this Brigade was a powerful military force, against which our people with only matchlock men could do nothing, I ordered him and officers on the line of march, in order to prevent the looting of bazars and murder of villagers, &c, to receive it civilly, furnish the required supplies and keep matters as straight as possible. The Tahsildar remained at his post and did what was necessary. All would have gone well had not some rascal betrayed to the mutineers the fact that the Tahsildar had hid away his treasure and records. They had taken it for granted that like all other Tahsils at that time, it had long since been looted and had made no inquiries, and the Tahsildar passed as being now Soobah on the part of the Maharaja of Gwalior, whose territory marched with the greater part of the Tahsil. When they learnt the truth they seized him and called upon him to tell them where the treasure had been hid. He refused to tell them, making of course all kinds of excuses. Then they threatened to hang him, and when he still remained firm even prepared to do so; but he was a kindly looking old man, and even they, mutineers as they were, seemed to dislike the job, and so they tied him on to one of their brass guns, telling him they would let him go if he chose to tell them. It was in July I think, possibly August. He would not tell and he was dragged on the gun the whole distance to Etawah. When he arrived there, he was insensible. By the intercession of people in Etawah he was released there and carried to his home at Muttra, where he died. He was only a fat old Bania, like thousands of others whom most Englishmen considered the incarnation of selfish cowardice, but he knew how to suffer and be strong and die rather than be faithless to his salt.

I have mentioned already my dear old friend Rajah Lutchman Singh, and I should like to say something more of him. The Commission examined him at Allahabad I think, but none af them probably guessed what a daring and gallant servant of the State that modest little elderly gentleman had shown himself in more stirring times. He is a Rathore Rujput, a distant cousin of the Raja of Awa, and born of parents by nc means overburthened with worldly possessions, he entered the office of the Board of Revenue in 1854, or thereabouts, as Translator. Poor Christian there bacame acquainted with him, and when he took charge of the Etawah district appointed him to a Tahsildarship, in which I

found him when in January, 1856, I relieved Christian. There ... idea that Indians are no riders; that they are not active. Now Agra seventy miles from Etawah, Lutchman Singh's wife and children were in Agra (respectable officials in those days never took their families with them on service), and with my permission, Kour (as he then was) Lutchman Singh used on the Saturday afternoons to ride into Agra, spend the the day there, and on the Monday morning ride back again to his Tahsil, where I always found him fresh and at work by 10 a. m. I don't suppose we have a covenanted Assistant or Joint Magistrate, now-a-days at any rate, who could do as much. Later a specially good Tahsildar being wanted somewhere in the Jhansi Division, he was, much to my regret, transferred thither. Just before the mutiny broke out, he obtained leave in order to visit his family. His only road lay through Etawah, and he halted there to see me. Then came the bad news, and instead of going on he determined to stay with me (he was well known to and greatly respected by the people of Etawah) and endeavoured to assist me. There through all our troubles, he remained, always hopeful, always cheerful, and ready for anything, until I sent him along with Zor Singh in charge of the ladies to Agra.

Of his services in the Civil department to me as regards my Etawah arrangements and the Government generally, during the rest of the year 1857, I need not speak, but one point I must dwell upon. Towards the close of September, and in the beginning of October, Agra was threatened by a large military force from the South; they came within nine or ten miles of Agra, and were encamped just on the other side of Kuary Nandi.

That the force was very large and had many guns was known, but Government could not get particulars. In the Gwalior arsenal were mortars, shells, and all requisites enough to knock the old fort of Agra about our ears in half an hour. Had this force got any of this war material? What guns had they really got? Had any part of the contingent joined them? Government sent out spies in vain; that some had been promptly hung, and that the others had either funked it and abstained from going or been disposed of was known, but this was all. At this juncture Lutchman Singh volunteered to get the required information. The danger of the attempt was extraordinary; he was a native of Agra, known by sight to every one in the place, known too as a

as
w· ·ful Government servant. About 3,000 of the Agra budmashes were ·the rebel camp; if one of them detected him, his immediate death was certain. Yet he went, disguised as a fakir, stayed there two or three days and brought back the fullest and most accurate information—information which, but for the marvellous misunderstanding between the Civil and Military authorities, would have rendered impossible the great surprise, a few days later of the 10th of October, of which all that needs now be said is that "All's well that end well." Now I know of no pluckier exploit than this of Lutchman Singh's; no not in those fighting times when plucky deeds were as plentiful as blackberries on a Devonshire hedge.

When in December I was allowed to return to Etawah he accompanied me, and was with me throughout as one of my righthand men and all I can say is that a more *preux chevalier* in the field or a bolder and yet wiser adviser in Council, never breathed. * * * *

When the news of the destruction of the Tahsil [Shamli] and the massacre of its defenders reached Muzaffernagger, the head quarters of the district, the Collector, a good little gentleman, but of unwarlike tendencies, was greatly troubled, and in the dusk of the evening, getting into his buggy, he quietly started down the road to Meerut. But his servants guessing what was happening, ran at once to the Serishtadar and Tahsildar, and these being both strong men, and knowing well that if the news of the flight of the Collector got abroad, the budmashes would have the city on fire in a dozen places before dawn, and then all would be anarchy, pursued him on horseback, brought him back, took care he made no further attempt to escape, issued an encouraging proclamation in his name, posted off a special messenger to the Collector of Saharunpur, explaining the circumstances, and begging that some competent officer might be sent to take charge of the district, and till this officer arrived carried on the administration with the utmost vigour. When that officer came, the non-fighting Collector was safely guided to Meerut, whence with the earliest convoy he found his way down country, sailed for England, and India knew him no more.

So it is not always the native gentleman who runs away or shows incapacity in moments of danger for high executive office and it is not always the English gentleman, even when like the officer I have referred to he comes of a blue-blooded stock, who is able to rise to the occasion."

APPENDIX C—EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

TABLE I.

RESULT OF EXAMINATIONS AT THE UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA, FOR ENTRANCE, (MATRICULATION) DEGREES, &c.

Year.	Entrance.		First Arts Examination		B. A.		Honours in Arts and M. A.		Law		Medicine.		Civil Engineering	
	Candidates.	Passed	Candidates.	Passed	Candidates.	Passed	Candidates.	Passed	Candidates.	Passed	Candidates.	Passed	Candidates.	Passed
	Calcutta University.													
1867-68	1,507	814	388	188	212	99	25	15	82	54	64	21	6	6
1877-78	2,720	1,166	791	253	228	68	62	28	62	30	227	118	34	11
1887-88	4,305	1,907	1,241	481	813	323	82	43	356	238	85	41	16	9

Year	Entra. Exam.		F. A. Exam.		B. A.		M. A.		Law		Medicine		C. Engineering	
	Candi-dates	Passed	Candi-dates.	Passed	Candi-dates.	Passed	Candi-dates.	Passed	Candi-dates.	Passed	Candi-dates.	Passed	Candi-dates.	Passed
MADRAS UNIVERSITY.														
1867-8	1,069	338	350	117	24	14	—	—	14	10	1	1	—	—
1877-87	2,495	807	516	191	157	52	4	—	26	11	9	8	4	2
1887-88	6,589	1,963	1745	516	831	437	12	4	123	40	125	46	6	4
BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.														
1867-68	539	163	69	21	40	24	12	6	6	3	9	3	7	—
1877-78	1,049	217	150	61	87	30	6	3	14	4	86	41	45	28
1887-88	3,012	823	519	123	407	176	7	3	63	26	213	106	50	27
ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY.														
1891-92	2003	747	529	161	223	112	20	15	37	14	—	—	377	150
PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.														
1891-92	1161	619	214	109	45	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE II. *

Expansion of the different grades of education in India between 1886 and 1892.

Grade.	1885-86.		1891-92.		Percentage Distribution.			
					Boys.		Girls.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	1885-86.	1891-92.	1885-86.	1891-92.
Collegiate: Arts	8,119	8	12,940	45	...	...	...	...
Collegiate: Professional	2,384	27	3,261	31	...	...	...	...
High	35,290	375	57,462	926	1	2	...	...
Middle	109,993	4,348	125,014	6,105	4	4	2	2
Upper Primary	321,052	15,641	343,734	19,920	12	11	6	6
Lower Primary: (a) Reading	1,567,944	132,023	1,819,889	178,477	57	60	57	58
Lower Primary: (b) Not Reading... ..	691,804	77,444	658,758	100,616	25	22	34	32
Technical...	8,269	234	16,125	461	...	...	...	...
Normal	4,289	660	4,327	819	...	...	...	...
TOTAL... ...	2,749,144	230,760	3,041,510	307,400				

* "Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India" p. 388.

TABLE III.

Progress of education in India between 1855 and 1892.

Province.	Earliest Year.			1870-71.		1881-82.		1891-92.	
	Year.	Institutions.	Pupils.	Institutions	Pupils.	Institutions.	Pupils.	Institutions.	Pupils.
Madras	1856-7	13,766	204,856	16,749	263,685	18,136	441,659	23.204	693,985
Bombay	1855-6	2,875	106,040	6,134	265,793	9,664	437,746	12,272	634,438
Bengal	1854-5	25,378	527,731	41,430	878,401	59,892	1,099.767	67,824	1,531,965
Assam	1854-5					1,950	56,483	2,800	83,638
North-West Provinces ..	1854-5	3,920	52,952	10,174	246,424	13,595	292,069	10,862	282,570
Punjab	1856-7	5,621	44,291	†6,125	139,039	8,423	195,409	9,408	260,227
Central Provinces ...	1862-3	1,169	21,353	1,949	83,999	1,430	81,212	1,988	117,483
Berar	1866-7	247	8,644	454	16,441	915	35,840	1,322	51,483

TABLE IV. RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS FOR THE FIVE YEARS 1886-87—1890-91.*

	Universities.		
	Calcutta.	Madras.	Bombay.
A.—Examined for Matriculation †	100·00	100·00	100·00
Failed	52·26	73·13	74·59
Passed	47·74	26·87	25·41
Examined for Degree in Arts ...	20·59	10·37	12·87
,, ,, Law ...	7·06	1·80	2·44
,, ,, Medicine ...	2·30	1·52	6·66
,, ,, Civil Engineering	0·55	0·16	2·97
Total examined for Degrees ...	30·50	13·85	24·94
Passed	13·97	6·80	11·78
Failed	16·53	7·05	13·16
Total not appearing for Degrees ...	17·24	13·02	0·47
B.—Passed the Matriculation	100·00	100·00	100·00
Examined for Degree in Arts	43·13	38·61	50·66
,, ,, Law ...	14·79	6·68	9·62
,, ,, Medicine ...	4·83	5·64	26·21
,, ,, Civil Engineering	1·15	0·61	11·67
Total Examined for Degree ...	63·90	51·54	98·16
Passed	29·25	25·32	46·35
Failed	34.65	26·22	51·81
Total not appearing for Degrees ...	36·10	48·46	1·84

* The Census of India, General Report, p. 225.

† The actual figures are, Calcutta, 21,238; Madras, 34,393; and Bombay, 14,774.

END OF VOLUME III.

